
A Response to Dr. David H. Kelsey

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

I want to thank Professor Kelsey on behalf of all of us here for his profound and erudite analysis of the subject "How formation is related to theological schooling." He put us in his debt by the lucid way in which he analyzed systematically the debate on this subject that has been going on in this country in recent years, especially since 1988. My response can be only a brief and tentative one, because of time limitations and adverse circumstances.

I found Dr Kelsey's paper quite provocative in a positive sense to the extent that it forced me to address the subject more thoroughly and systematically. As I tried earlier to explain informally to him, my familiarity with this subject is connected with another context: my directing of two post-graduate students to write theses on this theme from an Orthodox perspective, that is, how the Fathers see priestly formation related to education. One of them completed a thesis on the *Three Hierarchs* (Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom), who are, in the Orthodox tradition, the patrons of Christian, and certainly theological, education. In addition, some colleagues from Greece came to me when I was in England to research this subject under my advisement and using the resources that were available in England in the university system and in the theological context there. As I tried to explain to Professor Kelsey, in Greece there is a chair of religious education in the Schools of Theology in the universities, which is quite strong.

On this occasion, due to limitations of time, I want to organize my response by means of four points. *Firstly*, I want to make some general remarks. *Secondly*, I want to make some particular remarks connected with the structure of the paper. *Thirdly*, I want to make

some remarks on the particular contents presented in the paper, namely, the three main viewpoints of formation which the paper presented—the *ontological maieutic*, the *kerygmatic maieutic* and the *mimetic* viewpoint. *Fourthly* and finally, I want to make some remarks on the approach from an Orthodox point of view and to raise one or two questions.

Firstly, I was delighted with the presentation, the style, and the clarity of the terminology. I think that our distinguished speaker succeeded in presenting to us in a masterly way, with scientific clarity and succinctness the two or three divergent but widely held views with which we are familiar as we read the theological literature from colleagues across the board, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. Our speaker based the viewpoints he presented on two key essays by Dr. Tracy and Dr. Lindbeck and he did it in a way that certainly makes a lot of sense to us. I would like to describe his presentation as “scientific,” like one that an engineer would have made, free from tedious repetitions, needless linguistic embellishments and conceptual obscurities. I found it tidy, even tight, but also quite demanding, inasmuch as the terms used were strictly technical and certainly of the highest order in this kind of debate. As for the presentation it was smooth and linearly structured, and so it was easy to follow, once one became familiar with the technical terminology and conceptuality, which, as I said, required total attention.

So I found the paper altogether admirable from many points of view: the presentation, the style, the structure, the richness and the succinctness of it. It succeeded very well in introducing this subject, in raising some crucial questions and in pinpointing some of the fundamental issues that are connected with the different points of view as they were differentiated in the presentation. These are my general remarks and I want to conclude them with a great and wholehearted “thank you” to our distinguished visitor, because to present a paper like that requires great labor and also tremendous love for and concentration on the subject.

Secondly, I want to say something about the structure of the paper, having looked more carefully into its contents. These again are general remarks, but they aim at pointing out the strengths and possible weaknesses of the paper. There are four parts to the paper: a short introduction and a relatively short conclusion and then there is the middle part, which analyzes these two or three views that we noted

earlier. I would have liked a little more in the introduction, especially on the interesting remark from Paul Ricoeur and the comment that the "forming of persons" especially in theological education is profoundly problematic. I thought right away of a number of things which were not spelled out, and I had to work out for myself how that introductory statement was supposed to relate to the papers of Tracy and Lindbeck and to the problems that are raised by their papers. I would have liked a little more at that point so as to make the connection stronger and more coherent. Nevertheless, as I said, what followed was very clear despite the very brief introductory remarks.

The points about the different views raised in the middle part are very beautifully and systematically presented, but the conclusion is not very much developed. It simply raises some very important questions as to whether the project of trying to relate the goals of priestly formation to theological study is a viable one. This is certainly a proper question, as all the points made there are very significant; but I would have expected further exposition, especially when the part ends with what is said to be the primary task of theological education, *the knowledge of God*. It crossed my mind, however, that perhaps Dr. Kelsey might be persuaded to come back and give us another lecture on this very point. Indeed, if I read him and heard him well, he has told us that it is rather futile for us to have a definition of formation as the ultimate goal to theological education or schooling, if—and this is an important "if"—if we do not share the same anthropological presuppositions. This is a very crucial remark that needs to be opened up and further developed in a positive and systematic or synthetic way. This then is my second point, concerning the structure of the paper under discussion. It is a very "meaty" paper, if I am allowed this metaphor, exhibiting a very elaborate analysis of different views and raising some very important points at the end, which are related to what the program of theologians on this subject has been. Yet, in the end the presentation leaves open, as it were, a number of questions that we would naturally like to hear more about, especially because they include many hints, which are interesting and important.

My third point is connected with the main substance of the paper, the three views that Dr Kelsey has presented to us, and what I will say here simply represents my first and general observation. What we have here, in the first instance, is a sort of "Platonic view" in two

forms, if I may put it that way. This is not the way our speaker has tried to explain it, for one cannot have the *maieutic ontological* with the *maieutic kerygmatic* forms bracketed together (even though Dr. Tracy tried to do just that). I fully agree with Dr. Kelsey in differentiating these two forms and I consider his analysis to be truly masterful and well articulated. In my reading of it, this is a combination of "Platonic" and "Sophistic" (Existentialist) approaches (to cast the debate in ancient terms). Then we have, in the second instance, the *mimetic approach*, which is rather what I would call an "Aristotelian approach." In other words, I want to think of the three views in these terms, as Platonic, Sophist (Existentialist) and Aristotelian and in this way to say that they all make perfect sense to me. Indeed, I find them very Greek and classical, which is quite pleasing in a way. They confirm once again my initial intuition, when as a young scholar I came out of Greece for study in the "West"—that the West is more zealous for things Greek than the Greeks themselves. This intuition was confirmed for me during my long term teaching tenure as an Orthodox theologian in an ecumenical setting of theological schooling in Durham (England.) Dr. Kelsey's analysis helped me to realize that the same tendency, perhaps more rigorously, exists here in America, as in Britain, namely, that the classical philosophical traditions seem to function as a fundamental premise in all theological schooling and therefore as contributing to the formation which is associated with it. This means that theological schooling and priestly formation in the "West" tends to be much more Greek than in the Orthodox East, or to put it another way, Western theological tendencies tend to be much more classical Greek than their Eastern Orthodox counterparts. This seems to hold sway in the West although there is also a great appreciation of the classical background in the theology of the East.

The East follows the Greek Fathers, who shaped its theological schooling and education in the Orthodox context. The Fathers' approach to classical Greek traditions was an *eclectic* one. There seems to be among them a general preference for Plato, who is seen as the "theologian of the Greeks" (Athanasius). On the other hand they seem to have an aversion toward Aristotelianism, although not for the whole thought of Aristotle but only for certain aspects of it, inasmuch as some of the Fathers see him the "Bishop of the Heretics" (Gregory the Theologian). There are similar philosophical remarks on other ancient schools, which the Fathers produce, but it is not necessary

that we go into them here. It would suffice to say that their eclectic attitude is determined by their missionary perspective and especially by their Christian foundation—the conviction that the whole truth is given in the Christian Tradition. As regards the existentialist model, which seems to be relatively new in the West, I believe that it has been present in the East especially in the context of ascetic theology. Nevertheless, the modern Western existentialist tradition has also had its Orthodox counterparts although the Orthodox roots go much deeper. I have in mind here the great thinker, philosopher and theologian in modern Greece Chrestos Yannaras, who has been a prolific writer and a sharp intellectual, and whose works or at least some of them have been translated into English, German, French, and other languages. Yannaras has explored the connection of existentialism in general and Heidegger in particular to Dionysius the Areopagite, who has been a highly influential teacher in both East and West in the formation of theological thinking and even education and schooling. Yannaras' stimulating thought has had both followers and critics and it is perhaps too early to say what the impact of it is ultimately going to be. As for me when I think about existentialism my mind always turns to that which my teacher at Princeton, Fr. George Florovsky, taught me in the 1970s, namely, the crucial difference that exists between the "existentialism of the Fathers," and the "existentialism of the philosophers," including Heidegger and others. The former is more ontological and has to do with the manner of life (*tropos hyparxeos*), whereas the latter is more theoretical (intellectual) in its basis and dialectical in its content.

There is much that I could say here, but I would restrict myself to simply pointing out that in the views presented I recognize the usual tension between being and act, as for instance, between the "ontological" and the "ontic," to use the terms of Bultmann which have been employed in Dr. Kelsey's presentation. The tension between being and act, or being and becoming, which one finds in ancient philosophy, has been transcended in the theology of the Fathers, inasmuch as the being of God is now understood in terms of what he has become for us and/or of what He continues to do in us. This has enabled them to transcend Greek philosophical metaphysics and to adopt a stance which leaves behind that kind of conflict that continues to exercise a lot of Western theological thinking—a conflict that stems from the tensions that existed in ancient thought and philoso-

phy between ontology and functionalism, Plato and Aristotle, what is primary and what is secondary, what is static and what is dynamic, indeed, what is *maieutic* and what is *mimetic*. In my understanding of the patristic legacy, God's becoming is the overflow of his being, whereas our becoming, is the basis of our being. The two are not in contradiction or in tension, but there is an inversion inasmuch as whatever God does is the overflow of His being and that is how His being is revealed; whereas whatever we do is what we are. In other words, our being is in our becoming and God's becoming in the overflow of His own being regulates our becoming.

This is not the occasion for entering into a great discussion on these, but I found a most interesting and suggestive point in the middle of Dr. Kelsey's paper to which I would like to draw attention. It is the discussion of Kierkegaard and especially of his distinction between Socrates and Jesus. Again, I am aware that this has been employed in two different ways, in one way by those who tend to be more on the side of Bultmann, and in another way by those who tend to be more on the side of Barth. But I want to suggest at least caution, although what is needed is more thorough analysis. I will only make one remark. I remember very clearly my other great professor in Edinburgh, Tom Torrance, saying that his interpreters or misinterpreters exploited Kierkegaard and misinterpreted his true *existential* stance.

My primary concern here is the comparison of Orthodox and Western theological perspectives on formation and how we could develop fruitful discussion on this theme based on a genuine exchange of viewpoints. I think that it would be extremely useful if we were to explore further our understandings of the relation of philosophy to theology and the impact this relation has on formation. I consider it significant that formation in the Orthodox Patristic tradition appears to be "a given," inasmuch as the Form to which formation conforms has been provided in the Incarnate Lord of Glory and in his extension, the Church. Formation is definitely a part of theological education, inasmuch as the context is now the reality of Christ and his Church, which is the context within which theological education takes place. This seminary in particular, brings the two together in a number of ways and this is the tradition that actually distinguishes it from Orthodox theological education elsewhere. This seminary of Holy Cross, has followed the traditions of the great seminary at Halki in Constantinople, which brought theological schooling into the con-

text of the Church and therefore into the context of the Incarnation, of the reality of Christ and his Church, of the celebration of the mystery of Christ and the Eucharist. This has given it a different kind of character inasmuch as it delivered it from the obligation of having to work out this or that theory of formation. In other words, at Holy Cross we do not have to work out an ideological basis. We have the realism of the ecclesiastical tradition, the experience of Christ and his Body that has come down to us throughout the centuries, as it were. To be honest I must also acknowledge that this tradition of coordinating the Academia to the Church is also true to our American setting at least in form if not fully in content.

And now my *final remark*, which I already made earlier in remarking on the conclusion, but let me put it in another way now: I thought that the paper as a whole was admirably analytical, analyzing the views that are being debated but not only so, for it was critical too in a constructive sense, inasmuch as it pointed to a number of issues that emerge and to a synthesis beyond the either/ors that the views under discussion suggested. This actually emerged in a number of ways in our speaker's conclusion, but it was not fully developed. The suggestions certainly cry for a more articulated synthesis—this is the way I read them—especially as they point out that there is not one view of formation, or that it is futile to search for a single view. Is this not a quest for something larger or more adequate than what has been suggested? The very end, of course, wrapped it all up and created a sort of anticipation for a synthesis, which remains a desideratum, if I may put it this way. If the conclusion was to be drawn out further, this paper could really become a very significant paper for helping in the debate to clarify further what our practical task in a modern context should be.

As a postscript to this final remark, I want first all to refer to the traditional distinction which the Fathers of the Church, especially the great Cappadocians, make with regard to education. They distinguish between the “wisdom outside” (ἡ θύραθεν σοφία) and the “education which is according to Christ” (ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν παιδεία). They do not reject the encyclical paideia, the wisdom that lies outside (the Church), and the “research” of the philosopher for the discovery of the truth. So, in the Orthodox tradition and theological context, every aspect of education that is designed to assist the human being to discover the meaning of life and ultimately of the Creator

is welcomed. This is especially the case with the greatest achievements of humanity which are understood as being “outside the door” (θύραθεν)—and this is a very interesting metaphor, “outside the door”—or as preparatory for the Gospel (*preparatio evangelica*) into which one enters through Christ who is called “the Door” (ἡ θύρα). I believe that Dr. Kelsey has suggested that much in speaking about the *knowledge of God* as the end of formation and theological schooling. I hope that he will visit our School again to develop this last theme which lies in the center of our heart and interest.

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A Theological Interpretation of the Agreements on the Trinity and Incarnation Between the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches

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The two agreements which have been reached so far between the Orthodox and the Reformed are of immense importance. This importance is not just an historical matter — that they are the first such agreed statements between the Orthodox and the Reformed — but they point the way toward a rethinking of how we may express our most basic Christian belief. The two Church families (Orthodox and Reformed) agree: God is Trinitarian, that is, God *is* Father, Son and Holy Spirit. To our shame, we, the Reformed, have sat loosely to our Trinitarian beliefs. We have repeated the formulas, but have not taken them to our hearts; we have lost sight of the fact that proclamation of the Trinitarian God is at *the heart* of the Gospel we proclaim.

The two agreed statements are densely written and expressed in technical theological jargon. This is probably unavoidable. The two Church families come out of different cultures and each embraces a range of different cultures of its own. For the purpose of the discussions, the technical jargon acted as a common coinage, a shorthand. However, *the jargon simply does not matter*. What matters is the collection of ideas behind the jargon. What the agreed statements show is *a re-thinking together about the doctrine of God*: our belief that God is Trinity is joyful and it affects how we understand the world (the doctrine of creation), how we understand salvation, and how we understand the Holy Spirit.

We will go through the two agreements, not at the level of detail, but trying to point to the underlying message and issues, putting them in the clearest terms.

That God is Trinitarian is not a Biblical doctrine, in that the Bible does not set out to construct *a theory* of the Trinity. The Bible is a collection of books about practice, not about theory. However, the earliest Christians found that they had to think about God in Trinitarian ways, if they were to take account faithfully of the way they experienced God. So, the Trinity is a doctrine which inevitably appears in some form when we take our faith seriously.

Can we make this clearer? The very centre of Christian belief is that Jesus Christ *is Lord*. What does that mean? It means that He is God. Are there then two Gods? No, there is *one* God. Are Jesus Christ and the Father then the same? No, they are two persons of the one God. A very similar argument may be made about the Holy Spirit, and thus we see that a *Trinitarian* understanding of God grows naturally out of our conviction that Jesus is Lord.

This is why the agreed statement on the Trinity begins with the witness of scripture that “through the Son we have access to the Father in one Spirit” (Ephesians 2:18). But we can take this a stage further, which will begin to show why the agreed statement is not just an irrelevant abstract document, but applies in important ways to our lives.

We believe in *one* God, not many. That is, we are not polytheists, believing in many gods, and so in many ultimate or transcendent sources of authority. How then does Christianity differ from Judaism, which also believes in *the same one* God? The answer is the doctrine of the Trinity. Judaism believes in one God, who is almighty and transcendent, merciful and forgiving, *but whom we do not finally know in himself*. The Christian belief is that God, the *one* God, has, in a quite astonishing way, given *himself* to us, allowing us to know him as he really is. The God we meet in Jesus is really God: there is not a hidden, undisclosed God behind Jesus’ back. This is what the agreed statement means when it says that to believe in the Unity (oneness) of God without believing in the Trinity is to limit God’s revelation. It is through believing in the divine Trinity (that God disclosed himself through the Son and in the Spirit) that we come to a new understanding of the different and complex oneness of God. This is a crucial part of our preaching. It is *Gospel* — Good news, and we begin to see that the doctrine of the Trinity really is an important dimension to Christian thinking.

"Dimension" is a useful analogy to take. The doctrine of the Trinity means that God is not one-dimensional in the sense of being like the moon, and always preserving a dark side which he hides from us. It follows that if we are thinking in a Christian way (taking advantage of the good news given us in Christ), then we are limiting ourselves if we think of God the Father without thinking of how he has made *himself* known and given *himself* to us through God the Son and is present through God the Holy Spirit. A *Trinitarian* understanding of God — the confidence that God has made *himself* known in his inner relations of Father, Son and Holy Spirit — is then a direct consequence of our belief that in Jesus Christ, *God himself*, the *real* God, has come among us.

But how is this Trinitarian, tri-dimensional way of thinking about God to be sustained? How do we express and communicate it? We do not know anything else like it. And this is the point. Because we know nothing like it, historically we have tended to flatten the unique tridimensionality of God into something we are familiar with, and thereby we have distorted and lessened it. A major theological contribution of the agreed statement on the Trinity is that it engages in a process of recovery, and a repentant un-thinking of our bad usages of language, which have obscured the extent of God's self-revelation.

Let us begin this process of un-thinking. If we are really talking and thinking about *God*, there is no one else, and nothing else, like him. God is so wonder-ful that he is beyond being captured by our language and thought. It follows that we come to realise that God is not one of a class, one of a type. There is now no neutral or impersonal deity: we cannot adequately say: "We know who God is, because we know *in general* what God is." Through Trinitarian thinking, we come to see that God is so utterly different, that he sets his own parameters — he can *only* be known as he discloses and gives himself to us. Any other way of conceptualising God, in which we intrude our own constructions, is a kind of idolatry.

So the agreed statement shows a common insistence on the *priority* of the Trinitarian God to any of our formulations. This has a series of very important implications. Thus, first, it is to insist that, despite traditional vocabulary, *God is not gendered*. Apparent gendering (using the pronoun, "he") is a result of the limitation of our speech and a distortion if it is taken literally. Here, although it does not refer to them explicitly, the agreed statement would make a common cause

with the feminist theologians who have objected to the masculinising and patriarchalising of God which has been such a cultural feature of our tradition, especially when it is allied to an all-male priesthood.

Secondly, a genuinely Trinitarian understanding calls in question any hierarchical understanding of God. Here too, although again without referring to them directly, the agreed statement makes common cause with those feminist and liberationist theologians who have argued that a hierarchical, top-down understanding of God fosters and sanctions hierarchical and oppressive structures in human society. The specific issue is how our different Western and Eastern traditions have understood the relationship between God the Father and God the Son. We all know about biology, and we think we know what "begetting" is, and so we tend to think we can understand language like "the only-begotten Son." The agreed statement calls us away from the idolatry of our word-pictures and any neutral (non Christian) pre-understanding of the ways of God. Once again, our encounter with *the real God* in the person of Jesus Christ, is our point of entry into Trinitarian thinking. If Jesus Christ is *real God from real God* (as we are convinced he is), then the Father-Son relationship is not to do with an inequality of power: both Father and Son are equally true God. It is evidently nothing to do with gender or biology. It is not to do with *partition*: God is not a material thing, and the Son is not an emanation or outflow or *a piece* of God. There was no time when God the Father was without God the Son, so the relationship between them is eternal. That is, it had no beginning. As such, eternal, equal and underived, the Son is not in any sense a caused or subordinate deity. The greatest theologians of the Early Church tried to think of analogies which would in some sense illustrate this utterly unique relationship. They tried to think of entities which were all sufficiently different to be identified and called by different names, but which all flowed from the same root. So they offered the analogy of the sun, which puts forth its rays, which in turn bestow light. But as they themselves saw, this presented a hierarchical picture of a descending "ladder of deity," which is exactly what the Trinitarian understanding of God calls us away from.

What we have learned is that we have no adequate analogy, by means of which we can "domesticate" God. The Trinitarian understanding is not something which we can encapsulate into a formula, but it must be preserved and kept as a foundation, rather like the

rules of grammar in a language, which shapes the expression of all our subsequent doctrines. The Trinitarian understanding is that we confess belief in one *God*, three persons. A conviction that each person is real God and that each is equal challenges our previously-held understanding of "one." It is a distortion to fabricate a "one" so as to fit our preconceptions, perhaps by saying that one of the Persons is the origin and source of the others. We need to understand that this utterly different "one" is who God is. In a similar way, at least in the West, we have a secular and highly individualised understanding of "person." To the secular mind, the idea of *three persons, one being* is either a complete contradiction in terms, or a suggestion of dreadful mental illness. The Trinitarian dimension calls us away from projecting this secular understanding onto God, which, historically, has always threatened to tear the three *Persons* away from the one *Being* of God, and posit a separation between person and being, where the *Being* is hidden, unknown, undisclosed and impersonal. The persistent (and tempting) mental picture, provoked by our secularised understanding of person, is that the Trinity is like an animal with three heads. Obvious difficulties with the picture are: "If there are three heads, why may there not be four?" And, "If there are three heads, may they not contradict each other?" A deeper objection, as we have seen, is that the picture encourages a split between the underlying animal (neutral, undisclosed deity) and the three heads.

Trinitarian thinking calls us away from this analogy. God is three persons, one being; one God, three persons. This is *who* God is. There is no underlying substratum of undisclosed deity. It follows that Father, Son and Holy Spirit are not just three aspects of an underlying deity (where there could be more or fewer), because *there is no other God* but the God who *is* Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It follows that Trinity is not just one (optional) way of thinking about God (and there could be others), because the one true God is actually and eternally triune, and may not be thought of properly in any other way.

We have already seen the commonly discussed doctrine that God the Son is not derived, subordinate or caused, but is eternally God. There never was a time when he was not God. As an instance of Trinitarian thinking, we now turn to the much more vexed question of the "origin" of the Holy Spirit. If in the Holy Spirit we encounter *God*, as we do in the Son, is the Holy Spirit not also and equally true God? Historically, this has been the occasion for sharply divergent

perspectives between the East and the West, and the agreed statement on the Trinity points a way forward by asking both Church families to re-think their differences in rigorously Trinitarian terms.

Historically, the differing perspectives have led to what is called "The issue of the *Filioque*." "*Filioque*" is simply a Latin word, which means "and from the Son," and the issue is whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone (the Eastern perspective), or from the Father *and the Son* (the Western perspective). To those unfamiliar with it, this may seem an abstract dispute, and unrelated to the pressing social issues the Churches face today. But it is an issue with surprisingly practical implications, as we will see.

From the early Christian centuries, East and West tended to approach the Unity-in-Trinity of God from opposite sides. The East *tended* to start from the irreducible distinctiveness of the three divine persons, and then find the key to their unity in the fact that both the Son and the Spirit derive their being from the Father. The Father, as the source and origin of *both* the Son and the Spirit, was the guarantee of the oneness of God. The Western Church *tended* to be less concerned with the *priority* of the Father, and more with the *equal deity* of the Son. Since the Son is as much God as the Father, the Son is as much involved as the Father in the origin of the third divine person, the Holy Spirit. Thus, while the Father *alone* begets the Son, the Father and the Son *together* (*Filioque*) breath out the Spirit.

These differing perspectives became a bitter dispute, especially after Pope Benedict VIII allowed the *Filioque* clause to be added to the Creed, and the Eastern and Western Churches split in 1054. The differing perspectives (and mutual suspicions) remained. According to the West, if the Son and the Spirit are seen as semi-independent expressions of the life of God, it might be possible to be in the Spirit without being in the Son; to have a relationship to God not mediated by Jesus; to attempt to reach God by some other spiritual path. Hence, there has been the Western accusation that the Eastern Church may lapse into a Christless mysticism. The Eastern Church has been able to respond by counterclaiming that the Western Church shows a one-sided Christ-centeredness, which prevents it being open to the Spirit. In the West, the Spirit is not seen as a distinct divine Person, to be worshipped and glorified along with the Father and the Son, but is swallowed up in Christ. This has led to the characteristically non-Trinitarian theology of the West, and, it is argued, has fostered the

sheer authoritarianism of the Western Church. Where the Holy Spirit is not given his rightful place, human authoritarianism creeps in. The freedom of the Spirit has been replaced by emphasis upon an infallible Bible (on the Protestant side) or an infallible Pope (on the Roman Catholic side). A loss of the spontaneity of the Spirit has led in worship to a retreat into a fixed and sterile liturgy, or the rigidity of a minister-dominated service.

The agreed statement on the Trinity helps *both* sides to move through this deadlock and so it is a step of the greatest ecumenical *and practical* importance. The practical side is that a genuine recovery of a doctrine of the Holy Spirit is at the centre of our worship and the way we act toward, and give space to, others. Each within their own perspective, both East and West had opened a dangerous separation between the *persons* and the *one being* of God. Thus, the East has tended to understand the Holy Spirit as proceeding from *the person* of the Father, and the West from the *persons* of the Father and of the Son. As we have seen, this led to twin anxieties that, on the one hand, an independent and Christ-less doctrine of the Spirit was being presupposed, and that on the other, the distinctive reality of the presence of God the Spirit was being swallowed up into the presence of God the Son. The agreed statement points to a way forward by reminding us to think of the Holy Spirit in a properly *Trinitarian* way. There is no unknown and impersonal God behind the persons of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The three persons, quite simply, are *who* God is: each is distinct, but each is conjoined with each other. It follows that the Spirit proceeds eternally not from the persons of the Father, or the Father and the Son, which inevitably leads to a subordination of the Spirit, but from the very being of God in which he himself is eternally and fully participant. It is the hope of the delegates that an ending of the theological subordination of the Spirit, and a re-integration of the Spirit into the one activity of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, will enable both Church families to rediscover and trust the gifts of the Spirit, and that this will vitalise our worship, and lessen our suspicions and fears of the Spirit-filled activities of other Christians. Those are the practical consequences.

The agreed statement on the Incarnation carries forward the renewal of Trinitarian vision from the earlier document. Its aim is to show how a properly Trinitarian understanding of God the Son affects not only the way we understand the Incarnation, but also how

we understand the creation and the natural environment. So, once again, what begins as a strictly theological discussion ends up by disclosing a range of very practical implications.

The agreed statement reaffirms the most fundamental beliefs of both Church families concerning the identity of Jesus Christ and the mission of his incarnation. Following the witness of the Gospel, Orthodox and Reformed confess together that Jesus Christ is the eternal and only-begotten Son of God, the eternal Word of God, the second person of the Trinity. He became fully human, without ceasing to be God, being conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. It was for our sake that he was born, lived, worked, preached, healed, died and rose again. The very ground of our salvation is that the eternal Word of God so humbled himself as to assume our flesh, our humanity, our limited existence, so as to renew it, and to offer us new life through union with him.

The doctrine of the Trinity, of course, is presupposed by the doctrine of the incarnation, but the agreed statement suggests that as we trace out the path of the incarnation, our understanding of the Trinity is immeasurably enriched, and that this in turn feeds into a deeper understanding of creation. At the same time, this deepening understanding of incarnation enriches our understanding of creation to such an extent that the two doctrines may be drawn together, enriching and illuminating each other, like two binocular lenses. Finally, as the two doctrines are brought together, it is suggested that through both of them we see flowing a single *adaptive* movement of the Trinitarian love of God, which leads to a genuinely Christian doctrine of personhood and community, and which challenges our secular understandings of power.

How do we understand God? The two agreed statements acknowledge that we have no neutral or abstract or anthropomorphic access to God. This was emphasised in the agreed statement on the Trinity. We may only know God through his own self-disclosure. Hence, we may only think of God in terms of what he *does*, for *who* God *is* is no different from what he *does*. God's being is the same as his act: it is impossible for God to be inconsistent with himself.

How then do we understand *the act* of God, perhaps thinking specifically of his creativity, *his acts of creative power*? If we turn to the creed, we confess that we believe in one God, *the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth*. This description of God, that he is al-

mighty, is significantly brought into connection with the expression that he is Father. It follows from this that we are to reject any and all impersonal notions of divine *omnipotence*, because sheer omnipotence as an abstract concept is arbitrary and demonic. We may only think in terms of who God *actually* is, and what God *actually* does.

It is similar when we speak of God as Father. When we dare to do this, we do so not in a neutral or abstract or anthropomorphic sense, but we mean that he is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. We do not, and cannot, know God as Father in himself, or as *our* Father, *apart from* his only Son Jesus Christ, in whom, and through the Holy Spirit, God gives us access to himself.

It follows that we know God in his nature when our knowledge of him is *controlled* by Jesus Christ. It follows further that we have no knowledge of *the power* of God except through Christ. At Matthew 28:18 it is *Jesus* who says: "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth." It follows that God's almightiness is disclosed as being *always* a saving and righteous power.

As Jesus Christ is the *only-begotten* Son of the Father, he is the only way God makes himself known as the Father. It is here that we see the *exclusiveness* of the revelation in Christ, through the Spirit, both of the Father and of the almightiness of God. Since the Father is never without the Son and the Spirit, all that the Father does is done in, through, and with, the Son and the Spirit. This is the only God we know.

An enormously significant point is related to this. *While God is always Father, he was neither always creator nor always incarnate.* This means that the creation of the world out of nothing is *something new even for God*. God was always Father, but he *became* creator. It is an astonishing act, and it is in a similar way that we must think of the *incarnation*, for although God was always able to become incarnate, we are told that *he chose* to do this in "the fullness of time" (Galatians 4:4).

So what we see are *two radically new acts*: the creation and the incarnation. Both issue from the Holy Trinity. What the agreed statement does is explore each in turn, to see how they are related to the Holy Trinity and to each other and how they lead to a realisation of inter relatedness and interdependence in humanity. We are created for relationship with God and one another.

First, in a preliminary way, let us look at the creation. From the

fact that God is *always Father*, but not always creator, we may see that it is *as Father that he is creator*. Thus, the doctrine of creation tells us that God, who does not need us, created heaven and earth out of sheer fatherly love. Understood like this, *the doctrine of creation is a fundamental statement of belief*. Creation, then, is rooted in God's will not to exist for himself alone, but to share the fullness of his love with others. Already, we are seeing the interplay between the doctrines of creation and the Trinity. This is deepened as the agreed statement turns to the incarnation.

The central importance of the incarnation is as the *real self-communication of God*, in Word and act. In Jesus Christ, God committed *himself* unreservedly to us in his own triune being. The doctrines of the Trinity and the incarnation are interlinked, and as the path of the incarnation is traced out, so our understanding of the Trinity is enriched.

Through the incarnation, God the Son made himself one of his own creatures. He entered and made his own the alienation of creation. Through his life, death and resurrection he brought *the love and power of God* to bear on its disorder, restoring it to God's love. As it is *in Jesus* that we are confronted by God, we understand that it is in Jesus that we *really* see the mystery of God's creative activity. In Jesus there is the *new creation* in the middle of the old, and this expands our understanding of the *unique nature* of God's creation, and the distinctive path of his love within it. As we are confronted with the nature and style of God's new creation in Jesus, we are able to understand the old creation as never before. In Jesus, the Saviour and Redeemer, we learn how the creator works, and through him, the power of God's love is shown as grace.

The agreed statement looks closely at the life, works and person of Jesus. His birth, the incarnation, is a *new* act of God. God becomes man, without ceasing to be God. This is not a depotentialization of God, but a self-limitation, the exercise of his power *within* the limitations of our creaturely reality. Astonishingly, the power of God is shown in his willingness to become little.

And then there is the death of Christ. In this act, God enters and reaches into our extinction and non-being. Once again, we see here a further dimension to God's love and purpose, and so into the inner logic of his creative activity.

The resurrection of Jesus shows us the limitlessness, the constancy,

the generosity and the hope of God's love. As nothing else, it shows the path God's love takes. God's presence is healing, restoring, renewing, even out of rejection, alienation, emptiness and despair. With the resurrection, we see God's refusal to pass by, to ignore, to forget. There is nothing and nowhere out of which God is not redemptive.

Once again, the action of God in resurrection allows us to understand the action of the triune God at a different and deeper level. If this is how God acts, it is how he will always act, and that in turn feeds into how we understand the action of God in creation. In the mission of Christ, *we see the utterly unexpected path the love and power of God takes*. God loved us so much that he gave up his only Son on our behalf; he accommodated himself to our smallness, by entering our extinction he undid the past to free us from our guilt.

In this process of identifying with, suffering, dying and rising again, we see the patience of the Creator with his creation. He chooses to display a power to restore and heal, not a power of coercion. At every step, we see God upholding, restoring and respecting the creaturely reality he has created. It is a process in which he safeguards the freedom he has given us, and undermines the power of evil by removing its victory and sting. The cross is the place of reconciliation, the hinge of his work, but we see that it is not the end. Christ rises again, and ascends to the right hand of the Father. This tells us that God's involvement in Christ *with his creation* was not a merely temporary phase, to be sloughed off like a snake's skin. Christ, clothed in his humanity, ever lives to intercede for us. He is the first-born of the new creation, who will bring many children to glory. So we see that the path of his birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension *reordered the creation. This was its purpose*.

On the basis, now, of this fuller understanding of incarnation, we may turn back to the doctrine of creation. The fact that the world is not a necessary emanation from God, or necessarily co-eternal with him, but that which he created through his Son and the Spirit, means that he is able to come into relation to it, while remaining distinct from it. Another way of putting this is to say that God created the world, through his Son and the Spirit, *in such a way* that it is given a limited, *but real* independence of its own. It is not necessary, but contingent. It does exist, but it need not have existed.

Let us take this further, looking more closely at the nature of the creation's *contingent reality*. Because God creates through his Son

and the Spirit, we come to an understanding of the world that it is both *real in itself* and yet *only itself* in relation to its creator. This is a theological understanding of the created world, which embraces human persons, the animal kingdom and the environment. It is given a real freedom and independence, but it does not contain its meaning in itself.

Understanding the incarnation, like this, in a properly Trinitarian way, means that we may think of it as a dynamic initiative, the healing, restoring movement of God's love. The doctrine of creation may be understood in the same perspective. God's involvement with that which he has made involves deliberate choice. It is an act of free grace, a *deliberate* act. But yet, like the incarnation, it is more than just a single act, once done then forgotten. The creation is not created and abandoned. Throughout, we have seen that this is never the path of God's love. Instead, the creation is creatively upheld and sustained in its existence beyond its own power in a relationship which both respects its freedom and brings it to its true purpose. It is from this Trinitarian theology that we draw a vision which affects how we relate to God, to other persons, and to the created world. It forms the basis of our ethics. Following the path of God's love, we, in our turn, are committed to live in costly communion with others, supporting the weak and the vulnerable. We are committed to receiving the world as *God's* world, allowing it to disclose itself, and forswearing manipulation, abuse and impatience.

It would be the wish of the delegates (and their successors) who drew up the first two agreed statements to take the dialogue further, and extend the Trinitarian vision which has been such a fruitful starting point. At a future meeting, they would hope to produce a common statement on the Church, and then, subsequently, on the sacraments, ordination and proselytising.

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A Threefold Controversy Concerning the Trinity: An Unregarded Attempt at Crosspollination Between the Christian and Islamic Faiths at Byzantium in 1180

DR. ANDREW F. STONE

The reign of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos is an interesting phase in the development of the Orthodox Church. On the one hand, it has been long recognized that this era was plagued with at least four major doctrinal, mostly Christological, controversies, which divided the clergy in their ranks as they tried to ascertain what the Orthodox position was. On the other, the emperor, following the precedent provided by his grandfather Alexios I, took the opportunity to intervene bodily and pronounce the verdict in each case; the reign can well be and has been regarded as the high point of Caesaropapism in the east. Indeed, clergy in their various posts found themselves required to praise the emperor in his role as *epistemonarches*, "supreme arbiter of understanding," as one might render this word. In addition, however, to the four separate controversies which are documented, we have in a funeral oration to Manuel of September 1180 by the erstwhile *maistor ton rhetoron* Eustathios, by then Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, allusions to the emperor's role in a dispute which seems to correspond in detail to no one of the four previously recognized controversies exactly, but which has elements of three of these supposedly separate issues; each is reflected in the Metropolitan's words, and the only conclusion one can draw is that by the time of Manuel's death not one of the three supposedly unorthodox positions had been totally suppressed; that is, that none of these three out of the four doctrinal controversies had been completely resolved. True, the rhetor attempts to isolate this last, fifth contro-

versy to one figure, an easterner, an "Assyrian wolf" (using the imagery Christ himself, as well as Paul, used in the New Testament); but the fact that there was an outburst of "heretical" opinion remains, and the three separate issues were apparently set forth as one doctrine by the "Assyrian;" a threefold controversy on the Trinity.

The passage of the funeral oration dealing with this threefold controversy¹ is quite extensive, and, therefore, will be presented in English translation in smaller, more manageable units, as an attempt to unravel the threads of the "Assyrian's" heresy. A comparison with the three pre-existing controversies will then be made. Following that we might reflect on the role of the emperor Manuel Komnenos in Church disputes. The passage begins:²

Not much time has passed, since a wolf of the east, an Assyrian evil, roared, inflicting Babylonian pain with his tongue upon the shepherd of God, and spewed forth an inauspicious sound. And to speak without figurative language, a certain man of another race, wise in his own knowledge, but babbling like a drunkard in respect of ours, barked like a dog against the most sacred things, or kicked out like a horse, snorting against his master, in matters of which he had no understanding. And he professed empty doctrines and bore with him strange fallacies; and just as if he were twisting snares, he also mixed together a book as he were set upon apostasy, and he tried to drive out that God-given knowledge which has been united with every man, and by fashioning another, which he should not have done, he revealed his lack of understanding to the one who is mighty with his hands and powerful in his words, the emperor, displaying his capacity for speaking against our most holy faith, and wishing to set up his own, like a house formed from sand, and foolishly trying to overthrow our own faith, over which not even the gates of Hades would have power.

This passage reveals then, that the heretic set forth his heresy in a book, which he presented to the emperor. The heresy obviously had some impact, if it was able to "drive out that God-given knowledge which has been united with every man." However, as we read on, we learn of the emperor's opposition to the doctrine, which was apparently successful:³

But the emperor swiftly attacking (for it was not characteristic of him to go to sleep in such matters), and recognising and holding out as a defence for himself those things which made the barbarian's ridicule

fall silent, then also gave to those who desired a counter-exposition, like a good general and a holy one, in a fashion suitable for the soldiers who themselves were training for such battles. And as all began aiming their bows against the beast successfully, the one armed with a broad quiver amongst them, the emperor was enriched by many of them sprouting wings as in the story; and the beast did not strike the hearts of the others, but himself is struck in his own heart. And God, who oversees this beast, yea indeed speaking well of him as in the Psalms, rejoiced. And now that chosen arrow is borne in the hands which love beauty, and in the sight which loves spectacles, and the one who released it is spoken of well and is blessed.

We shall resume the account of the resolution of the contest further on. What interests us here is that the rhetor further expounds on the controversy and reveals something of the nature of the issues involved. Let us consider the separate elements, and compare and contrast them to what is known of the major doctrinal controversies of Manuel's reign.

1. THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE EUCHARIST

The first controversy which it is appropriate to consider is that over the recipient of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, which first broke out much earlier in Manuel's reign, during the patriarchate of Constantine IV Chliarenos (1154-7). The controversy has been dealt with in two recent books, by Profs. Paul Magdalino and Michael Angold.⁴ It originated in the rivalry between, on one side, one who seems to have been a deacon, named Basil, who was later to receive the chair of the Teacher of the Gospel, and, on the other, the former Teacher of the Gospel, Michael, who became *protekdikos*, and his colleague, the Teacher of the Epistles, Nikephoros Basilakes. Basil would use his sermons to make veiled attacks on the other two, so in retaliation Michael and Nikephoros listened insidiously to his sermons to see if they could find fault with his Orthodoxy. In particular they focused on one sermon and Basil's interpretation therein of the words of St John Chrysostom's liturgy for the Eucharist, "Thou art he who offers and is offered and receives;" according to them Basil had stated, "the one and only Son of God is both the victim and the recipient of the sacrifice at the same time as the Father." This they claimed was separating the human from the divine too radically, and in effect was a proclamation of the anathematised Nestorian heresy.

Their argument was that the sacrifice was offered to the Father alone. The controversy became public, and the Synod, at the prompting of the Metropolitan of Russia, convened to deal with the issue on January 26, 1156.⁵ George Tornikes began proceedings by supporting Basil and affirming his belief that the sacrifice was made to all three persons of the Trinity, and was followed in this by most other members of the Synod, all of whom accepted the compromise formula, that the Word made Flesh offered a double sacrifice to the Holy Trinity; included was Michael, who merely said that he had formerly held a different opinion. But Nikephoros Basilakes had not been present and recanted, and he found himself a formidable ally in one who had also been absent and was to become the Patriarch of Antioch, Soterichos Panteugenos. Soterichos published a tract in the form of a Platonic dialogue defending his assertion that the sacrifice was made to the Father alone.⁶ When called to account, for he had been deemed by some to have increased the importance of the Father relative to that of the Son after the manner of Arius, the Patriarch demanded to be allowed to defend himself; this culminated in a meeting of the Synod in the Blachernae Palace presided over by the emperor himself on May 12, 1157.⁷ A profession of faith from each cleric present was demanded, and now it was the turn of Nikephoros Basilakes to recant, even admitting that he had first provoked the controversy. When it came time for the bishops to profess their faith, Soterichos Panteugenos was at first in difficulties, but then began to turn the debate in his favour. However, he was countered in debate by the emperor, and was finally persuaded by the argument that the persons of the Trinity would not want to exclude each other from the honor paid to any one of them. Although the Patriarch of Antioch made a written renunciation of his errors, the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, plus numerous others, pressed for his deposition. Although certain Metropolitans asked for more time to think, and proceedings were put off until the next day, Soterichos failed to appear that day, and he was deposed *in absentia*. The final redaction and signing of the synodal tome was delayed by the death of Constantine Chliarenos, for it is signed by the succeeding Patriarch, Luke Chrysoberges.

The point of presenting this background information *in extenso* is that it allows us to make sense of the second paragraph of the excerpt (204/84-204/95):⁸

Not the least part of this philosophy consists of the ecclesiastical contests which have gone before, in which there were imperial victories with God's aid, and a rooting out of the tongues which were against God, and keep the offering which saves the world apart from the great Sacrificer and his Spirit, restricting it to the Father, showing Him, as it were, a niggardly reverence, in case perhaps their offering might not be pleasing to the Trinity of God above, and as a result restricting it only to the Father, and excluding from this total and universal salvation both the Son, who came to them, and the Spirit, as if it were nothing, even though it has a share along with them.

From this excerpt of the passage in which we are interested, it would seem that our "Assyrian wolf" had resurrected the issue of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and himself argued that it was delivered to the Father alone. This would also have exposed him to charges of Arianism, and we would expect the emperor Manuel, who debated Soterichos Panteugenos so strenuously, to oppose this doctrine; it would seem, from a reading of the entire passage, that he did. The implication, however, would also seem to be that there was a basic groundswell of opinion on the recipient of the Eucharist which had not been entirely suppressed by the emperor and his adherents, for a foreigner to come into Constantinople and to be able to resurrect the issue. However, the heresy of the easterner was even more dangerous to the emperor's theological position and position as *epistemonarches* than merely opposing him on the issue of the Eucharist, for, it would seem, it opposed him on the Christological issue of the relative importance of the Father and Son as well.

2. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT "MY FATHER IS GREATER THAN I"

This second controversy we need to consider surrounded the doctrine of one Demetrios of Lampe, who had acted as an imperial envoy to Western courts and whose opinions the emperor refuted, taking the Western line. Kinnamos is emphatic that this controversy was very topical; indeed, major players aligned themselves on either side of the debate, as this speech suggests, including so prominent a personage as Alexios Kontostephanos, the emperor's nephew, who opposed the emperor's line. The political dimension of the dispute (for not only were lay people involved, but the deacons of the Great Church, meeting in their homes, swore not to visit the emperor sepa-

ately or in groups, and threatened to anathematise the emperor posthumously) is recognised by Angold in his book on the Church. What then was it all about?

Kinnamos tells us that the debate is over Christ's saying, "My father is greater than I" (John 14:28); that is, the debate was about the status of Christ in relation to God the Father. Magdalino and Beck point out that the debate was sparked by similar debates being held in Western Christendom at the time (indeed Kinnamos' account suggests as much); the debate raged between the party of Gilbert de la Porrée and Gerhoh of Reichesberg. Gilbert's party maintained that the human nature of Christ was lesser than that of the Father, whereas Gerhoh's party held that the risen Christ was equal to the Father even in respect of his human nature, holding that the saying in John 14.28 referred to Christ as he was before his glorification through his resurrection. Demetrios took the position of the latter party, dismissing the former line as nonsensical. Magdalino also notes that Manuel's preferred interpretation of Christ's saying, which corresponded to that of Gilbert de la Porrée, was actually the one he believed to have been adopted by the papacy, as communicated to him by a Latin theologian at his court, Hugo Eteriano (Eteriano had published his opinion in a treatise entitled *De Filii hominis minoritate ad Patrem Deum*, in which he pursued a similar line of reasoning to Gilbert de la Porrée¹⁰); that is, we can see Manuel attempting to bring Orthodox belief in line with Catholicism in an effort to facilitate the eventual reunion of the Churches, something which was currently being negotiated.

The emperor's position, and that of Eteriano, was, therefore, that Christ was inferior to God with regard to his Manhood but equal with regard to His Divinity; Manuel maintained his stance in the face of the acceptance of Demetrios' doctrine by the great majority of the clergy (so Kinnamos; Choniates says that there was a whole spectrum of opinion on the issue, and presents the emperor's line as one of many different interpretations). One of the few who stood by the emperor at the time, however, was the patriarch Luke Chrysoberges, even if the patriarch was initially cowed by the opposition of the deacons of the Great Church. The emperor and Luke Chrysoberges managed to prevail in their ruling in two Synods convened on March 2 and March 6, 1166, with the doctrine thus established being inscribed in flaming red letters in stone and set up in the Great Church in defiance of the deacons (we have much of the original inscription

also; four tablets from it were found in the mausoleum of Suleiman the Magnificent¹¹). Furthermore the emperor's doctrine was added to the profession of faith which the bishops of the Synod were required to make. Magdalino rightly sees the imposition of the emperor's preferred doctrine as the high point of Byzantine caesaropapism, and Angold likewise passes comment on Manuel's success in forcing his own view on the Church.

With the death of Luke Chrysoberges, opposition to the emperor's stance broke out again (early 1170). The new patriarch Michael III, however, also supported the emperor's line in the "My father is greater than I" debate; indeed, he seems to have been appointed as *hypatos ton philosophon* in 1166 because of his support for the emperor's position, and there is a wealth of Synodal acts from Michael's patriarchate supporting Manuel's doctrine.¹² This began with two Synods convened by the emperor in early 1170 (January 30 and February 18) to examine two outspoken critics of his preferred doctrine, the first to examine Constantine the Metropolitan of Corfu and the second John Eirenikos, abbot of the monastery of Battelas (on Mt. Boradion, near the Bosphoros). Both clerics were convicted and deposed.¹³ Even so, opposition to the imperial line persisted, and the controversy continued until well after Manuel's death, but throughout Michael III supported the emperor's stance, and it would seem that the succeeding patriarchs were at least complaisant.

Let us now turn to the beginning of the third paragraph of the passage from the funeral oration to deal with the 1180 controversy. It says:¹⁴

That dogmatic word has not yet been pronounced, and the destructive demon who was jealous if the Church of God was united, and if after ceasing from dissension it came together as one, and was joined in a spiritual similarity of mind, began meddling with the question of the greatness of the Father relative to the Son, as it was declared in the Gospels. And there were offences here also, some of them running in a similar fashion in the way of the Gospels, so that it was not that they did not run from every one of the correct ways to the limit, but they were able to be made to go in an orderly fashion by that way somehow in a very straight manner, but with others totally disinclining from the emperor's way, and inclining down into a gulf of destruction, so that in this way they fell of their own accord and were destroyed.

It can be seen that, superimposed on the re-emergence of the controversy surrounding the Eucharist, there is a dimension of this second controversy over the status of the Son relative to the Father also; again, the heresy was to increase the status of the Father relative to that of the Son after the manner of Arius.

But not only did this heresy smack of Arianism, but, as mentioned above, it would seem to have had a dimension of Nestorianism as well, in the way the human and divine natures of Christ would seem to have been separated by the Assyrian:¹⁵

When also some confused the correct judgment of the natures existing in the saviour God-man, so that one would also thus not be suspected of sinning, others contrived plots by an unmixed unity against the self-will of the division into two.

It is perhaps less surprising to see a dimension of the debate over "My Father is greater than I" in the "Assyrian's" heresy, as he was doubtless a convert from Islam, a religion which stresses the supremacy of a male God, as our excerpt would seem to indicate (see the first half of the first paragraph of the excerpt; the natural interpretation of this passage is that he was well-versed in his native religion). Therefore, one need also consider a third controversy, surrounding the catechism for converts from Islam, which was to plague Manuel in the twilight of his reign, to assess its relative importance as a factor in the "Assyrian's" heresy.

3. THE CATECHISM FOR CONVERTS FROM ISLAM¹⁶

The third controversy which impinges upon the controversy which is the subject of this paper took place when the emperor was suffering from his terminal illness. Nevertheless, once again he imposed his will on an unwilling episcopate. He proposed to remove the *anathema* against the God of Islam in the catechism for those who wished to convert from that religion to Christianity, substituting an abjuration of Muhammad and his teachings. This provoked an outbreak of rage from at least one of the episcopate, our friend Eustathios of Thessaloniki. However, the emperor threatened to convene a larger Synod and involve the Pope in the discussions. He finally prevailed. Magdalino has recognised the relevance of Western relations with the Seljuq sultanate to this initiative on the part of the emperor, though the suggestion may first have been made by a member of a Byzantine

family in Seljuq service, Haran ibn Gabras.

It can be seen that our controversy is not directly connected with the problem of the catechism, but is rather a parallel controversy surrounding apostates or at least one apostate from Islam. The Assyrian seems to have imported ideas from Islam, or at least to have been influenced by his native religion, in producing his doctrine of the Father. Angold comments that, in Seljuq Anatolia, it was impossible to keep Islam and Christianity apart; Islamic subjects would have their children baptised by Orthodox clergy, for example. But what we have here is one from Islamic climes importing ideas from his native religion into Christianity at Constantinople itself. As far as this author is aware, Eustathios' funeral oration for Manuel Komnenos is the only source to have yielded information about this second controversy surrounding a convert from Islam.

Therefore, let us sum up what we know about this last controversy of Manuel's reign.

4. THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE "ASSYRIAN"

We have ascertained that the controversy on which this paper focuses was inspired by a convert from Islam (this is suggested by his nationality and from the fact that he was "wise as to his own things") and that it harked back to earlier controversies, one over the recipient of the sacrifice of the Eucharist and one over the scripture, John 14:28, "My Father is greater than I." We also learn, from the first paragraph of the excerpt from the funeral oration, that the perpetrator of the controversy produced a small book outlining his doctrine, and that his views were contentious enough to divide the ranks of the clergy, with some espousing his views, though some of these later repented of this. Eustathios gives the emperor credit for making these latter clerics see sense. This is what the rhetor says of the resolution of the matter:¹⁷

And here again in turn the wise emperor journeyed along the path of God, and opened up scriptures, and led the way through them to the paradise of truth. And those to whom it did not occur that they should listen to the one who was calling them to salvation, those sons of destruction, were themselves destroyed, being subjected to persuasion, and were cast down altogether; but others, who followed the imperial, that is to say the divine and apostolic, teaching, and recognized their error, and had deviated only a little and nominally from

the correct path which God makes His own, but then turned back once more, and retraced their steps praiseworthily—these reaped the rewards of consorting with us gained and the truth.

It seems, from the dimensions this latest controversy seems to have assumed, that the two earlier controversies, the controversy over the Eucharist, and the controversy over the "Father is greater than I," were still very much alive. Therefore the emperor's success in quashing resistance to the imperial line on these issues was relative rather than absolute. Perhaps it is significant that they should be resurrected at a time when the emperor was less well equipped to counter arguments contrary to his preferred doctrine, while he was suffering from his terminal illness.

Interestingly, we have two alternative modes of assessment of the relative importance of the emperor's intervention in ecclesiastical affairs at the time of the Eucharist controversy from the two most important recent writers on Manuel and the Church, Profs. Magdalino and Angold. Magdalino prefers to see the early years of the reign as a period of strong imperial intervention or meddling in the patriarchate, resulting in its short patriarchal reigns and depositions. Angold prefers to see this as symptomatic of a Church that demanded imperial intervention to sort out its own affairs, and the latter years as more stable because of the emperor's increased interest in ecclesiastical matters. The speech discussed here shows that in the twilight of the reign, when the emperor no longer had the strength to intervene so forcefully we have an outbreak of the two earlier controversies, which were doubtless simmering quietly away in the background in the meantime. This would suggest that Angold's assessment, that the Church actually required imperial intervention to resolve its internal tensions, is to be preferred.

The portrait of this most caesaropapist emperor, Manuel I Komnenos, that emerges from Magdalino and Angold's books is one of an emperor who developed an interest in the affairs of the Church over his reign, and saw that it was necessary to impose doctrine upon it from above in his role as *epistemonarches* to keep the peace, even going so far, in the "Father is greater than I" controversy, to impose a personal view or one in line with his foreign policy rather than waiting for a pronouncement from Synod. Without constant pressure from the emperor, "the supreme arbiter of understanding," controversies

which were simmering below the surface were wont to break out, the symptom perhaps of a section of the clergy gaining intellectual confidence during a "Comnenian Renaissance." That the controversy over the "Assyrian's" Islamised version of Christianity gained currency would seem to be symptomatic of the emperor's weakness in the closing months of his reign. This final controversy is of interest therefore not only in its own right, but also because of what it reveals of the importance of the emperor in maintaining harmony in the Church in late twelfth-century Byzantium.

NOTES

¹ Tafel, *Eustathii opuscula*. Frankfurt, 1832, pp. 204/49-205/34.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 204/49-66.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 204/67-81.

⁴ P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 279-81; and M. Agnold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081-1261*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 82-3. See also J. Gouillard, "Le synodikon de l'orthodoxie: édition et commentaire" in *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967) 1-298. Our primary sources for the controversy are John Kinnamos, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. A. Meineke, Bonn, 1836, pp. 176-8, and *Patrologia Graeca* 140, ed. J.-P. Migne, cols. 137-201 (three separate works).

⁵ *Patrologia Graeca* 140, cols. 149-77.

⁶ *Ibid.* 140, cols. 137-48.

⁷ *Ibid.* 140, cols. 177-201.

⁸ Tafel, *op. cit.*, pp. 204/84-204/95.

⁹ Magdalino, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-90; Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-6; S.N. Sakkos, ὁ πατὴρ μου μεῖζων μου ἐστίν (Thessaloniki, 1968); H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der Orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 167-9; and J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 152-3 and 178; in the primary sources Kinnamos, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-7; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.A. van Dieten in the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, Berlin and New York, 1975, pp. 211-3.

¹⁰ A. Dondaine, "Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan" in *Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 19 (1952) 67-134, esp. Pp. 82-3, 123-4, and especially *id.*, "Hugues Éthérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166," in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77, 1958, pp. 473-83, esp. pp. 480-2.

¹¹ For the text see C. Mango, "The conciliar edict of 1166," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963) 317-30.

¹² Magdalino, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

¹³ For the proceedings of the Synod condemning Constantine of Corfu, see Sakkos, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-204.

¹⁴ Tafel, *op. cit.*, pp. 206/4-205/16.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 205/16-205/20.

¹⁶ Magdalino, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4 and 292; Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-3; Niketas Choniates, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-9.

¹⁷ Tafel, *op. cit.*, pp. 205/20-32.

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Address to Graduates

ARCHBISHOP SPYRIDON OF AMERICA

Following is the text of His Eminence's exhortation to the graduates at the May 16 HC/HC commencement.

“Christos Anesti! Ha Massiah Kam! Christ is Risen!”

Today we celebrate an annual rite of passage, the graduation of college and graduate students from our beloved and hallowed institutions, Hellenic College and Holy Cross Seminary.

For the graduates, this marks the commencement of another phase in the ever-unfolding adventure that is life. For the families, it marks another achievement in you loved one's lives of which you can be proud.

For the professors, it marks the successful formation of another generation of men and women seeking wisdom and spiritual understanding. And, for the Church, it marks the sending forth of another generation of voices to proclaim the saving message of Jesus Christ.

This, indeed, is a momentous occasion.

Now that you have completed your studies here at Hellenic College and Holy Cross Seminary, your Church, your professors, your families, and you yourselves are asking the same question: What is it you are to do, now that you have your degrees in hand?

The answer, quite simply, is to proclaim the Christian Gospel, as proclaimed by the community of saints through the centuries. Each within the context of your own walks of life.

In one sense, this may sound like a simple task, since the context of the Gospel is, to borrow the words of the Paschal troparion: “Christ is risen from the dead, trampling down death by death, and upon those in the tombs bestowing life.”

However, as you know from the last several years of study, it is not so simple a task. Indeed, it can be quite difficult, not just because of the theology involved, but also because of the praxis it requires.

Let us first consider the theology. You have spent many hours of exegeting the scriptures, drawing forth from them the exact meaning of the words and learning to identify the original intent of the authors. Likewise, you have spent many hours contemplating the interpretation of the Fathers, and analyzing how these interpretations have informed the Tradition of the Church.

In addition, during your years here, for countless hours you have worshipped according to the Church's liturgical order. And, hopefully, for an equal number of hours you have studied the theology underlying our liturgical practice, not to mention the fundamentals of dogmatic theology that bring us together as the Church in the first place.

At the same time, in the stillness of your own rooms — and in the stillness of your hearts — you have experienced the peace that comes with prayer.

Considering this, you are now, if we borrow St. Paul's image of the soldier, armed with knowledge — knowledge you must now use for the benefit of all. And you must use it wisely. In other words, you must apply what you have learned to today's context in a way that brings salvation to others.

According to the canons of our Holy Church, no one may interpret the Holy Scriptures apart from the teachings of the Church as they have been handed down to us from the Fathers of the Church.

These Fathers saw the sacred scriptures as part of the One Holy Catholic Divine Liturgical experience which ontologically transfigures the faithful into a Holy Eucharistic branch of the Vine of Christ.

It is only in this Eucharistic context that the Priesthood becomes a vehicle, which leads the faithful to trust not in their own human and worldly rationalizations, but rather to accept humbly and gratefully, and also to adopt as their way of life, the dogmatic understanding of God becoming man so that man could become as God.

What I have said just now — and what, as your spiritual father, I want to impress upon you — is an approach that is basic to Orthodoxy.

In fact, we can look to the spiritual father of us all, His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, as one who exemplifies this rule.

When His All Holiness came to America last year, he inspired the Greek Orthodox faithful of this country to rediscover their Byzantine roots. This was my prayer before his arrival, and I am most thankful to God that this prayer was fulfilled. For, as I often said before his visit, our Church in America would not grow to become all it was destined to become, if it let slip from her memory the Church of Constantinople, which first planted the seed of Greek Orthodoxy in this country. And so, with his visit came the rediscovery of our Byzantine heritage.

However, His All Holiness was not content to allow his pastoral visit to America to become a mere pilgrimage to the past. Instead, he used every opportunity to show how we Greek Orthodox Christians, the bearers of the Byzantine legacy, have something important to say to today's society.

We need to look at but one example: the environment. Orthodox theology has always taught the importance of environmental stewardship. At the same time, it is only now, after decades of environmental abuse at the hands of modern man, that the issue of environmental awareness has emerged at the forefront of the world's consciousness.

His All Holiness has raised his voice in this discussion, knowing that it is his obligation to bring the truth of our Faith to bear upon this very important contemporary issue.

Again, this is only one example among many. But the point is this: as bearers of the Byzantine Legacy, we are obligated, especially as leaders and future leaders of the Church, to present our legacy to this and future generations of Orthodox believers precisely as the living legacy that it is.

In other words, we have to present our legacy in such a way that it addresses people's very real concerns. We have to apply the Tradition in such a way that it addresses the real needs of the soul. And we have to offer our Faith in such a way that it brings illumination to the situations in which we live.

A wise person looks first to see from whence he came, so that he

may better understand where and who he is, and then may be illumined with the knowledge of where he should be going, and who he should be emulating. In this sense, therefore, I will be seeking to fill three academic chairs at our Holy School.

The first Chair has been endowed by Mr. Michael Cantonis and family. Its purpose is to ensure and promote the study of Hellenism in its fullness, first at the level of the Holy Cross School of Theology and, if possible, to all at Hellenic College.

The second Chair is the Archbishop Iakovos Chair of Theology. It has been inactive from the time Fr. Stanley Harakas retired. It will be reactivated in September and consideration will be given to special theological matters, which immediately affect the faithful of the Church.

The third Chair is dedicated to the study of Patristics and Patrology. Together with the other two chairs, my desire is that our graduates understand the full spectrum of their heritage, both from a spiritual and practical point of view.

So you see, proclaiming the message of salvation is not so simple a task. Or perhaps I should say, it is not as simple a task as you no doubt thought it would be when you first arrived here.

On the contrary, proclaiming the Gospel requires much of us. It requires love. It requires perseverance. It requires intellectual honesty. And it requires spiritual discernment.

And it is when we consider these — love, perseverance, honesty, and discernment — that we see how praxis — living the Faith — bears significantly upon the message we proclaim.

In fact, it is not by boasting triumphalistically of Orthodox theology that people will gravitate toward its truth. Rather, it is by witnessing our faithfulness to our own proclamation that they will be attracted to the Faith we share.

This goes for the clergy, and future clergy, among you. And it goes for the lay people among you. For *all* of you will be leaders in the Church — at the parish level, in our respective dioceses, and on the national level — men and women who, by virtue of your education and spiritual formation, will be looked upon by the Faithful, and others, to instruct and guide them.

My spiritual children, these are my words of exhortation to you as you leave the bosom of these institutions that have nurtured you these last several years. Along with your families, your professors, and all of the Faithful of the Church, I pray that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit will continue to bless you with the grace to accomplish the task now set before you.

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course of a most illuminating analysis of ethical approaches that "only in a relationship through worship to the linchpin of reality - that is, God - can fragmented moral practices be made whole" (121).

Does this basic liturgical emphasis lead away once again from a real engagement with contemporary problems? On the evidence of these essays, quite the contrary. To quote Bishop Basil again, "...our own sacramental practice says that the Spirit of God is working both outside and inside the Church, to bring people into life in Christ... unless we can recognise the Spirit at work... in the culture in which we live... - we will not be in touch with reality" (36). This book is about nothing if not the "real world." But it also reveals that there is more to "reality" than meets the secular or moralistic eye.

Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff

George A. Vayanos, *Ἀνδρας-Γυναίκα*, (Translation: *Man, Woman*) Valuable Appraisal from the Early Church, [In Greek] (Gregory Palamas, Thessaloniki, 1993, pp. 90)

Dr. Vayanos is considered today in Greece, not only as a prolific writer, but also as an enlightened scholar. He has offered valuable opinions and suggestions, as far as the religious education in the elementary and secondary education in Greece. With this book, Dr. Vayanos touches upon a most important and sensitive subject, that is, man and woman, and how the early Church appraised their relations. His research is based on a historical, theological, social, and anthropological level. On the basis of his research, he establishes four basic presuppositions, upon which religious education must be taught to the youth. First, that man and woman are fundamental instruments of life itself. Secondly, that the ever-changing social circumstances have their own cultural basis. Third, that equality of the inter-gender relation is a very important fact of life and society. And, fourth, it effects society.

In any case, Dr. Vayanos successfully presents in his book, the dynamic presence of the two genders, in the framework of the historical and social development of the early Church. In other words, the dynamics of the Scripture, and the experience of the early Church, are the axis and the compass, which consist of the valuable and the viable for sound directions and a sound religious education program.

On the basis of these biblical and patristic backgrounds, Dr.

Vayanos concludes correctly, that the Church recognized woman's natural ability to contribute to the social needs of the human community. Additionally, the Church recognized that women are endowed with all the necessary intellectual ability and efficiency to administer to the social services of the people around them.

Dr. Vayanos discusses the famous verse of St. Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians (Chap. 11:13), where Paul speaks about the obedience that women must have to men. In a wise manner, Dr. Vayanos suggests that these opinions must be seen from the point of view of Orthodox Christology and ecclesiology. This is where Christian love is the ultimate criterion of the true relations of two human beings, those who really love each other. In this context, Dr. Vayanos points to the importance of Clement of Alexandria's opinions as far as the relations between man and woman are concerned. Clement of Alexandria, a great theologian of the 3rd Century, stresses the importance of the equality of the genders. He resists the attitude of some of the pagan and heretical Christians who diminish the role of women. He asserts that such an attitude is a blasphemy against the Christian name. Naturally, Dr. Vayanos does not hide the fact that ecclesiastical men of the 3rd and 4th Centuries, like Origen, Tertullian, and Epiphanius of Salamis, look at women in an merciless manner. But, for them, as well as for all the Fathers of the Church, the Golden Rule is the Pauline dictum, "there is no male and female, all of you are one in Christ..." (Gal. 3:28).

This concludes the summary of Dr. Vayanos' book on man and woman in the ancient Church. The information and material that he offers is ample, and his style of writing is most attractive. In addition, those who are dealing with the religious education of young people will find Dr. Vayanos' book most edifying and useful.

Prof. George S. Bebis

George S. Vayanos, *Γάμος-Παρθενία*, (Translation: *Marriage and Virginity*) In Accordance with the Ancient Sources of Christian Literature, [In Greek] (Gregory Palamas, Thessaloniki, 1994)

With this work, Dr. George Vayanos, Professor of Pedagogy of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, has touched upon two very sensitive subjects: married life and the state of virginity. I must add here, that I am not comfortable with the translation of

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Appendix: What Does It Mean to Be Reformed?

DR. CARNEGIE SAMUEL CALIAN

To be Presbyterian is to be part of a "Reformed" heritage associated with the Swiss Reformers of the Sixteenth Century. Some of the noted Swiss reformers were Ulrich (Huldreich) Zwingli (1484-1531) and Heinrich Bullinger (1404-75) both of Zurich, John Oecolampadius (1482-1531) of Basel, Berchtold Haller (1492-1536) of Berne, Guillaume Farel (1489-1565) of Neuchatel, and the immigrant Frenchman to Geneva, John Calvin (1509-1564). We continue to this day to be influenced through Calvin's legacy of writings, especially his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Presbyterians would be greatly enlightened today if discussion groups were started in churches to study Calvin's *Institutes* in the light of Scripture. Such an effort could certainly revive the Reformed heritage among us and usher in a new generation of ownership to the tradition.

What is it that these Reformers emphasized? Presbyterians have long been identified as the exponents of predestination, but a more significant characteristic is their emphasis on "always being reformed" according to the Word of God. The popular Latin slogan, *Ecclesia reformata, semper reformanda* ("The church reformed and always to be reformed"), places importance on the church's need to seek constant renewal. The church is a living organism, subject to the leading of the Holy Spirit. Implicit in the Presbyterian understanding of the church is dissatisfaction with the *status quo*. The church is always in need of improvement, we must never cease learning with relevance and sensitivity in response to changing realities. At the heart of the Reformed tradition is an essential commitment to God's grace wit-

nessed in Scripture, encountered in Christ, and experienced in daily life.

Trusting in the sufficiency of God's grace enables Reformed believers to rejoice in the limitless power of God. Yet in the same breath, we are faced with the mystery of God which lies beyond human comprehension. We experience God's mysterious power as Trinity, whose triune nature intercedes in our lives but exceeds our understanding. God is greater than our grasp, at the same time, the distance between us is narrowed by our experiences of God's grace. This in turn enables us to celebrate the Divine presence in our midst, nurtured as we are from grace to grace, from mercy to mercy every moment of our lives. We Presbyterians believe that we have no other guarantee in life than the reality of God's grace. Within the Reformed tradition, all experience of genuine forgiveness and love are attributed to Divine grace and mercy in action.

Presbyterians pride themselves on being realistic Christians. This is due to the Reformed emphasis that human nature is not perfect nor are human achievements self-sufficient. From a Reformed perspective, all cultural and scientific "advancements" are subject to theological scrutiny. What is asked for is a reforming attitude toward the totality of life. In the spirit of "always being reformed," believers are challenged to question existing practices and innovations in the church and in society. Our freedom in Christ enables us to work for justice with love in a changing world. Our reforming stance also encourages us to be ecumenical in our outreach and concern for others.

Influenced by the Reformed tradition, Presbyterians take their work ethic seriously. Whatever our means of livelihood, our jobs and professions are viewed as a calling, a vocation before God which demands our best efforts. This attitude is at the center of Reformed understanding of stewardship. Influenced by Calvin's teaching, we are expected to view life as a process of holy living exhibiting self-denial, seeking always God's will and destiny. What characterizes a Reformed Christian in practice, is his or her unending passion for God's will, while practicing responsible stewardship; the Ten Commandments serve as benchmarks to guide our behavior. Obviously, most Reformed Christians fall short of the mark. Presbyterian realism therefore sees our lives oscillating between forgiveness and thanksgiving. We are also encouraged to live a life of simplicity, to be savers and conservers of personal and natural resources.

Responsible stewardship for Reformed followers ultimately leads us to a life of gratitude and generosity, we are primarily thankful for Divine forgiveness personified in Christ. Through a spirit of thanksgiving and sharing we give glory to God, grateful that there is a Divine purpose for each of us, whatever our circumstances in life. In the deepest sense, we see ourselves as the People of God called to be chaplains to one another, whatever our particular gifts may be, looking always to the Spirit's leading in the employment of our talents and resources.

While the historic development of the Reformed tradition is indebted to the Swiss Reformers, and especially to Calvin, no single definition of "Reformed" faith to this day has emerged to form a consensus. This is due in part to the tradition's reforming stance reflected in our history of confession-making exemplified in the Presbyterian Church (USA) *Book of Confessions*. Calvinists (followers of the Swiss Reformers) became in time a Protestant alternative to Lutherans and Anabaptists. Common to all interpretations by Swiss Reformers of "Reformed" faith is an underlying commitment to the Word, the sacraments, and discipline.

Faithfulness to (1) the Word of God, (2) the sacraments and (3) discipline is the distinguishing mark for churches within the Reformed tradition. To anchor theological reflections in the Word of God (Scripture) is the cornerstone in the formulation of Reformed beliefs. The Bible continues to have an authoritative place in the shaping of Presbyterian reality today. This is witnessed in the present discussions and debates taking place in the life of the church.

The common ground for all followers within the Reformed tradition is the centrality of Christ—his life, death, and resurrection offer salvation from our alienation from God and neighbor. This is the message behind the symbols of baptism and the Eucharist. Our participation in the sacraments of baptism and holy communion expresses our acceptance of God's healing power on our behalf. This is why the cross of Christ signifies hope at the center of our life together.

Discipline in the Reformed churches is manifested through several forms of church governance: Congregational, Episcopal, and Presbyterian. The word "presbyterian" actually refers to the practice of church governance consisting of clergy and laity elected by the church and organized through judicatories at the local, regional and national levels to enforce church order and discipline. The Presbyte-

rian Church (U.S.A.) follows its forebears in Scotland and England in the practice of representative governance beginning through its presbyteries. We owe much of our discipline to the Scottish Reformer John Knox (1514-1571). Any of the above forms of governance chosen within the family of Reformed churches share a common Calvinistic heritage; internationally the churches of this Calvinistic heritage have been organized into a fellowship known as the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, which represents 70 million Christians in 99 countries and consists of 198 member churches primarily of Presbyterian and Congregational origin.

Reformed Christians do have their disagreements and unresolved issues. In the midst of our debates within our extended family, we need to recognize the fact that our tradition is not dead. A vital tradition embodies a conflict of interpretations. There is no absolute norm that satisfies all members of the Reformed family. A healthy family does not press for uniformity at the expense of testing ideas and a range of views. A split on one issue may cause turmoil, but the family with many issues can find space for agreement and disagreement on varied concerns while staying bonded together in love, mutual forgiveness, and hope, continuing to wish one another well in the journey of faith under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and by the grace of God seeking "always to be reformed."

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Commencement Address

METROPOLITAN NICHOLAS OF AMISSOS

May 16, 1998

Beloved and Most Esteemed Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch
Archbishop Spyridon,

Beloved Brother Metropolitan Isaiah, President of this venerable
institution,

Beloved Brother Metropolitan Methodios,

Reverend Clergy, the Dean, Professors, Alumni, and Staff of this
Sacred School,

Honored guests, special friends, and family members, brothers and
sisters in Christ,

And last, but certainly not least, you - the graduates of Hellenic
College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology for the
year 1998, Christ is Risen!

Christos Anesti!

Christ is Risen!

I greet you this morning with this sweetest salutation of our Or-
thodox Faith and Orthodox tradition, as we gather to celebrate a new
beginning in each of your lives. Today is your commencement... your
setting sail, if you will, and embarking on a new voyage of discovery
in the lifelong journey of faith.

You have assembled in this place, in the presence of your spiritual
elders and guides, in the presence of your professors and teachers, in
the presence of your family and loved ones, and most importantly, in
the presence of your Archbishop and spiritual father. You have not
come here merely to receive a diploma, which is the outward and

visible sign of your accomplishments here at Hellenic College/Holy Cross, but you have come to receive a blessing, to receive a charge, and to receive a mission. The Church is sending you out... to preach, to heal, to save, to love.

Some of you have spent seven years in this holy place, others four, others only three. But however many years you have labored here, just as in the parable of the eleventh hour, the reward is the same. The Church, in acknowledging your dedication and devotion to learning the substance, the *ousia* of the faith, is also calling you to a life of service, of *diakonia*.

The blessing that you receive today is like the blessing received by the patriarchs of Israel when they reached the age of majority and departed from the homes of their parents. It is an embrace of love, full of hope and expectation for the future. It is a gift freely given, granted in the perfect freedom that our Risen Lord wills for each and every one of us.

Some of you are blessed to become priests; others to become ministers and workers in the Holy Church; others to engage the world in all its variety as fully committed Orthodox Christians - but the blessing that you receive today is one and the same. Your Archbishop, your Bishops, your spiritual elders, your teachers, your fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, brothers and sisters, they all hope the same thing for you — success, prosperity and a long, healthy and meaningful life. Without reservation, without hesitation, without compromise, you graduates have the heartfelt blessing of this assembly, from the greatest to the least. Freely is it given. Freely receive it and make it your own, so that you may pass it along to someone else one day.

But along with our thoughts and words of benediction, there also comes a charge. For with the recognition of what you have attained at this Sacred Institution of the Church, comes the responsibility to go forth for the service of Christ and that same holy Church, which is His Body.

For you have not received this blessing that comes with your graduation from Holy Cross or Hellenic College only for yourselves. We were not born only for ourselves, but for others.

Your years at this Seminary and the only Orthodox Christian College in America have been years in which the seeds of a great spiritual harvest have been planted. For this is the very meaning of the word,

Seminary, a place where seeds of belief are cultivated and nourished, that they may bring forth fruit, spiritual fruit.

And as the Lord promised to those who would dare to become His disciples:

“You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that you should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should abide” (St. John 15:16).

And we know what this fruit is. It is love... love for our God Who is glorified in Trinity... love for His Holy Bride, the Church... and love for one another. If we are actively pursuing the spiritual life, this fruit will be manifest in our thoughts, our actions, our words, and our demeanor. For the fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace patience, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and self-control (cf. Galatians 5:22).

My beloved graduates what I am really saying is that the evidence of your success here at Hellenic College and Holy Cross cannot be deemed only by the diploma you receive today. It cannot be limited to the course-work... to the volumes you have read and the lectures you have heard. Even the finest academic pursuits are, by their very nature, limited because of the manner in which they are learned.

Think of it! Treatises that took years to write and compile - the homilies of the fathers, the great epic poems of the classical authors, works of science and the investigation of the natural world. How long does it take to read a book? And yet, can you realistically expect to absorb all the experiences of the author, their personal context, their world and all that made them what they were, by devouring their articulated words in a few short hours? You may have comprehended to some extent their factual knowledge; perhaps gained many of their insights, but their experience, the toil and labor of their soul which produced the work, can never be fully captured. Those of you who have written a thesis or a major research paper of your own know this by experience.

Look at the very creation itself. The Lord created everything by His Word, the Logos of God. He said: “Let there be light!” And there was light. The magnitude of this one simple divine act still eludes the understanding of humanity. Beloved graduates, it is not the words that give life, but the Word of Life Himself. He is the creative and creating Word which endows every breath with the word of praise that the Prophet David sings of in his Psalms. He is the Word Who

can only be perfectly heard in perfect silence, the silence that St. Isaac the Syrian calls the language of the Angels, the language of the age to come.

Your years at this wonderful school are full of much more than you may think, and the real proof of your achievements on this Holy Hill will not be found in either the words you have heard, or the words you have read. It will be evidenced in the testimony of words which proceed out of your hearts. For the heart is the most compelling witness of all.

Love... joy... peace... patience... goodness... gentleness... faith... meekness... self-control these are test scores that prove you have passed the examinations in this holy place. Let them be the standards by which you will be measured in the world you are entering, as graduates of this Sacred School.

As you all know, we live in the so-called "information age." Our ability to store and retrieve knowledge is greater than at any other time in human history. Computers have changed the way we think about knowledge, and changed the way we think. With so many resources at the command of our fingertips with the ability to collect and transmit information at lightning speeds with an ever-increasing range of mastery over the details of technology, there can arise a mistaken sense of control over the world in which we live.

Let us never forget, that all of the advancements to which you have been privileged during your formative years here at Holy Cross, are only tools that enable and facilitate learning. They are not knowledge itself, but a means to acquiring information. And most certainly, they are not the fruits of true, spiritual knowledge. Competency and a grasp of information, whether it be scientific, linguistic, or even religious information, is not the same thing as knowledge.

St. Gregory Palamas speaks, in one of his sermons on the Transfiguration, about the kind of knowledge that can be acquired through the windows of the five physical senses: sight - which Aristotle deemed the most precious, hearing, touch, smell, and taste. This kind of knowledge comes from outside the human person. It is, by definition, integrated, formulated and articulated differently by each and every one of us; for we are all different and unique persons. But it will always remain subject to the fallen and faulty nature of our experience. As St. Paul put it: "For now we see through a glass darkly."

However, St. Gregory speaks of another kind of knowledge, a

knowing that is infused in the human person through the direct action of God. Again, it may be said to come from without, meaning from God who is absolutely Other than what we are. But through the miracle of the incarnation of His Only-Begotten Son, God Himself has deigned to share our human nature, to become that which He was not. "And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us."

Through His immense love for humankind, He shares all that we are except sin, and through His participation in our nature, He opens the way for us to participate in His. Recall how on the Holy Cross, which we so honor in this Theological School, when He had given up His spirit, the veil of the Temple was rent in two, from top to bottom. For He descended from on high and bowed the heavens for our sake, because we were not capable to rise up to Him. Our way was cut off by sin, closed by the corruption of our nature, and imprisoned in the tomb by death.

The way which He opened up for us, St. Paul calls "a new living way, which He has consecrated for us through the veil" and not any veil which covers a man-made tabernacle, but, as the Apostle continues, "His flesh" (cf. Hebrews 10:20). He Who called Himself, "the Way, the Truth and the Life" has become for us both the destination and the journey, the beginning and the end, for He is the Alpha and Omega. He condescended and allowed His own flesh, the flesh that He took from the Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary, the flesh that she nurtured at Her own breast, the flesh that lived a perfect life without sin in the midst of every temptation that humanity is liable to suffer: He allowed that flesh to be rent... to be torn... even shattered. By a crown of thorns... by the blows and beatings... by the scourging... by the nails... and finally in death's icy grip, by the lance. All this, and more; the unspeakable indignities of His Holy Passion... why? Because He loved us. Because He loved us with a love that could not be conquered by hatred; with a love that could not be conquered by envy or jealousy; that could not be conquered by fear and loathing; that could not be conquered by pain and suffering; that could not even be conquered by death and destruction. For He is the Conqueror of death! What a marvelous knowledge this is! Before His Passion, on Palm Sunday, we cried out to Him and called upon Him as "the Conqueror of death." We sang Hosannas to His Name and blessed the One Who came in the Name of the Lord. And in the darkness of the early morning of the Holy Pascha, we called Him Conqueror again

as we chanted the *kontakion* ablaze with joy and said: "Though Thou didst descend into the grave, O Immortal One, yet didst Thou destroy the power of Hades, and didst rise again, as Conqueror, O Christ our God!"

What a knowledge to possess, to carry within our hearts and minds and souls. A superior and higher knowledge, does not exist. And it is because He is victorious, that He shares His own victory with us, and incorporates us into His Body, the Church, through Baptism, and deigns that we partake of His Very Flesh and drink His Divine Blood in the Holy Liturgy.

This participation paves the way for us to experience the infused knowledge of God that St. Gregory speaks of.

It prepares us to behold the light of the Transfiguration from within. It is the third degree of knowledge that the blessed Saint Isaac speaks of in his homilies, knowledge beyond the natural world, and knowledge beyond that which our finite minds can articulate concerning the supernatural world. It is the difference between religious information and true theology. It is the difference between reading a book about prayer and actually praying. It is the difference between studying a liturgical text and worshipping with one. It is the difference between reading the notes of the music and chanting from the depths of our souls. It is the difference between teaching religion and handing down the faith. It is the difference between thinking that you are, as Descartes postulated, and being who you are, the image and likeness of God.

This is the knowledge that brings meaning to our lives, a meaning which quickens, which brings life and is life-giving. It is founded not upon the basis of what we can absorb through our senses, or what we can manipulate through technology. It is founded on faith, hope and above all, love. It is the glimpse beyond the dark glass, beyond the enigma of our own understanding. It is the knowledge that comes from the face to face, person to person encounter with the living God. It is to know, even as we are known. It is knowledge beyond all knowing, and although it is incomprehensible and indeed, ineffable, it is most certainly not beyond all telling.

My dear graduates and brothers and sisters in Christ if you have truly applied yourselves to your studies here at Hellenic College and Holy Cross, then you have accepted the obligation to speak of this knowledge to others, to share it with the world. And this is the mis-

sion, the apostolate to which we have all been called and appointed, whether we serve the Church as ordained persons or not.

For it is not enough that we bear fruit, even if we bear it abundantly, if we do not share it with others. As the Lord said to His Disciples on the Mount where He fed the five thousand: "You give them something to eat." Go forth to feed the world, not with the food that perishes, but with the Bread of Life.

The fruits of the Spirit are not for our nourishment alone. The harvest is plenteous. As St. John Chrysostom reminds us in his Paschal homily:

"The table is full-laden: do ye all fare sumptuously. The calf is ample: let none go forth hungry. Let all partake of the banquet of faith. Let all partake of the riches of goodness."

Why else would our Merciful Lord give us the image of fruit for those qualities of the inner person which exemplify the very best in our nature?

What good is love, if it is only love of self? Can such a love truly be named love?

What good is joy, if it is not spread to others whose hearts are weighed down with sadness?

What good is peace, if it does not heal the broken bonds between brothers?

What good is patience, if it is not endured for the sake of all other's tranquillity?

What good is gentleness, if it does not assuage another's woes?

What good is goodness, if it passes by on the other side?

What good is faith, if it does not move mountains?

What good is meekness, if it does not build an inheritance in the earth?

What good is self-control, if it is not exercised to turn swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks?

This is not some theoretical application of lessons learned, but authentic *praxis* — action based on true *theoria*, the vision of God. Only by beholding such a vision with the inner eyes of the soul can we fulfill the mission that God has called us to.

Our Lord Jesus Christ has shown us the way, for He is the Way. Everything that you take from this precious School that prepares you to follow Him in His paths, will be utterly useless to you, unless you share it with others. Share it willingly, share it lovingly and share it freely.

Do not allow the charts and maps you have so diligently studied here to substitute for the journey! How easily this can happen in the spiritual life. You may read a book, hear a sermon or a lecture, and all that you have heard or read enters into your understanding as another turn in the spinning globe that graphs the spiritual life. But it remains only an outline, a description of a reality that you do not yet know for yourself, by grace, and by experience.

Again I say to you, beloved graduates, the map is not the journey. In fact, it can only hint at the valleys that must be crossed, the rivers that must be forged, and the mountains that must be climbed.

And the hardest mountain for you will not be Sinai, or Horeb, Carmel or Tabor. The hardest mountain is not the highest; neither is it the most majestic. The view is not spectacular. It will not take your breath away. But it can breathe life into others. If you can follow Him all the way to Golgotha, to the Mountain which grew from the rock that came forth unhewn from the Virgin and grew into a love that fills the world. The Prophet Daniel beheld this stone cut without hands, which became the greatest of all mountains, and filled the earth (cf. Daniel 2:34,35).

This mountain can only be scaled by sacrificial love, by a life lived in and by the Spirit of God. And from this mountain top, you will see your fellow man not at his best, but at his worst.

You will see him crippled, like the paralytic at the well of Bethesda. You will see him blind, like the man born blind at the pool of Siloam. You will see him mad with every manner of human frailty, like the Gadarene demoniac. You will see him beaten and nearly dead from sin and corruption, like the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho. And you will see him dead and rotting in tombs of self-hatred, like Lazaros in the grave.

And it is this person, of whom you must look with all your love, and all your joy, and all your peace, and all your patience, and all your gentleness, and all your meekness, and all your self-control. For when you have begun to live like this, then you have laid aside your map and commenced your journey.

He Who is the Way has already shown you how to travel. "Take neither gold nor silver, nor brass in your satchels, neither money for your journey; neither two coats, neither shoes, not even a staff" (St. Matthew 10:9,10).

He will provide for your every need along the way, for He is the

Way. He is Life itself. How could He not be able to provide for your needs? The substance of the world, all the money in the world, cannot feed the soul. And because "all who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ," there is no need for a second covering for your sins.

And if the Gospel has become beautiful to you, then as the Prophet Isaiah says, your feet will be beautiful and you will leap upon the mountains without effort and without toil. You will mount up with wings as eagles. You shall run and not be weary. You shall walk and not faint.

And let there be no other staff for you to lean upon than the staff that brought forth water in the desert place, the staff that drove back the Red Sea and drowned Pharaoh, the staff that routed Amalek and brought victory to Israel of old the Holy, Precious and Life-giving Cross of our Savior. The Cross that you have honored all your years on this Holy Hill.

For if you live His Life, and follow His Way, then you shall not only know the truth, you shall live the truth. For He is not only the Way and the Life, but He said "I AM the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

Perhaps of all the subjects that you have investigated here at Hellenic College and Holy Cross, the truth shall remain the most elusive, for to know the truth, is to become totally and completely free. Free of every desire, free of every passion, free of every care, free of every sorrow, free of every burden.

Being true and being of the Truth are one and the same. It is not a question of facts and figures, of accuracy or lack of distortion. It is not whose version comes clear to the truth. The greatest lie of all is the one that most closely approximates the truth; for it is more likely to deceive the weaker among us.

The truth can only be known in the living out of itself. If your life does not reflect those fruits of the Spirit, then it cannot be of the truth. As St. John the Theologian says: "He who does not love his brother, abides in death" (John 3:14).

And so, beloved graduates, on this day when your teachers and your elders have deemed you worthy to commence your journey, I ask you to lift up your eyes and lift up your hearts. The Way is before you, and you know the way.

If you are willing to follow it, to leave the fantasy and comforts of

planning the journey, and really and truly set out on a life worth living, then embrace the Truth with all your heart.

Go forth from this little mountain we call the Holy Hill and live, work, raise families, minister in the Holy Churches of God, and as you have freely received the truth, freely give it to others.

Go forth to live in the perfect freedom that our Resurrected Lord grants to each one of us.

Go forth, and by your love, set others free.

Christos Anesti!

RESPONSE UPON RECEPTION OF HONORARY DOCTORATE

Glory to God for all things! I am most grateful and humbled to receive this honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from this noble institution of the Orthodox soul – Holy Cross Theological School.

Though the fathers of the Church warn against such honors and distinction as playing into pride's hand, I assure you that I give thanks and glory in the first and most important place to Christ the High Priest for my 40 years of priesthood, for my 15 years as a Hierarch in the Holy Orthodox Church, and for my service to the Good Shepherd's flock—"the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the people set apart."

The esteem which you show me in bestowing this degree upon me brings genuine joy and warmth to my heart. Our Carpatho-Russian Diocese blessed to be under the protection of the Great Church of Constantinople and shares with you the ancient heritage of that Mother Church. It was the Greek missionaries Saints Cyril and Methodius, whose feast we have just celebrated, who brought the Faith to the land of my ancestors.

It was to the Great Church that my predecessor Metropolitan Orestes of thrice-blessed memory committed our newly-formed Diocese when her sons and daughters returned to the Holy Orthodox Faith. To receive this distinction from this honorable institution of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, under the care and pastoral guidance of my brother bishop and spiritual leader Archbishop Spyridon is for me a weighty honor indeed.

May I view this honor, with your gracious permission, as an affirmation of my strongly-held conviction that unless bishop and priest fully live each day as the "*iatros pneumatikos*" the "doctor of soul,"

he will not be faithful to the ministry entrusted to him. This is the heart of priestly and episcopal service. This is the deepest understanding and definition of ecclesiastical ministry. It is as helper physicians of the Divine Physician Christ Jesus, that any of us who stand at His altar should be remembered in our lives.

I thank you once again for this touching honor and I ask your prayers that I may continue to be “a good and faithful servant” of the One High Priest of us all Christ Jesus the Lord. *Christos Anesti!*

Christos Anesti! Christos Anesti!

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***Communicatio Idiomatum* and *Deificatio* of Human Nature: A Reformed Perspective**

PROF. ALASDAIR HERON

INTRODUCTION

I feel I must begin this paper with something of an apology, or at least explanation, for the fact that I could not bring a presentation prepared (and photocopied) in advance. As my friends here know, I suffered various injuries last year and was largely out of action for several months. Since returning to a more active life last summer I have been struggling to catch up on a backlog decorating my desk and virtually every other surface in my study! So what I am offering you now is mainly the product of some hours of reflection here in Limassol following the initial presentations on Saturday. I hope it may nevertheless serve as a critical and constructive contribution to our dialogue.

1. Sighting the Theme

Let me begin by striking what may seem a discordant note. The idea of the *communicatio idiomatum* or, to express it otherwise, the perichoretic exchange of attributes between the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ, was not originally a main or central topic in the classical Reformed teaching of the sixteenth century. It was in fact a theme which Calvin and others treated with considerable reserve, even distrust. The immediate context and background of their suspicion was a series of controversies between Reformed and Lutheran theology which began in the 1520s, flamed up again in the 1550s and led to the confessional separation between the Lutheran and Reformed traditions enshrined on the Lutheran side by the *For-*

mula of Concord in the 1570s, and on the Reformed side by the continuing conflicts with Lutheranism — at least in central Europe — in the era of Lutheran and Reformed Orthodoxy. Elsewhere the Reformed tradition developed with very little contact with Lutheran thought except as a foil; but in that development a memory of the controversies remained alive and contributed to the maintenance of the old boundaries, assisted in part by a process of stereotyping the differences, simplifying and hardening them. So the Reformed pilloried the Lutheran doctrines of *ubiquitas* — the omnipresence of Christ's humanity — and *consubstantiality* — the presence of the body and blood of Christ "in, with and under" the eucharistic elements of bread and wine — while the Lutherans attacked what they termed the *extra-Calvinisticum*, the idea that Christ's eucharistic presence, or indeed his presence in the world in any way today, is an attribute solely of his divine nature, not of his humanity. Lutheran theology came to ascribe to the Reformed the motto *finitum non capax infiniti*, while laying claim for itself to the conscious and deliberate alternative: *finitum capax infiniti*, sometimes clarified by the additional gloss, *non per se sed per infinitum*.

This may all seem very strange, abstruse and remote from the concerns and interests of our dialogue. What, after all, can one expect our Orthodox brethren to gain from a rehearsal of ancient controversies between divergent Lutheran and Reformed traditions within the "Protestant Schism" itself a further fragmentation within the "Western Schism?" Since, however, we on the Reformed side of the dialogue have honestly and openly to present our tradition in all its diversity and with an eye to how it has grown, to what has shaped it and to the forms it has taken and takes — forms that deserve to be taken seriously and not merely caricatured or quietly ignored - it is, I think, necessary to draw attention to the issues, questions and problems that have shaped and informed Reformed theological, liturgical and practical articulation from the 16th century. For, to be honest, we Reformed Christians inhabit a different province of the Christian world from our Orthodox brothers and sisters. It is a *different* province, a different *province*, yet a province in *the same Christian world*, for which under the Triune God, our Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, we share a common responsibility as theologians, as Christians, as teachers and as ecclesiastical representatives.

But it is time to come to substantive theological matters. Why was

the Reformed tradition in the 16th century unwilling to accept or associate itself with the Lutheran doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*?

2. *The Lutheran-Reformed Eucharistic Controversy*

The controversy between Luther and Zwingli exploded with the eucharistic question. Zwingli had gathered around 1524 from the writings of the Dutchman Hoen — who in turn depended on Jan Hus — that the Lord's Supper is a *symbolic* celebration. Behind Hus' interpretation lay the theology of John Wycliffe. Zwingli thus interpreted the eucharist as a symbolic, memorial meal, as such an expression of faith in Jesus Christ in his singular and unrepeatable self-sacrifice "for us and for our salvation." So — without at first realizing it — Zwingli went well beyond Luther's critique of medieval Eucharistic theology. In *De balylonica captivitate* (1520) Luther had made three main attacks: on the understanding of the Mass as a sacrifice; on the dogma of transubstantiation; on the withholding of the chalice from the laity. He continued, however, to believe most strongly in the substantial presence of Christ's body and blood "in" the eucharistic elements together with the (unaltered) substance of bread and wine. Just how seriously he took this "real presence" is illustrated by an incident shortly before his death. While celebrating the eucharist he accidentally spilled the wine — and promptly got down on all fours to lick it up. That is how literally he took the dominical words of institution, *hoc est corpus meum* etc. Zwingli by contrast understood this *est* as *significat*: "This (bread) *signifies* my body ..."

The difference of opinion came into the open when Zwingli set out his views in a letter to the Lutheran minister in Reutlingen which he wrote in all good faith on the assumption that Lutherans would agree with him. Instead, his letter evoked a storm of angry protest and led to a heated exchange of letters, tracts and treatises. To the Lutheran party Zwingli's symbolic interpretation appeared not only unacceptable in itself but, even worse, predestined to give the Reformation a bad name and to offer an all too easy target to John Eck and other defenders of the old order. To Zwingli and his associates and allies in Switzerland and Upper Germany the Lutheran insistence on the "real presence" appeared exegetically indefensible and theologically more than dubious as failing adequately to guard against

vation of created things in place of the creator. An attempt to heal the rift at the *Marburg Colloquy* in the autumn of 1529 failed to achieve that desired result. The two delegations agreed on fourteen points, but in the fifteenth and last could only register that they could not agree on the nature and mode of the sacramental presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist.

Two years later, Zwingli was dead and fresh attempts were undertaken to heal the division. These were led by two of the participants in the *Marburg Colloquy*, Melanchthon on the Lutheran side and Bucer on the Reformed. In 1536 they formulated the *Wittenberg Concord*, but this was not accepted by the Swiss side, which was still constrained by loyalty to Zwingli's memory and was more than a little suspicious of Bucer's fondness for seeking compromise agreements with the help of ambiguous formulations. In the same year — 1536 — a new figure entered the scene: John Calvin, then only 27 years old. In the spring of 1536 the first edition of his *Institutes* was published in Basel, and in the early summer he settled in Geneva where, apart from an exile from 1538 to 1541, spent largely in Strasbourg, he remained till his death in 1564.

Calvin regarded the eucharistic controversy between Lutherans and Zwinglians as a sad example of misplaced zeal on both sides. He was himself no Zwinglian — indeed, he regarded Zwingli's interpretation of the eucharist as "profane," as evacuating the sacrament of meaning. He also understood, however, the Swiss reservations about Bucer's attempts at mediation by diplomatic ambiguity, and aimed at setting the entire discussion on a fresh and more solid base. It may be added that he deeply regretted and regularly complained about Luther's repeated unwillingness to be conciliatory towards the Swiss; he himself developed a warm friendship with Melanchthon, subscribed Melanchthon's revision of the Lutheran *Confessio Augustana* which was designed, unlike the original text of 1530, to open the way to Lutheran-Reformed reconciliation on the Eucharistic question, and expended considerable time and trouble in the attempt to bridge the Lutheran-Reformed division. The main monuments to his efforts in this context are his *Petit Traite de la s. cene* of 1539 and, ten years later, the *Zurich Agreement (Consensus Tigurinus)* which he laboriously reached with Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zurich in 1549. Calvin patently hoped that this agreement might be acceptable on the Lutheran side as well, but in this he was to be sadly

disappointed. The *Consensus Tigurinus* was bitterly attacked by Joachim Westphal and Tilemann Heshusius in the setting of the second great Lutheran-Reformed eucharistic controversy in the late 1550s; Calvin replied in kind; Melancthon — whose position in the Lutheran camp had been seriously eroded by his acceptance of the *Augsburg Interim* of 1548 and by the increasing Lutheran (to be more accurate: Gnesiolutheran) rejection of him as a “Cryptocalvinist” and betrayer of Luther’s legacy — died in 1561, leaving Calvin without significant allies on the Lutheran side. From that point on, the Lutheran-Reformed confessional separation was historically predetermined. Only in our own time has it finally (or: proleptically!) been overcome with the *Leuenberg Concord* of 1973, which at last opened the way to pulpit and table fellowship between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in central Europe and beyond. The *Leuenberg Concord* identified three areas of traditional Lutheran-Reformed dissension: Real Presence, Christology and Predestination; and recognised in regard to all three that, properly understood, the traditional differences do not justify continued separation between the confessions.

3. *The Reformed Emphasis in Christology*

A main emphasis in Reformed Christology in the eucharistic controversies with Lutheranism was to hold fast to the *human* reality of Jesus Christ, incarnate, crucified, risen and ascended to the right hand of the Father. As was said above, Calvin was far from accepting Zwingli’s reduction of the eucharist to a *memorial* celebration and testimony of (*our*) faith — here he agreed with the *Augsburg Confession* that the eucharist is primarily *God’s* gift and testimony of *divine* grace, to be *received* in faith, but not merely an *expression* of faith — but he joined Zwingli in rejecting the notion that the human nature of Jesus Christ is physically or quasi-physically present in space and time, specifically “in, with and under” the eucharistic elements. He did indeed insist far more strongly than Zwingli and the Zwinglians that in communion we are fed from the substance of Jesus Christ in his divinity and in his humanity, but the medium of this communication is the Holy Spirit, who unites us on earth with the heavenly Christ whose humanity has its “place” in heaven, where he as our High Priest intercedes for us with the Father.

By contrast, Luther developed in his controversy with Zwingli in the 1520s the thought that the human nature of Jesus Christ participates in the attributes of his divine nature and is therefore capable of being universally present *definitive*, i.e. without spatial dimensions, yet so to speak “at,” if not strictly “in,” any point in space and time. This is the classical Lutheran doctrine of the *ubiquitas*, the “omnipresence” of Christ’s humanity, which was made more precise by the addition of the *ubivoli* principle: Christ, who is in principle capable of omnipresence, exercises this capacity freely as he will, specifically in the Eucharist, in which he promises to be there *for us*: “The body of Christ, given *for you*.” Calvin too can say, echoing Luther, that almost the entire force of the sacramental promise lies in the words “for you;” but the truth of the promise is not based, for Calvin, on the potentially ubiquitous presence of Christ’s humanity, but on the power of the Holy Spirit, the “overcomer of distance,” who can and does unite earth with heaven and heaven with earth — us with Christ and Christ with us.

Against this background it will come as no great surprise that the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* was first of all developed and further spelt out in Lutheran rather than Reformed theology, for it met a need in Lutheran rather than in Reformed thinking. The standard pattern (with sundry variations that need not concern us here) distinguished three *genera* or “modes” of the “exchange of attributes:”

1. *Genus maiestaticum*: the attributes of the divine nature of Jesus Christ are ascribed to his human nature as well. The ascription is, strictly speaking, improper, but is sustained by the hypostatic union of both natures in the one person of Jesus Christ.

2. *Genus tapeinoticum*: the attributes of the human nature are ascribed to the divine nature. This, too, is strictly speaking an improper ascription, but like the *genus maiestaticum*, is sustained by the hypostatic union. This becomes explicit in the third mode:

3. *Genus idiomaticum* or *apotelesmaticum*: the attributes of each nature are ascribed, properly and correctly, to the *one person* of Jesus Christ, the Word-made-man.

On the Reformed side it would generally be accurate to say that this articulated doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*, though it

could be and on occasion was used, was less prominent than another, very differently conceived and structured pattern, which was first fully developed by Calvin in the *Institute* of 1559. (Earlier sketches can be found in Eusebius of Caesarea and in one of Calvin's Lutheran *betes noires*, Andreas Osiander!) This is the interpretation of the saving word of Jesus Christ in terms of the *triplex munus* or "threefold office" of *Prophet, Priest* and *King*. Calvin comes to this pattern — which has since become a commonplace in ecumenical theology — by interpreting the name "Christ" (= Messiah, Anointed) in the light of Old Testament precedents, for it is of Prophets, Priests and Kings that we learn that they were "anointed." In other words, Calvin is less concerned to speculate scholastically on the interactions and exchanges between the divine and human natures in the person of Jesus Christ than to focus upon the "offices" Christ fulfills as Mediator between God and humankind.

When Calvin takes up — as he commonly does — the Irenaean idea of the "happy exchange" by which "Christ, the Son of God, became what we are that we might become what he is," he interprets it in terms of God's saving purpose, reaching out to embrace and gather in the redeemed, rather than merely in terms of a transactional exchange between the "two natures," divine and human, united in the person of the Mediator. To be sure, Calvin can also offer an analysis of the work of the Mediator in terms of his divine-human constitution; a fine example is to be found in Book 2 of the 1559 *Institute*, ch.16, where he unfolds the work of Christ in three dimensions:

1. The Mediator had to overcome sin, death and the devil by refashioning human being in his own person. [*Christus Victor*]
2. The Mediator had to offer satisfaction to God for human sin by bearing in his own person the consequences of the divine judgment. [*Satisfaction*].
3. It was the "office" of the Mediator to reunite divinity and humanity in his own person, and so as the God-man to be the pledge, promise and guarantee of the reconciliation between God and us. [*Union*].

Even here, however, it is apparent that Calvin is not thinking simply in terms of Incarnation and Atonement within the person of Jesus Christ, but of a wider canvas — in whose centre stands, admittedly, the person of the Mediator, on whom all else turns. But that canvas includes the whole history of salvation, from Creation to Consum-

mation, and within it all individual and personal destinies. In this sense Calvin's theology — whatever else may also be said about it — is radically Christocentric. Everything turns on the person of the Mediator. The fact remains, however, that in that one person are two incommensurable natures, the divine and the human, which are indeed united but cannot be confused.

A good and clear illustration of the pattern that results can be found in questions 46–49 of the *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563)

46 How do you understand Christ's ascension to heaven?

That Christ was raised from earth to heaven before the eyes of his disciples and is there for our sakes until he comes again to judge the living and the dead.

47 Is Christ not then with us to the end of the world as he promised?

Christ is very man and very God. According to his human nature he is not now on earth; but according to his divinity, majesty, grace and Spirit he never leaves us.

48 But does this not separate the two natures of Christ from each other, if the humanity is not everywhere where the divinity is?

Not at all. For as the divinity is incomprehensible and everywhere present, it must follow that it is both outwith its assumed humanity and yet nonetheless also within it and remains personally united with it.

49 What is the benefit for us of Christ's ascension?

First, that he is in heaven as our advocate with the Father. Second, that we have our flesh in heaven as a sure pledge that he as the head will also gather us, his members, up to himself. Third, that he sends down his Spirit to us as a counterpledge, through whose power we seek the things that are above, where Christ sits at God's right hand, and not what is earthly.

This position is not of course a new one in the sixteenth century; it can be paralleled in many of the Fathers of the early church. To name only one example, Melito of Sardis: "He stood before Pilate and sat

by the Father. He hung on the cross and supported the universe." What was new in that period was not the so-called *extra-Calvinisticum*, but the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity, which is not only not Reformed: it is neither Orthodox nor Roman Catholic either!

4. *Concluding Reflections*

The purpose of this paper has chiefly been to inform about rather than to defend or criticise the emphases of early Reformed Christology. A full account would of course have to cover much more, upto and including emphases in Reformed theology to the present day, but that would burst the framework of a single paper. Let me therefore here only mention one or two points.

First, it would be wrong not to mention that this classical Reformed Christology is not without certain problematic aspects. A certain tendency towards Nestorianism is detectable, and there is certainly a link here to a tendency present in Calvin and very apparent in scholastic Calvinism towards a dualism in the doctrine of God, distinguishing very sharply between Creation and Redemption, indeed between Election and Reprobation, and similarly between the divine and the human histories of the second person of the Trinity. There are points, for example, where Calvin comes perilously close to the teaching of Marcellus of Ancyra. For such reasons it is not surprising that more recent Reformed thinkers, notably Karl Barth and Thomas Torrance, have seen dangers in a too one-sided emphasis simply on the classical Reformed tradition in Christology. Their answer is not, however, to take up Lutheran ideas of ubiquity, but to insist on holding together the immanent and the economic Trinity, creation and redemption, by focusing centrally on the axial divine-human interaction in the person of the Incarnate Son.

Second, in this kind of rethinking the not unproblematic notion of divine and human "natures" coexisting in the person of Jesus, Christ tends to be reinterpreted in terms of this interaction: Jesus Christ, for example, is himself "electing God" and "elected man" (Karl Barth); or one speaks of him as the locus of a twofold personal movement of God to man and man to God. This is not, as might at first appear, to substitute "energy" for "nature" or "act" for "being;" it is rather to "energize" the otherwise all too static and abstract concept of "na-

ture" in a fashion that is actually profoundly consistent with the thought of such Fathers as Irenaeus or Cyril.

Lastly, when one follows through these trajectories of thought, one finds, I believe, that there is vastly more similarity than difference between classical Orthodox and classically Reformed Christology; that behind differences of language and concept the same realities are being addressed. Of course, differences remain — and of course too, the Reformed tradition from the sixteenth century to the present has been much more diverse and sometimes conflictual than this paper could show. But then, that may be the case on the Orthodox side too!

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Constantine and The Council of Arles: The Foundations of Church and State in the Christian East

DR. JOHN L. BOOJAMRA

INTRODUCTION

Constantine sought to define his relationship, as emperor, to the Christian God and His Church over a period of time and in reaction to specific situations. The inchoate policy is best demonstrated just after the Edict of Milan (312) in his response to the Donatist controversy through the use of imperial commissions and ecclesiastical Councils. The response was to lay the foundation for the use of "caesaropapism" to describe the Byzantine system for the next thousand years.¹

While he may not have understood the changes taking place, Constantine at least acted as if he were a "champion of the Catholic Church,"² whose nature, operation, and composition he had little understood. The Council of Arles would prove this to be the case.

Although Constantine's actions with regard to the Church have been the source of discussion, Constantine's writings show that he dealt with the Church in terms of Roman civil order and what he thought the Christian God expected of him to guarantee the prosperity of the empire.³

Constantine's letters indicate that he was sensitive to the anger of the Divinity.⁴ In Constantine's view quarrels within the Church were disruptive and harmful to the proper worship of the Divinity and, indirectly, threatened the Empire. Dissidents, for instance, were "troublemakers," causing civil disorder, but also provoking the wrath of God on the Empire.⁵ The Donatist affair, one of the earliest eccle-

siastical crisis, reveals Constantine's struggle to develop a working relationship in a completely new political situation, in which the Church and the empire had little idea as to how to proceed.

The Council of Arles is significant for this study because it reflects in its canons a turning point in the life of the Church and in its view of the Empire eleven years prior to the Council of Nicea. It also represents a stage in Constantine's process of formalizing the imperial role in ecclesiastical affairs.

THE DOCUMENTS

The documents which will be of use in considering the Council of Arles and Constantine's relationship to it are Constantine's letters to Miltiades and Chrestus of Syracuse, convoking the meeting at Rome and the Council at Arles, respectively;⁶ the work of St. Optatus of Milevis *Against the Donatists*;⁷ the letters of Constantine to Aelafius, the Praetorian Prefect of Africa, and those to the Catholic Bishops at Arles; and the Synodal letter of the Council of Arles to Pope Sylvester.⁸ All of the documents will also illustrate the development of a new relationship between Church and State and the pattern being established for the future interactions and accepted as being authentic.⁹

BACKGROUND

In February, 303, the emperor Diocletian issued his first edict for the destruction of the Scriptures.¹⁰ Many Christians did surrender the books; after the forty years of relative peace following the death of Valerian, the Church was no longer an exclusive fellowship.¹¹ The entire North African tradition of maximalism was called into question. Caecilian entered the scene as a moderate who favored the reception of the *traditors*, those who surrendered the scriptures, without rebaptism.¹² In addition, the extreme faction in the African Church attacked the fact that Caecilian had been consecrated by Felix whom they alleged was a *traditor*.

Constantine's famous letter of 313 to Anulinus, granting certain privileges and monies to the Church headed by Caecilian, became the occasion for the conflict that caught imperial attention.¹³ The faction headed by Majorinus, eventually to become the Donatists, was cut off from State aid by the designation of the Caecilian Church as the Catholic Church. Majorinus appealed to Constantine in April,

313, against Caecilian.¹⁴ The appeal apparently surprised the emperor, although it had some precedence in Church history.¹⁵ An ecclesiastical faction seemingly had recognized the right of the State, and its coercive power, to intervene in the internal affairs of the Church. Constantine's concern was essentially civil — which party was to receive the State benefits granted by an emperor eager to please the Christian God.¹⁶

Constantine's letter to Miltiades asked that he head a "commission" of three Gallic Bishops. Eusebius in his heading of the letter refers to it as *σύνδοξ ἐπίσκοπος*,¹⁷ and as such it was treated by Miltiades who invited fifteen other Bishops.¹⁸ At the time of the dissidents' appeal there was no schism!¹⁹ By the time the Council met in October, 313, Majorinus had died and Donatus was the new leader. The Council decided that the Donatists had no charges to bring against Caecilian's character or orthodoxy. Their attack shifted to the validity of his consecration, which the Donatists considered suspect since Felix, an alleged *traditor*, had been the consecrator.²⁰ The Donatists refused to accept the decision of the Rome meeting. Optatus wrote sometime before 347.²¹

It is, therefore, sufficient that Donatus was condemned by the verdict of so many Bishops, and that Caecilian was cleared by the judgment of so great an authority. Yet Donatus thought well to appeal.²²

This appeal was necessary; the decision of the Roman Council placed them in a deficit moral position. Once again they appealed to Constantine. Optatus wrote:

To this appeal the Emperor Constantine replied in these words: "Oh, mad daring of their fury! A Bishop has thought fit to appeal to us, as is done in the lawsuits of the Pagans."²³

Constantine's letter to the Catholic Bishops at Arles expressed surprise at the Bishops' appeal. Here, Optatus places it after the second Donatist appeal; actually it is the response to a later Donatist appeal in 314. Nonetheless, it gives us some idea of Constantine's position. The rejection of the Roman Council provoked the second Donatist appeal.²⁴ Again, Constantine's letter to Aelafius wrote that the Donatists refused to accept the decision of 313 because the entire case had not been heard.²⁵

Constantine agreed to receive their complaint a second time and

refers it again to a Council to be held at Arles. This second meeting differed from the Roman meeting of 313 in that it was called specifically as an episcopal assembly and not as a type of imperial commission.²⁶ Palanque sees this move as an open seizure of power by the civil government, ascribing too much to Constantine and fails to recognize that in Church-State relations there were no "normal" patterns to be followed. Palanque writes that this move "manifestait une preponderance dangereuse de l'empereur dans les affaires ecclesiastiques."²⁷

First, the danger of imperial interference for negative reasons was yet but a potential. Second, this imperial move, as far as can be determined did not strike the Bishops as a danger. Third, such a statement can only be made *post facto*. As far as can be determined from the sources available, the action itself represented no such sinister plan. From a theological point of view there was nothing to rule against the calling of a second Council to reconsider a particular issue — Councils were not *per se* infallible.

PREPARATION FOR THE COUNCIL

As has already been indicated, Constantine saw a direct relationship between the well-being of the Church and the Empire. The internal accord of the Church had to be preserved as well as restored. In January, 314, probably before Pope Miltiades had died, Constantine decided on this new Council for August 1 of that year. St. Augustine wrote one hundred years after the events that

He granted them the second trial at Arles, before other Bishops, not because this was due to them, but only as a concession to their stubbornness, and from a desire by all means to restrain so great an effrontery.²⁸

Obviously Augustine saw nothing unusual in Constantine's calling of the Arles' Council; the oddity was rather the intransigence of the Donatists. From Constantine's letters to Aelafius and the Bishop Chrestus of Syracuse, we can get some idea of the preparations involved and the manner in which Constantine saw the responsibility of the State.

An invitation went out to a great number of Bishops of the West. Constantine wrote to Chrestus:²⁹

Inasmuch, therefore, as we have commanded that very many Bishops from various and numberless places should assemble at the city of Arles by the Kalends of August, we have thought good to write to thee...

Somehow, Constantine felt that a greater number of Bishops would have a greater influence on the dissidents.

Constantine's immediate concern in the letters was to end the conflict and disruption. He wrote to Chrestus referring to the Donatists as those who in a perverse manner create division with regard to the holy and heavenly Power and the Catholic religion. Constantine's impatience was clear in his letter to Aelafius informing him of the convocation of the Council. He wrote:³⁰

Since I perceive that there numerous and important affairs were being pertinaciously delayed by discussion, so that it appeared that no end could be made of them without both Caecilian and three of those who are making a schism against him coming to the town of Arles....

In both the letter to Chrestus and to Aefalius, he mentioned August 1 for its opening date. Furthermore, both letters provided the Bishops with transportation and an allowance to Arles. He wrote to Chrestus that he was to procure from the Governor, Latronianus, of Sicily a public vehicle. He wrote to Aelafius in the same vein:³¹

I have deemed it well to impose upon your care to provide, as soon as you receive this letter of mine, that the above-mentioned Caecilian with some of those whom he himself shall chose...and also of those who have made schism against Caecilian (public conveyance being provided through Africa and Mauritania) shall travel thence by a short course to Spain.

Once in Spain the Bishops were to be provided with a "single right of conveyance" so that they might reach Arles by August 1. Both letters witnessed to a plan of action and a consistent rationale. Constantine is concerned about the division within the Church and commits the State facilities to fostering unity. For the first time, we see the Emperor convoking a Council, inviting Bishops, and putting the public post and officials at their disposal.

THE CASE OF FELIX OF APTUNGA

Rome saw that the Donatists had no concrete charges to bring

against Caecilian. The Donatists' attack focused on the character of Felix of Aptunga.³² The question raised was the validity of Caecilian's consecration performed by Felix who was a *traditor*. Constantine sensed that the issue now raised was essentially a civil one and he judiciously calls on the proconsul in Carthage, Aelianus, to initiate an official inquiry as to the truth of the Donatist charge. St. Optatus gives us an account of this hearing in his anti-Donatist work (Book 1:27 and Appendix I).

Aelianus ordered the ex-magistrate, Alfius, who eleven years earlier had been in office during the persecutions of 303, to come to Carthage. The Donatists, realizing that their entire position rested on the outcome of this hearing, set about obtaining false evidence against Felix. Ingentius, a member of the Donatist party, approached Alfius to falsely accuse Felix of surrendering the Scriptures during the persecution of 303. When Alfius refused to cooperate, Ingentius explained that he would actually be doing Felix a favor since Felix was in possession of books which belonged to someone else and, in order to keep them, he had need of a statement to the effect that they had been burned. Seemingly, Alfius accepted this bizarre ploy and wrote a letter stating that the books had been destroyed, but in the absence of Felix. This was of little use for Ingentius' purposes and so he appended his own in postscript. When the letter was finally read at the hearing, Alfius denied that the interpolation was his. At the second session of the hearing, dated February 15, 315, Aelianus declared Felix innocent of the charges brought against him by the Donatists.³³

This 315 date, as opposed to the 314 date, seems probable inasmuch as the Council at Arles seems to have made no reference to this hearing in its decision on Caecilian, but it seemed that Arles made its decision on theological and disciplinary grounds, while Constantine in 316 had this African civil decision to refer to in his judgment against the Donatists.

THE COUNCIL

Arles opened on August 1, 314. It was a large gathering. Constantine sensed the psychological value and planned the Council as a large gathering of Bishops from "numberless places." The Bishops that did attend were Western Bishops and, apparently, no Easterners attended. The Easterners were not very concerned with

the Donatist matter and Eusebius actually gave it very little coverage.³⁴ Although the Council was not in a formal sense "ecumenical," it enjoyed authority and respect. St. Augustine wrote of the Donatists rejection of the Roman decision that "there still remained a plenary Council [*concilium plenum*] of the universal Church..."³⁵ The Bishop of Arles, Marinus, presided at the Council. The list of participants includes some priests and deacons who functioned at the Council as representatives of their Bishops. Such was the case with the two Roman legates, the priests Claudianus and Vitus, who were given the second place after Marinus.³⁶

Although the Council is only unevenly known and its acts are not preserved,³⁷ we are able to glean information as to the substance of the discussion from the canons issued by the Council and the documents which appeared at its closing, the letter of Constantine to the Bishops and the Council's letter to Sylvester. The canons issued, of course, reflect the new situation of the Church in the Western part of the Empire.

The third canon reflected a radically different view of the Empire than would have been rendered several years earlier. It provided for the excommunication of any one who threw down his weapon in a time of peace. The Empire was now, in the person of Constantine, their benefactor, Christian and this "fact" had to be recognized by the fathers of the Council.

The seventh canon continued this line of thinking and maintained that Christians in public office were no longer under the ban of the fifty-seventh canon of Elvira; this canon held that such officials, inasmuch as their duties associated them with pagan rituals, had to absent themselves from church for a certain period of time. This canon went even further, probably on the assumption that more and more Christians would be holding public offices, and provided for letters of recommendations from the official's Bishop to the Bishop of the city in which he would be serving.³⁸

Canon thirteen allowed for the deposition of *traditor*, but attempted to put an end to unfounded and calumnious accusations which characterized the Donatist campaign against Caecilian. The validity of an ordination performed by a *traditor* remained intact (*ex opere operato*). The Bishops answered the second charge against Caecilian with a theological response. Constantine's position was based on the civil hearing that had cleared Felix and made moot the status of Caecilian's validity.

Canon fourteen, as a sequel to thirteen, provided that³⁹

If it is proved that any one has made positively false and unwarrantable accusation against another as a [*traditor*], such a person will be excommunicated to the end of his life.

The fathers of 314 were tired of the Donatist antics in their almost frantic effort to secure their position. The canon went on to affirm that accusers must provide honest witnesses to support the charges they were bringing against a Bishop. Hefele suggests that the Council of Arles had knowledge of the decision on Felix's case in Carthage.⁴⁰

With regard to the working details of the Council, we have several letters, which enable us to draw a picture of the discussions. The first, which will be dealt with here, is the Council's letter addressed to the absent Sylvester.⁴¹ The letter had as its object, as is clear from a reading, to advise Sylvester of the decisions of the Council. In the process of doing this, it happily went beyond merely reporting the canonical decisions and gives us a picture of what went on at the meeting.

The letter was addressed to Sylvester, "most beloved brother," and went on to say that the Council had been called at Arles by "the most pious Emperor;" it informed Sylvester that "by the Judgement of God and of Mother Church, who knows and approves her own, they [the Donatists] have been rejected."⁴² This same impatience will be evident in Constantine's correspondence to the Bishops at Arles. No doubt the former Donatist Bishop would have to assume an inferior position until his former see became vacant.

The Council's letter informed Sylvester of the decision concerning rebaptism in a form that paralleled the canon on the subject. If a heretic returned to the Church, the letter reports,⁴³

he should be questioned concerning the Creed, and if it should be found that he has been baptised in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, hands will be laid upon him and no more.

Hefele suggests that a second letter was sent to Sylvester recording for him in detail the twenty-two canons of the Council.⁴⁴ He, however, gives no evidence for saying this, but it does seem likely that the Papal legates would carry lists of the conciliar decisions back to Rome with them.

It is interesting here to briefly consider the relationship among the Council of Arles, the Council at Rome, and this Council's letter. It is certainly true to say that the Arles' decision was in agreement essentially with the decision taken a year earlier at Rome. We have nothing to suggest, however, that the Fathers at Arles felt compelled to this decision. The tone of the Council's letter is one of independence and authority, both of which the letter would indicate the Fathers felt was theirs; along with this tone, there is an expression of great respect for the Bishop of Rome. The only thing we are able to conclude from the evidence is that the Fathers of Arles decided in fact with the decision of Rome; there is no indication that this decision was necessitated by the Council at Rome.

In this context, Palanque overplays the notion of Papal Primacy at this early stage. He sees this notion evidenced in the Council's letter and interprets it in terms of a "supremacy." The fathers did not ask Sylvester's permission; they informed him of a "fact." In terms of this letter, it seems unjustified to say that the Bishops "Sembloit reconnaître formellement sa primatie sur tout l'Occident."⁴⁵

The Bishops recognized Constantine's right to convoke the assembly, they recognized his right to close it. Moreover, Constantine's letter to the Catholic Bishops implied that he already had knowledge of the conciliar decisions. He made reference, for instance, to the fact that the Donatists had already filed a third appeal and that the fathers had asked permission to return to their dioceses.

In the letter Constantine rendered thanks to God for the blessings He had bestowed on the empire and to the Bishops for the equitable judgement they had passed with regard to Caecilian. He urged the Bishops to be patient with the Donatists who yet refused to be reconciled to Caecilian. If, however, patience fails and the dissidents remain intransigent, they were to be sent from Arles and North Africa to the Imperial Court so that they might not "provoke the greatest anger of the Heavenly Providence."⁴⁶ Here Constantine's anxiety and preoccupation with the wrath of God was again apparent.

Constantine gave evidence in the letter that the Donatists had already appealed the Arles decision to him. His annoyance with their action was obvious:⁴⁷

How often have they been crushed already by myself in a reply, which, by their most shameless approaches to me, they have deservedly

brought upon themselves. Surely, if they kept this before their eyes, they would never have ventured on this appeal of theirs. They ask judgement from me, who am myself waiting for the judgement of Christ. For I declare — as is true — that the judgement of Bishops ought to be looked upon as if the Lord Himself were sitting in Judgement.

This passage from his letter to the Bishops, along with the closing section of his letter to Aelafius, is perhaps one of the most significant for understanding Constantine's view of his role in the Church and of his motivations in establishing and maintaining its unity. Constantine presented himself as under the judgement of Christ but the Bishops were the normative authority in the Church. The Council had decided and the judgements of the fathers should have been sufficient. It was not and the Donatists chose once again to involve the imperial power.

Constantine's anger with this third appeal did not keep him from receiving it and granting the Donatists another hearing. Seemingly the letter to the Catholic Bishops would lead us to believe that the frustration and indecisiveness which resulted in his calling the Council of Arles was overcome. Such was not the case.

CONCLUSION

After the Council of Arles, Constantine agreed to hear a Donatist appeal for the third time. He made this decision in spite of the annoyance he displayed in his letter to the fathers at Arles. The details of this stage in the Donatist controversy concern this paper only inasmuch as they reflect on Constantine's relation to the decision reached at Arles. For various reasons, Constantine was unable to hear the case until 316, when he decided in favor of Caecilian and against the Donatists.⁴⁸

Before going any further in considering the nature of this decision, it is necessary to say something about Constantine's ecclesiastical policy. It should be pointed out that Constantine, as his indecisiveness with regard to the Donatists has made clear, had no consistent ecclesiastical policy. Both sides were formulating a new relationship between Church and State.

It is certainly clear that the documents will not support the notion that Arles was part of a sinister political move to gain influence over

the Church. The Council had been the Church's normal method of dealing with ecclesiastical problems since its foundation; Constantine was, as the Emperor, responsible for the good order of the Church. In his eyes, no doubt, the two factors met naturally and he proceeded to call and support the Council with imperial authority. No doubt, there was also a political aspect to his policy; this is clear from his letters. The good of the Church was seen by him to be directly related to the well-being of the Empire. This was one aspect of his "bargain" with the Christian God whom he met at the Milvian Bridge. Perhaps the most telling section of his letter to Aelafius is the following:⁴⁹

Since I am informed that you too are a worshiper of the Highest God, I will confess to you the gravity that I consider it absolutely contrary to the divine law that we should overlook such quarrels and contentions whereby the Highest Divinity may perhaps be moved to wrath not only against the human race, but also against me... For I shall really fully be able to feel secure and always to hope for prosperity and happiness from the ready kindness of the most Mighty God, only when I see all venerating the most Holy God in the proper cult of the Catholic religion with harmonious brotherhood of worship.

A question remains: what of the decision of 316 against the Donatists in relation to the Council at Arles? In answering this question, it would do violence to facts and texts available to see an usurpation of episcopal authority or blatant caesaropapism. Both sides, the Church and the State, were developing a working relationship in a unique time in Christian history.

The situation surrounding his 316 decision seems relatively clear. In effect, Constantine was making what he saw a civil judgement. The Arles position, as has been indicated, was essentially theological and doctrinal. The theological position of Caecilian was not dependent on whether or not Felix was a *traditor*. The question in this controversy was, since the end of the Roman Council, essentially a civil one. It was most likely the perspective from which Constantine approached the matter in 316.

Neither the Church nor its newly-found protector had formulated a clear idea of their relationship, a relationship which would become all too clear, at least "on paper" in Justinian's reforms. Byzantine Church history might legitimately be looked at as a struggle of the eastern Christian Church to maintain its freedom from imperial in-

terference, all the more immediate due to the proximity of the emperor in Constantinople. There was a problem that the papacy, left behind in Rome, had to worry about on few occasions. The eastern Church kept its freedom in all major doctrinal and moral issues until the fall of Constantinople in 1453.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, the foundation was laid by the Christian Church for future appeals to the civil power to resolve internal conflict. It may legitimately be asked whether or not ecumenical Councils could have had any effect had they not been summoned by the Byzantine emperors and backed by their police! It was the Christian Church, which created the leadership vacuum and the need to rely on the imperial power to resolve conflicts and enforce decisions. It was the plethora of appeals to the emperors in the first part of fourth century, which brought about the appeals canons of the Council Sardica, canons, which placed the papacy at the focus of ecclesiastical "authority." It was on these canons that the papacy would build a power base that expressed itself so clearly in the Photian controversy of the mid-ninth century, when each Byzantine faction appealed to Rome for support, based on Sardica.

NOTES

¹ Norman Baynes, *Constantine and the Christian Church*, The Raleigh Lecture on History (London: Humphrey Milford, 1929), 9. On the concept of "Church" and "State," in general see the yet brilliant Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society* (Oxford, 1966), passim.

² T.M. Parker, *Christianity and the State in the Light of History* (London, 1955), 44.

³ A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (New York, 1967), 96.

⁴ Optatus, *Against the Donatists*. Translated with an introduction and notes by O. R. Vassall-Phillips (London, 1917), Appendix III.

⁵ Jones, 96.

⁶ Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* preserves both of these. Translated by J. E. Oulton (Cambridge, MA, 1957).

⁷ Optatus, Appendix III.

⁸ Optatus, Appendices III, IV, V.

⁹ Baynes, 75 n.46.

¹⁰ Eusebius, 8:2.

¹¹ Jones, 53.

¹² W. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford, 1952), 143.

¹³ Eusebius, 10:7, 1-2.

¹⁴ Parker, 54.

¹⁵ See the appeal of Paul of Antioch to emperor Aurelian, see Glanville Downey, A

History of Antioch in Syria (Princeton, NJ, 1961), 262-263.

¹⁶ Jones, 94.

¹⁷ Eusebius, 10:5,8. The Bishops were Reticus of Autun, Maternus of Cologne, and Marinus of Arles.

¹⁸ Jones, 95.

¹⁹ S.L. Greenslade, *Schism in the Early Church* (London, 1953), 131.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

²¹ Frend, 152n.

²² Optatus, 1:25.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Eusebius, 10:5, 22.

²⁵ Optatus, Appendix III.

²⁶ Parker, 55.

²⁷ J.R. Palanque, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Ed. Fliche et Martin (Bloud et Gay, 1950), 37.

²⁸ Augustine, *Letters*. Translated under the direction of Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* Vol. I. (New York, 1902), 43:20.

²⁹ Eusebius, 10:5, 21.

³⁰ Eusebius, 10:5, 19-21.

³¹ Optatus, Appendix III.

³² Optatus, 1:19.

³³ Jones, 99.

³⁴ Charles Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils*. Translated by W. Clark (Edinburgh, 1817), 182.

³⁵ Augustine, 43:19.

³⁶ Hefele, 181.

³⁷ P. Monceaux, *Histoire Litteraire de l'Afrique Chretienne* (Brussels, 1963), 343.

³⁸ Hefele, 193.

³⁹ Quoted in English translation in Hefele, 192.

⁴⁰ Hefele, 192.

⁴¹ Louis Duchesne, *The Christian Church*. Vol. II (New York, 1912), 88n.

⁴² Optatus, Appendix IV.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Hefele, 183.

⁴⁵ Palanque, 37.

⁴⁶ Optatus, Appendix V.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Hefele, 198.

⁴⁹ Optatus, Appendix III.

⁵⁰ On this issue of the "freedom of the Church," cf. the author's works: "The eastern Schism of 907 and the Affair of the Tetragamia," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 25 (1974) 113-133; "Constantine and Justinian," in the collection *Orthodox Synthesis: The Unity of Theological Thought* (Crestwood, NY, 1981), 189-209; *The Church and Social Reform* (Bronx, NY, 1993).

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Creation and Incarnation

REV. DR. IAIN TORRANCE

I want to begin by quoting the Epistle to the Colossians 1:15-20, as all of what follows will be an attempt to begin to understand theologically that unbelievably profound, but very compressed passage of scripture:

“He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities — all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together. He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in everything he might be pre-eminent. For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross.”

In outline, I want to begin by thinking about the doctrine of God, especially within a Reformed perspective. We will look at the two *new* acts of God in creation and incarnation, tracing their movement and implications. The doctrine of the Trinity, of course, is presupposed by the doctrine of the incarnation, but I will suggest that as we trace out the trajectory of the incarnation, our understanding of the Trinity is immeasurably enriched,¹ and that this in turn feeds into a deeper understanding of creation. At the same time, this deepening understanding of incarnation (and here I shall draw upon Severos of Antioch) enriches our understanding of creation to such an extent that I shall suggest the two doctrines may be drawn together, enriching and illuminating each other, like two binocular lenses. Finally, as

we bring the two doctrines together, I shall suggest that through both of them we see flowing a single *adaptive* movement of the Trinitarian love of God.

How do we understand God? Reformed theology has learned the lesson of Barth that we have no neutral or abstract or anthropomorphic access to God. We may only know God through his own self-disclosure. Hence, we may only *think* of God in terms of what he *does*, for *who* God *is* is no different from what he *does*. God's being is the same as his act: it is impossible for God to be inconsistent with himself.

How then do we understand *the act* of God, perhaps thinking specifically of his creativity, his acts of creative power? When we turn to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, we confess that we believe in one God, *the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth*. Karl Barth shows us that the description of God, that he is almighty, is significantly brought into connection with the expression that he is Father. Barth says: "The one word explains the other; the Father is almightiness and almightiness is the Father."² It follows from this that we reject any and all notions of divine omnipotence. Omnipotence is abstract and demonic. The power of God is not mere *potentia* but *potestas*.³ We may only think in terms of who God actually is, and what God actually does.

It is similar when we speak of God as Father. When we dare to do this, we do so not in a neutral or abstract or anthropomorphic sense, but we mean the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. We do not, and cannot, know God as Father in himself, or as *our* Father, *apart from* his only Son Jesus Christ, in whom, and through the Holy Spirit, God gives us access to himself. Quoting Barth again: "We may now call him that which he names himself in his Son."⁴

It follows that we know God in his nature when our knowledge of him is *controlled* by Jesus Christ. It follows further that we have no knowledge of *the power* of God except through Christ. Barth significantly quotes Matthew 28.18: "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth," adding "... In this work of God, his omnipotence becomes visible and alive *as saving and righteous power*."⁵

Thomas Torrance sharpens this.⁶ As Jesus Christ is the *only-begotten* Son of the Father, he is the *only* way God makes himself known as the Father. It is here that we see the *exclusiveness* of the revelation in Christ, through the Spirit, both of the Father and of the almighty-

ness of God. Since the Father is never without the Son and the Spirit, all that the Father *does* is done in, through, and with, the Son and the Spirit. This is the only God we know.

An enormously significant point is related to this. *While God is always Father, he was neither always creator nor always incarnate.* Understanding this is part of our debt to Athanasius, and for many of us this aspect of Athanasius' work has never been better expressed than it was by Georges Florovsky.⁷ Quoting *Contra Arianos* II.31 "...Even supposing that the Father had never been disposed to create the world, nevertheless the Logos would have been with God and the Father in him ..." Florovsky showed how Athanasius eliminated all references to the economy of creation or salvation from his description of the inner relationship between the Father and the Son.⁸ The eternal generation of the Son is from the *being* of God; the creation of the world is *by the will* of God. God's *being* has an absolute ontological priority over God's *action and will*. It follows from this that God is much more than *just* "Creator." When we call God "Father," we mean something *higher* than his relation to creatures (*Contra Arianos* I.33). "Before" God creates at all, he is Father, and he creates through his Son.⁹

What follows from this? God is sufficient unto himself. How, then, can there be something alongside God, of which he has no need? As Barth puts it, "This is the riddle of creation."¹⁰ As Thomas Torrance suggests, this means that the creation of the world out of nothing *is something new even for God*. God was always Father, but he *became* creator. It is a staggering act, and it is in a similar way that we must think of the *incarnation*, for although God was always able to become incarnate, we are told that *he chose* to do this in "the fulness of time" (Galatians 4:4).

So what we see are *two radically new acts*: the creation and the incarnation. Both issue from the Holy Trinity. What we want to do is to explore each in turn, to see how they are related to the Holy Trinity and to each other.

First, in a preliminary way, let us look at the creation. Following Thomas Torrance again,¹¹ from the fact that God is *always Father*, but not always creator, we may see that it is *as Father that he is creator*. Barth tells us that "... the doctrine of creation answers that God, who does not need us, created heaven and earth and myself, of sheer fatherly kindness and compassion, apart from any merit or

worthiness of mine ...”¹² Understood like this, creation is a staggering statement of belief. “Creation is grace: ... God does not grudge the existence of the reality distinct from himself.”¹³ Thomas Torrance sets this act of grace in more sharply Trinitarian terms. “Since God is Father in himself, as the Father of the Son, he is essentially generative or fruitful in his own being, and it is because he is inherently productive as Father that God could and did become creator ...”¹⁴ On this understanding, creation arises out of the Father’s eternal love for the Son, which continues to flow *outward* toward what God has brought into being. Yet creation is not to be understood as an outflow, an emanation from God, “as something divine which wells out of God like a stream out of a spring ... creation means something different; it means *a reality distinct from God*.”¹⁵ Creation, then, is rooted in God’s *will* not to exist for himself alone, but to share the fulness of his love with others. As Barth puts it: “Creation is the temporal analogue, taking place outside God, of that event in God himself by which God is the Father of the Son. The world is not God’s Son, is not ‘begotten’ of God; but it is *created*. But what God does as the creator can in the Christian sense only be seen and understood as a reflection, as a shadowing forth of this inner divine relationship between God the Father and the Son.”¹⁶ Already, we are seeing the interplay between the doctrines of creation and the Trinity. This will be deepened as we proceed, but let us now turn to the incarnation.

The central importance of the incarnation is as the real self-communication of God, in Word and act, in which there is an indissoluble hypostatic bond between the mission of Christ and the inner life of the eternal God. *This is the crucial role of the Nicene homoousion*. In Jesus Christ, then, God committed himself unreservedly to us in his own triune being. The *homoousion* makes us understand the incarnation as falling within the life of God himself, and it provides the ontological ground on which we think together the doctrine of the One God and the doctrine of the Triune God.¹⁷ The doctrines of the Trinity and the incarnation are interlinked, and as we trace out the trajectory of the incarnation, so our understanding of the Trinity is enriched.

Through the incarnation, God the Son made himself one of his own creatures. He entered and made his own the alienation of creation. Through his life, death and resurrection he brought *the love*

and power of God to bear on its disorder, restoring it to God's love. As it is in Jesus that we are confronted by God, we understand that it is in Jesus that that we *really* see the mystery of God's creative activity. In Jesus there is the *new creation* in the middle of the old, and this expands our understanding of the *unique nature* of God's creation, and the distinctive path of his love within it. As we are confronted with *the nature and style* of God's new creation in Jesus, we are able to understand the old creation as never before. In Jesus, the Savior and Redeemer, we learn how the creator works, and through him, the power of God's love is shown *as grace*.

Let us look more closely at the life and works of Jesus. His birth, the incarnation, is a *new* act of God. God becomes man, without ceasing to be God. The Patristic writers use the words *kenosis* and *tapeinosis*, but this is not a depotentialiation of God, but a self-limitation, the exercise of his power *within* the limitations of our creaturely reality. Donald MacKinnon writes: "The creator's humility before his creature is the centrepiece of the mystery of the divine humility, which is the very ground of the divine omnipotence."¹⁸ Staggeringly, the power of God is shown in his willingness to become little.

And then there is the death of Christ. In this act, God enters and reaches into our extinction and non-being. Through it, as Thomas Torrance puts it, he "penetrates back through the irreversibility of time to undo the past,"¹⁹ and so to wipe out our sin and guilt. Once again, we see here a further dimension to God's love and purpose, and so to the inner logic of his creative activity.

The resurrection of Jesus shows us the limitlessness, the irresistibility, the openness and the hope of God's love. As nothing else, it shows the trajectory God's love takes. God's presence is healing, restoring, renewing, even out of rejection, alienation, emptiness and despair. With the resurrection, we see God's refusal to pass by, to ignore, to forget. There is nothing and nowhere out of which God is not redemptive.

Once again, the action of God in resurrection allows us to understand the action of the triune God at a different and deeper level. If this is how God acts, it is how he will always act, and that in turn feeds into how we understand the action of God in creation. In the mission of Christ, we see the utterly unexpected path the love and power of God takes. God *loved* us so much that he gave up his only Son on our behalf; he accommodated himself to our smallness, by en-

tering our extinction he undid the past to free us from our guilt. However, following Colin Gunton, "the cross is no act of depotentialization."²⁰ Quoting him, "[i]t is rather the supreme act of divine power: the power through which the world is made whole. Therefore we must say, following [P.T.] Forsyth, that the self-emptying is at the same time an act of fulfilment, of plerosis²¹ ... In the incarnation the being of the Son expresses itself, is laid out in all its fullness, because in his self-emptying the Son is most fully divine."²²

In this process of identifying with, suffering, dying and rising again, we see the patience of the Creator with his creation. He chooses to display a power to restore and heal, not a power of coercion. At every step, we see God upholding, restoring and respecting the creaturely reality he has created. It is a process in which he safeguards the freedom he has given us, and undermines the power of evil by removing its victory and sting. As Colin Gunton puts it, we see here a form of immanence, but *not of a threatening kind*. It is an immanence "which both respects the otherness of the fallen world and reshapes it in a redemptive form of relation to God."²³ The cross is the place of reconciliation, the hinge of his work, but we see that it is not the end. Christ rises again, and ascends to the righthand of the Father. This tells us that God's involvement in Christ with his creation was not a merely temporary phase, to be sloughed off like a snake's skin. Christ, clothed in his humanity, ever lives to intercede for us. He is the first-born of the new creation, who will bring many children to glory. *Through him, we, in a creaturely way, are enabled to share in the freedom of God.* So we see that the trajectory of his birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension *reordered* the creation. *This was its purpose.*

Now, what are we to say of this unfolding understanding of the incarnation? We see that it is now not as helpful to refer to it as "*an act*," which has static overtones. It is a *process*, a *dynamic activity*, which stretches from the cradle to the ascension, and throughout it is governed by its redemptive purpose. In Reformed thought, we see this expressed in holding together the *passive* and *active* obedience of Christ, in seeing the interrelation of incarnation and atonement in the work of Christ as Prophet, Priest and King, in holding together the incarnational, sacrificial and kingly aspects of atonement.

This is a movement away from some of the attempts by the ancient Church to understand the union of the divine and the human in

Christ in basically static ways. Here one is alluding to the textbook discussions of contrasting Alexandrian and Antiochene perspectives in Christology. It may be valuable, for a moment, to point to the creative attempt by Severos of Antioch in the sixth century to develop faithfully the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria, in a way which implied neither a static mixture, nor a static juxtaposition of the two natures. Searching for a vocabulary which permitted a more dynamic expression of the union, Severos seized upon a phrase from Gregory of Nazianzus. Gregory wrote: "He is purity itself, and did not need purification, but he is purified for you, ... for he himself was a *warden* (*tamias*) of passion to himself."²⁴ Severos, having seen the metaphor he needed, grasped it, amplified it, and worked it into his own account of the union: "Thus, *he was a warden to himself* of hungering, as well as of being tired from a journey ... *in order to display the humanisation truly* and without phantasy."²⁵ In using this metaphor, what Severos shows is that the incarnation is *not a simple act*, but a purposive activity, an enabling, a restoring, which took seriously the fragility of the assumed nature, respecting its integrity and freedom. Severos understood that the incarnation of God the Word *had a goal*, and thus that at each step the incarnation was an adaptive activity, a creative restoration of humankind in each of its dimensions, to God, to other human persons, to the created world. It followed that he understood that the incarnation could not be understood *externally*, as if by an outside observer. This had always been the problem with the Christologies which attempted to understand the union in static terms. They failed to see the soteriological thrust of the incarnation. With Severos, we learn that the incarnation *may only* be understood *internally*, in the light of Christ's *goal*. His *purpose is intrinsic to what he does and who he is*.

On the basis, now, of this fuller understanding of incarnation, let us turn back to the doctrine of creation.

We saw how Georges Florovsky, in his analysis of Athanasius distinguished so clearly between *the being* of God and *his will*. He tells us that "There is an element of contingency in the exercise and disclosure of the creative will ... [while] ... there is, as it were, an absolute necessity in the Trinitarian being of God."²⁶ What does this imply for us? The fact that the world is not a necessary emanation from God, or necessarily co-eternal with him, but that he created through his Son and the Spirit, means that he is able to come into relation to

it, while remaining distinct from it.²⁷ Another way of putting this is to say that God created the world, through his Son and the Spirit, *in such a way* that it is given a limited, *but real* independence of its own. It is not necessary, but contingent. It does exist, but it need not have existed.

Let us take this further, looking more closely at the nature of the creation's *contingent reality*.²⁸ Because God creates through his Son and the Spirit, we may come to an understanding of the world that it is "both *real in itself* and yet [*is*] *only itself* in relation to its creator."²⁹ This is a new theological understanding of the created world, which embraces human persons, the animal kingdom and the environment. It is given a real freedom and independence, but it does not contain its meaning in itself. If this is a beginning of an understanding of creation from the perspective of the world, let us now try to think of it from the perspective of God's act.

From looking at the incarnation, we have seen that it is not entirely helpful to think of it simply as *an act*. We understand it more fully when we think of it as a dynamic adaptive process, the healing, restoring movement of God's love. But that meant understanding it internally, in all its soteriological depth, taking account of its purpose or goal. Let us now apply this pattern of thinking to the doctrine of creation. God's involvement with that which he has made involves deliberate choice. It is an act of free grace, an exercise of will. If act and will are not involved, then the world is a kind of emanation necessarily seeping from God, and we have already seen, through Florovsky, how this is rejected by Athanasius. So creation is a *deliberate* act. But yet, like the incarnation, *it is more than just an act*. Quoting Colin Gunton again, "it is also an enabling, because by that activity the world is given its own distinctive being and through the Spirit empowered to be the world, and not simply the tool or extension of deity."³⁰ It is here that we see again the significance of the world's contingent nature. It is given a real, but creaturely, independence. This makes it real *in itself*, but it may only *be itself* in relation to its creator. Gunton now takes this further. The fact that creation is *in the Spirit* as well as through the Son allows us to see that creation has a purpose or goal. Gunton finds in this part of the meaning of the account of creation in six days: "God creates freely, out of love, but it is a love which leaves the creature something to be and do: to live in time, to praise its creator and to return, perfected, to the one who

made it.”³¹ Gunton is here close both to Basil of Caesarea, who spoke of the Holy Spirit as “the perfecting cause” of creation,³² and to Karl Barth, who denies that God “deistically abandons” what he has brought into existence. The creature is not created and abandoned. Throughout, we have seen that this is never the path of God’s love. Instead, the creature is creatively upheld and sustained in its existence beyond its own power in a relationship which both respects its freedom and brings it to its true purpose.

This opens the way for a more trinitarian understanding of the relation between God and the world. Rather than the dualist model of divine interventions in a world orphaned of God’s presence, a model so pilloried by the notorious Anglican Bishop of Durham as a “laser-beam” theology, Gunton suggests we think of the way in which God the Father, through the work of the Son and the Spirit, *constantly* maintains and restores his creation’s movement toward perfection. It follows from this, he argues, that the “incarnation ... is a violation of the being neither of God nor of the world ... [for] there is a sense in which it realises the true being of them both, for it perfects at once the Father’s work of creation and the creature’s determination to perfection.”³³

In this, drawing, as I have been, specifically on the work of Karl Barth, Thomas Torrance and Colin Gunton, we have begun to see the close interlocking and mutual enriching of the doctrines of the creation and the incarnation. Both are acts of the triune God. Both are expressions of God’s love. As a final point, and in a very preliminary way, let us ask how those two acts are related one to another.

A traditional way of ordering the two doctrines is that taken by Aquinas. The incarnation is a remedy for sin. Had there been no fall, there would have been no need for God the Word to become incarnate. But from what has been said above, it may be seen that this structuring is less than satisfactory for it seriously underplays the understanding that creation is a trinitarian act: creation is *through* Christ and *for* Christ. Furthermore, it underestimates the sense in which creation is not an act followed by an abandonment. What we see in the whole process of the incarnation is that God’s presence is inherently and always restoring and healing. That restoring healing presence is radicalised and brought to its sharpest focus in the love of God on the cross, but what we see there is the unbelievable depth and extent to which that same love reaches. But God does not have two

loves, nor does he, as it were, at various points shift from a lower to a higher gear. The love of God does not have a temporal beginning, and so we may say that the love of God which is shown to us in history, through the economic Trinity, directs us back to that love which God is eternally in himself in the ontological Trinity, quite apart from the world. Hence, it seems we are compelled to say that *that love* which God showed in giving up his own Son *proleptically* conditioned the creation of the world. It is through the *logic* of the incarnation that we may begin to understand the creation.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Colin Gunton: *Christ and Creation* (Paternoster Press, Carlisle, 1992), chapter 3: "Incarnation, Kenosis and Divine Action," p. 76 and 78.

² Karl Barth: *Dogmatics in Outline* (SCM Press, London, 1949, tr. G.T.Thomson), p.46).

³ Barth, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

⁴ Barth, *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ Barth, *ibid.*, p. 49. My italics. We will return to Barth's point later.

⁶ My debt to Thomas F. Torrance, my father, should be evident in every paragraph. I am here especially indebted to chapter seven, "The Sovereign Creator" in his *The Christian Doctrine of God: The Holy Trinity* (forthcoming in 1995).

⁷ "The Concept of Creation in Saint Athanasius," *Studia Patristica*, Vol. 4, 1962, pp. 36-57.

⁸ Florovsky, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

⁹ Florovsky, *ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁰ Barth, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

¹¹ T. F. Torrance, "The Sovereign Creator," *op.cit.*

¹² Barth, *op.cit.* p. 54.

¹³ Barth, *ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁴ T. F. Torrance, "The Sovereign Creator," *op.cit.*

¹⁵ Barth, *op.cit.*, p. 55. My italics, to which we will return later.

¹⁶ Barth, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁷ Cf T. F. Torrance, "Towards an Ecumenical Consensus on the Trinity," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 3. 6, 1975, p. 339.

¹⁸ D. M. MacKinnon, in his essay "The Relation of the Doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity," in *Themes in Theology* (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1987), p. 159.

¹⁹ T. T. Torrance, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Colin Gunton, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²¹ P. T. Forsyth: *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (London, Independent Press, 1909), Lecture XII.

²² Colin Gunton, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²³ Colin Gunton, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus: *Oratio 40, In Sanctum Baptisma*, PG 36:400C.

²⁵ Severos of Antioch, *First Letter to Oecumenios*, *Patrologia Orientalis* (Turnhout,

Belgium, 1973), Vol. 12, Fasc 2, p. 185.7-10. (cf. I. R. Torrance, "Paradigm Change in Sixth Century Christology," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, Vol. 36, 1991, p. 284-5.).

²⁶ Georges Florovsky, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

²⁷ cf. Colin Gunton, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

²⁸ There is no one, of course, who has written more, or more significantly, about the theological nature of contingent reality than Thomas F. Torrance. See his book: *Divine and Contingent Order* (Oxford University Press, 1981), chapter two: "God and the Contingent Universe".

²⁹ Cf. Colin Gunton, *op.cit.*, p. 75.

³⁰ Colin Gunton, *op.cit.*, p. 78.

³¹ Colin Gunton, *ibid.*, p. 77.

³² Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, XV. 36, cited by Gunton *op. cit.*, p. 46. [But cf. T. F. Torrance's extensive use of Basil's theology of the Holy Spirit in his essay "Come Creator Spirit" in *Theology in Reconstruction* (SCM, London, 1965)].

³³ Colin Gunton, *ibid.*, pp. 78-8.

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Double Monasticism in the Greek East: Eighth through Fifteenth Centuries

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Various scholars have claimed that the ascetical institute known as the “double monastery”—a single monastic unit of monks and nuns following the same rule, under the same superior, living in the same locality, but in separate quarters¹—was officially condemned and therefore disappeared from the church’s history.² This article will address such an interpretation by situating the data in its historical context. I will demonstrate that double monasteries disappeared in the Greek East primarily because of economic reasons compounded by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, instead of ecclesiastical proscription as hitherto alleged.

DEFINITION

Before one can examine the demise of double monasticism in the Greek East, one must first delimit some various early forms of cenobitic life.³ The designation “double monastery” can be cause for some confusion. A few modern scholars of western monasticism have questioned the appropriateness of the term.⁴ I have utilized it for three reasons. First, the term is historical and has canonical import. Second, it is of Greek coinage and contemporaneous with the time period being examined. And third, the term enjoys the sanction of regular usage among scholars.⁵ It seems that the first ecclesiastical witness to the term “double monastery (διπλοῦν μοναστήριον / *duplex monasterium*)” comes from the Seventh Ecumenical Council. However, the earliest legal usage of the appellation is found in Justinian I’s *Novellae* 123.36 in A.D. 546.⁶

Canonists and historians both underscore that a “double monas-

tery" is not to be confused with a "mixed monastery."⁷ Concerning Greek monasticism, the Byzantine scholar, Pargoire, emphasizes,

It is necessary to distinguish the double monastery from the mixed monastery. The first simultaneously houses a community of men and a community of women, both communities placed under the governance of the same person, but separated one from the other. In the case of the second, men and women live together.⁸

The mixed monastery is an ascetical abode of men and women in which there is cohabitation, the sharing of common sleeping quarters. Such celibate ascetics were known as *agapetes* and *virgines subintroductae*.⁹ This form of life was prevalent in the fourth century and persisted despite ecclesial prohibition.¹⁰ Gribomont asserts that it is within this context that double monasteries arose as a corrective, especially with the institutionalization of monasticism.¹¹ Functionally, a household of *agapetes* is a mixed "monastery" and must not be confounded with a double monastery, which is comprised of strictly regulated separate quarters under one superior.¹² Basil of Caesarea, the architect of Greek monasticism (which was double),¹³ spoke against male and female ascetics sharing common quarters, as well as priests maintaining virgins in their houses.¹⁴

The double monastery is quite different. It must be noted that 'double' does not mean two monasteries. "Juridically, the two groups [monks and nuns] form a unity, a moral person, a single whole: the 'double monastery.'"¹⁵ Despite its name, a double monastery is a *single monastic unit* of monks and nuns following the same rule or *typikon*, under the same superior, living in the same locality, but in separate buildings. This type of monastic institution was widespread throughout the East, particularly in the early church.¹⁶

Furthermore, Leclercq, a western monastic historian, points out that besides double monasteries "there were what one might call 'twin monasteries,' and this was the case when a community of monks and one of nuns were in close proximity without being dependent on the other."¹⁷ The same holds true for monasteries in the Byzantine Empire. Twin monasteries arose when one monastic enclave was built in the same locality as another without having a common governance. Although the term "twin" has no historical grounding in the eighth through fifteenth centuries, it nevertheless denotes a methodological distinction crucial to research and classification.¹⁸

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is with this background in mind that one must analyze the texts often cited to argue the prohibition of double monasticism. The first civil regulation of monasticism was initiated by Emperor Justinian I in the sixth century. The canonist Jombart points out that "There were in Constantinople several monasteries where monks and nuns lived together under the same roof. This cohabitation was forbidden by Justinian."¹⁹ Such monasteries were in fact "mixed" and not double. As Pargoire remarks, because there was sexual misconduct "Justinian could not but condemn mixed monasteries."²⁰ The same historical interpretation is maintained by Leclercq.²¹ Understandably, all forms of sexual impropriety were censured in all monasteries.²² It is quite probable that the monasteries of men and women established in Constantinople in the fourth century by Macedonius and Marathonius followed the mixed model.²³ Had some of these monasteries survived to Justinian's day? Had new mixed houses sprung up?

Significantly, Justinian's first legislation, issued in 529, seeks to redress the problem of cohabitation.

We forbid all men dwelling in monasteries to live with women who are nuns or to contrive any pretext for having any association with them (for this introduces a just suspicion of meeting with them continually and whenever they wish), but so to be segregated that they shall have no participation with one another for any reason whatever and that no pretext of a course of life with one another should be sought either by the latter or by the former. But men alone by themselves should live in each monastery, segregated from the nuns who are *near-by* for any reason whatever, and the women alone by themselves, not mingled with men, for the purpose that all supposition of indecorous social intercourse should be destroyed absolutely (my emphasis).²⁴

Justinian granted them one year in which to comply, dividing equally between the male and female ascetics the resources held in common. Arguably, double monasteries following Basil's model of segregated quarters were not envisaged in this proscription since they were not mixed nor were they twin, built near by one another. The decree of 529 must have been ineffective, for a similar mandate was

promulgated in 539. Evidently problems persisted, because in 543 Justinian issued another statute concerning the matter. Again cohabitation was clearly the focus.

In all monasteries which are called cenobia, we order that canonical monks all dwell in a single building and eat in common, and in a similar manner all are to sleep separately in the same building, so that in turn they might bear witness to chaste conduct with each other ... All of these things are likewise to be observed carefully in monasteries and ascetical institutes of women. In not a single region of our empire do we permit monks and nuns to dwell in the same monastery or for there to exist so-called double monasteries. Wherever such monasteries are found we absolutely order that the men be separated from the women, and that the women remain in the monastery where they are and that the men build another monastery for themselves.²⁵

To my knowledge, this is the first instance in which the designation "double monastery" appears. Justinian is obviously concerned with sexual impropriety, even between the monks.²⁶ At first glance, this decree appears to address Basilian double monasteries, however the focus is upon making sure that all the monks dwell in the same building and not be scattered about, living separately abroad. Communal life was, in fact, the norm as envisioned by Basil. Naturally, it follows that monks and nuns could not reside in the same monastic building. Basil had likewise laid down rules for the separate quarters of monks and nuns within one *adelphotes*,²⁷ or double monastery.²⁸ Diehl understands Justinian's legislation as directed against monks and nuns living together under the same roof.²⁹ Gerostergios likewise reads these laws as prohibition of cohabitation.³⁰ Therefore, historians are incorrect when they cite this decree as the end of Basilian double monasticism.³¹

In fact, history attests that Justinian's decrees were ineffectual, for double monasteries continued to exist and to be founded. Crowds of men and women assembled around Alypius the Stylite drawn by his way of life. His community sprung up in northern Asia Minor at the second half of the sixth century, during Justinian's reign or soon after his death.³² Possibly another double monastery was founded around the charismatic figure Daniel the stylite.³³ Pargoire provides an example of a post-Justinian double institute which he himself asserts was demonstrably not mixed.³⁴ This community grew out of a household which devoted itself to the monastic way of life. In the seventh

century a double monastery of Egyptian monastics might have existed in Constantinople, for the life of St. Patapios frequently mentions nuns, although these could have been members of a nearby, yet separate, female monastery.³⁵ In the mid-eighth century Anthusa erected a double monastery in Bithynia called Tomantion which she governed.³⁶ In fact, double monasteries were flourishing in the Byzantine empire during the last quarter of the eighth century.³⁷

NICAIA II AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Quite often canon 20 of the Seventh Ecumenical Council has been cited as testimony to the proscription of double monasticism.³⁸ However, a close examination of the decree does not substantiate such an unqualified assertion. The Council Fathers of Nicaea II in 787 declared,

We decree that from now on no more double monasteries are to be started, because this becomes a cause of scandal and a stumbling block for ordinary folk... The double monasteries that have existed up to now should continue to exist according to the rule of our holy father Basil, and their constitutions should follow his ordinances. Monks and nuns should not live in one monastic building, because adultery takes advantage of such cohabitation... A monk should not sleep in a female monastery, nor should he eat alone with a nun.³⁹

Demonstrably, the concern was with cohabitation and sexual impropriety. Rather than condemn double monasticism, the Council Fathers sought to regulate the association between male and female monastics. They purposely endorsed the Basilian form and upheld it as the model to be imitated, consequently safeguarding against such mixed monasticism in which "monks and nuns lived in one monastic building." Not surprisingly, such a living arrangement was to be censured and eradicated.

This was hardly the demise of Basilian double monasticism, which had flourished for four centuries. Not only had it survived in the Greek East but it now received official sanction as well. Furthermore, technically the canon did not preclude the possibility of a formerly established double monastery expanding and subsequently founding a new one to provide for its growing members. The daughter house could remain under the aegis of its ancient patrimony.

The Council did, however, encourage families which wanted to

embrace monasticism to have their male and female members join single-sex monasteries as opposed to entering a double monastery so as not to cause scandal for the simple minded. Canon twenty thus testifies to one of the prevailing reasons for the erection of a double monastery—families devoting themselves to a monastic mode of life. Basil had envisioned such within his Rule.⁴⁰

While double monasteries were susceptible to scandal, this was no less true for same-sex institutes. Monasticism in the eighth century was fraught with many challenges, moral decay, as well as economic corruption.⁴¹ The iconoclastic period witnessed the repression as well as secularization of monasteries in general. Monks and nuns were harassed, jailed, and even put to death. This furthered the moral decline while concomitantly engendered some outstanding monastic saints.⁴²

At the beginning of the ninth century, matters had not significantly improved.⁴³ Because of scandal or the suspicion thereof, around the year 810, Patriarch Nicephorus I had to regulate male and female monasteries. Numerous scholars claim that Nicephorus in fact waged a campaign against double monasteries, causing the institution to disappear.⁴⁴ This assertion is based upon an account in the *Life of St. Nicephorus*.⁴⁵ However, a critical reading of the text proves nothing of the sort. I reject such an interpretation for the following reasons. 1) The term double monastery (διπλοῦν μοναστήριον) figures nowhere in the text. 2) Rather, the biographer speaks of men recently, and not so recently, erecting their monasteries near those of previously existing convents of nuns. This is clearly a case of twin monasteries. 3) The concern in *Vita* 4.27 is with cohabitation (συνδιαίτησιν) which would have been strictly precluded in a double monastery. Canon 20 of Nicaea II stipulated: "Monks and nuns should not live in one monastic building, because adultery takes advantage of such cohabitation (συνδιαίτησιν)." The biographer also uses the verb συνοικέω, the same one employed by Gregory of Nyssa regarding the cohabitation of *agapetes*.⁴⁶ (The Council had just proclaimed Gregory of Nyssa the "Father of the Fathers.")⁴⁷ Unmonitored twin monasteries could give occasion for such activity. 4) The biographer mentions Nicaea II in chapter ten of his *Vita*, but nowhere mentions it here. If Nicephorus I were going beyond the directives of this Council and closing double monasteries already given permission for their continued existence just a quarter of a cen-

tury ago, some mention of the Council should have been made. 5) The text is hagiographical, filled with pious generalities, referring to the "zeal of Phineas" and the "bite of the serpent;" it is not a reliable historical text upon which to base the complete suppression of double monasteries in the ninth century. And 6) a far more plausible interpretation can be offered for the text: Nicephorus I enforced Nicaea II and made sure no cohabitation occurred between twin monasteries— independent monasteries built by monks in the vicinity of autonomous convents of nuns. Because new double monasteries could not be founded, a way around the proscription was probably being devised: establish monasteries of men near already existing convents of women. Twin monasteries were the compromise between canonically regulated double monasteries and uncanonical mixed monasteries in which cohabitation was normal.

In fact, Dumortier has sufficiently demonstrated that Nicephorus I was responsible for the production and circulation of the *Corpus Asceticum* in which was contained a copy of St. John Chrysostom's tract against cohabitation.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, Dumortier believed that cohabitation was no longer a threat in the beginning of the ninth century, disregarding the evidence found in the late eighth century. He writes, "But if cohabitation no longer existed, a custom no less pernicious threatened to implant itself in the religious society, that of double monasteries."⁴⁹ If double monasticism were so pernicious why did the Council Fathers allow its continued existence, noting the "rule of our holy father Basil" as its basis?

To the contrary, practical matters probably occasioned Nicephorus' concern. Priests from neighboring monasteries would spend the night in convents of nuns because of celebrating the long night vigils and monastic liturgies. As Hefele notes, this raises the suspicion of cohabitation and sexual impropriety.⁵⁰ Records show that one such instance took place between twin monasteries in the eighth century.⁵¹ Nicephorus was arguably trying to head off such cases. Furthermore, if Nicephorus did indeed close double monasteries or separate from each other the monks and nuns living in such institutes, why are the names of such double monasteries not included in the records? Janin, the Byzantine monastic historian, provides no such examples. Nor, to my knowledge, does history record any protests from previously sanctioned double monasteries, which would be justified in the face of such closings. This brief hagiographical passage is too tenden-

tious and vague to warrant the conclusion that Nicephorus closed any true double monastery, let alone waged a campaign against them all causing their disappearance.

Whatever the complete historical facts concerning Nicephorus, double monasticism did continue to survive in the Greek East, incessantly experiencing a re-birth.⁵² Despite this, there is textual evidence for the possible growing scarcity of double monasteries compared with previous centuries. Gribomont points out that the O recension of the manuscripts of Basil's Rules and other ascetical works masculinized passages originally referring to female religious. The earliest witness dates from the tenth century.⁵³ Some manuscripts in the S and H as well as N recensions, likewise from the tenth century, drop out these and similar feminine texts. This fact, however, should not be construed as testifying to either the widespread or complete disappearance of double monasteries as Gribomont suggests.⁵⁴ Some such institutes might have persisted, citing canon 20 of the Seventh Ecumenical Council as justification for their continued existence. Arguably, they would have had copies of Basil's Rule dating back to an earlier period, which in fact would have been superseded by their own *typikon*.

Furthermore, it must be noted that numerous Greek monasteries in the tenth century were falling into ruin. Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas decreed that no new monastic establishments could be erected since so many were laying in decay. Basil II reaffirmed the same principle.⁵⁵ Monasticism in general was experiencing a decline. Some double monasteries probably disappeared.

Nevertheless, new double monasteries were eventually created. Emperor Alexis I Komnenos and his wife Irene Ducas (1081-1118) founded two monasteries, one for monks—Christ the Philanthropist, and the other for nuns—Theotokos Full of Grace. These monasteries were founded early in their reign, at least by 1107, being divided from each other by nothing more than a wall. In his 1964 article, Janin stated that this monastic complex was not a true double monastery since each had its own superior, and property was not held in common as was normal in double monasteries.⁵⁶ But in 1969, Janin changed his mind and classified it as constituting a double monastery.⁵⁷ Even though the female monastery was served by a priest and monks from the juxtaposed monastery, it appears that this was a case of twin monasteries rather than a proper double monastery. Unfortu-

nately, no documents help clarify the relationship between the two superiors. The female superior might have been subordinate to the male who acted as major superior. However, the arrangements must have been beneficial for both parties, since the two monasteries survived until 1453. The same empress appears to have established another twin monastery: St. Nicholas for nuns and the Forerunner of Petra for monks. However by the year 1200, the two monasteries might have merged into a double monastery.⁵⁸ Of further interest is the fact that Alexis I established at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul choirs of men and women who presumably also chanted the monastic offices which preceded the liturgies.⁵⁹ Were these choirs actually composed of monks and nuns assigned to this important church? Alexis' appointment of deaconesses to this church also testifies to his appreciation for the complementary presence of religious women.

In 1175 mention is made of a Greek double monastery known as Saïdaia several hours walking distance northeast of Damascus. It was a famous monastery renowned for its miraculous ikon, but no information regarding the date of its foundation has survived.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, one may safely conclude that by the end of the eleventh century and beginning of the twelfth, there was a move towards pairing together male and female religious institutes.

Janin catalogues numerous monasteries which were built near each other. What was the relationship between such houses? While it is impossible to determine the rapport, equally challenging is deciding which monasteries were double. Quite often Janin decides that a monastery was all-male because it had a male superior, but it just as well could have been double. Even the mention of nuns does not preclude the concomitant existence of monks, as Janin presupposes.⁶¹ Records for middle Byzantine convents of nuns are scarce; understandably testimony for double monasteries would be comparably rare.⁶² Most monasteries are mentioned only because something noteworthy happened, whether positive or negative. The average same-sex and double monastery escapes the chronicler's attention.⁶³ Only five *typika*, or foundation charters, written by women for women's monasteries have survived; and all of these were aristocratic establishments.⁶⁴ It is primarily important information concerning monasteries of notoriety which merits preservation. Such is the case with the following double monasteries.

In the third quarter of the thirteenth century a double monastery

was built on Mt. Ganos. Its founder established another in Constantinople soon afterwards. In 1289 he was elected Ecumenical Patriarch and became Athanasius I. When he resigned from this office in 1293, he returned to the double monastery only to be re-elected in 1303. He retired to his monastery once again in 1309. In fact in 1354, Patriarch Callistus I resigned and retired to this same double monastery. The double monastery subsequently known as St. Athanasius, thrived until 1383 when Patriarch Nilus I had to separate the community into two because of disputes between the monks and nuns concerning work and finances.⁶⁵ Beck's conclusion that Nilus I thus ordered the elimination of all double monasteries is unjustified.⁶⁶ Nilus had already been in office for four years, not taking any action; the fact of its being double was not the reason for its closure—division of labor and economics were.

Concerning Patriarch Athanasius I's two double monasteries, a puzzling mandate needs to be mentioned. Laurent catalogues as no. 1747 a previously unpublished decree found in Vat. gr. 2219, fol. 137v.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the manuscript is so rare that it is not owned by the Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University; thus I have not been able to read the original Greek. However, Laurent provides a French translation. The first mandate of twenty-seven reads, "*Ille proscribent les monastères doubles et feront cesser la coutume des diaconesses.*" The bishops are commanded to proscribe double monasteries; but does this mean to prohibit the erection of new ones or to banish those already in existence? Significantly, the custom of having deaconesses is likewise to cease in the future. Does this mandate refer to double monasteries ruled by a deaconess who thus would have been the major superior over priests and hence the decree? Several deaconesses had governed double monasteries throughout history.⁶⁸ Why is a mandate issued by Athanasius who himself built double monasteries and obviously did not close them since he and another patriarch later retired to one? Laurent assigns no date to these decrees. Could they belong to another Athanasius or was the manuscript in bad condition and misread, Antonius (IV) [1391-97] being the patriarch under question?⁶⁹ If it came from Athanasius himself this is baffling, for Athanasius retired to his own double monastery and died there.

Whoever issued this decree, it was ignored as the following data demonstrates. One of Athanasius' double monasteries continued in

existence as such, until 1383 when it was separated into two institutes for financial reasons.⁷⁰ In fact, Callistus I after having retired at the double monastery St. Athanasius returned as patriarch the beginning of 1355 and reigned until the fall of 1363. During his second reign he never sought occasion to close this double monastery, having experienced it first hand.

Before Niphon I became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1310 he had been in charge of two monasteries for women.⁷¹ This arrangement might suggest a double monastic system. Nevertheless, around 1310 the double monastery Christ the Philanthropist was founded in Constantinople under royal patronage by Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina. This monastery is not to be confused with the one previously mentioned. It existed for at least a century, perhaps until 1453.⁷² None of the patriarchs closed this double monastery. At the end of the fourteenth century yet another double monastic institute was erected in Constantinople: Mother of God, Hope of the hopeless. Around 1400 Patriarch Matthew I was asked to divide it in two because of economic problems.⁷³ The *Life of St. Philotheos* bears witness to another double monastery struggling to survive in Asia Minor at the beginning of the fifteenth century in the face of Turkish advancements.⁷⁴

One can safely presume that other hitherto uncatalogued double monasteries were erected throughout Asia Minor and the Greek East. Excluding the undated decree ascribed to Athanasius I, what becomes quite clear from the above data is that Patriarchs of Constantinople from the mid-thirteenth century through the fourteenth, permitted new double monasteries to be erected even after Nicaea II forbade such a practice. As long as these monastic establishments followed the prescriptions of the Rule of Basil endorsed by the Council, they were considered valid institutions meeting the needs of monks and nuns, even the needs of patriarchs seeking solitude. Furthermore, to my knowledge, none of the patriarchs during this period attempted to close any double monastery for reasons of sexual impropriety.

The liturgical ceremony for the consecration of metropolitans and archbishops dating from the late Byzantine period likewise indicates that double monasticism survived and that the Church accepted this. The new prelate was charged "to suppress the culpable relations and cohabitations occasioned by the monasteries known as double, if these monasteries should exist in his diocese."⁷⁵ This admonition does not call for the dissolution of double monasteries, but rather for the bishop

to make sure the canonical regulations are followed so that sexual impropriety does not occur. This text is preserved in the seventeenth century liturgical rites. While this liturgical injunction may be no more than a preservation of an earlier one, it is important to note that double monasticism endured in what is now Lebanon up until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Its dissolution was due not to systemic problems or Maronite proscriptions; to the contrary, the patriarchs defended it. It was because of pressure from the Roman papacy that these ancient double monasteries were closed.⁷⁶

What then is the reason for the demise of double monasticism in the Greek East? The broader context provides an answer. The end of the fourteenth century witnessed numerous disasters, both natural and human in origin.⁷⁷ By the mid-fifteenth century, the empire had suffered a marked decline in population as well as a very poor and struggling economy. When Constantinople fell in 1453, there were only eighteen monasteries left in the capital; previous centuries saw as many as over three hundred.⁷⁸ Unquestionably, the general state of affairs severely impacted double monasteries as well. As Bryer demonstrates, the fall of the empire and the subsequent economic crisis caused the complete closure of the vast majority of all previously surviving monasteries.⁷⁹ Consequently, one may reasonably conclude that the double monastery as an institution disappeared because of social and economic factors rather than as the result of sexual impropriety or systemic flaws necessitating ecclesiastical proscriptions.

CONCLUSION

In the Greek East, double monasticism was an enduring phenomenon existing under the aegis of Basil the Great. The liturgical, sacramental and mundane needs of monastic women presented the perennial expediency of establishing double monasteries as well as the alternative system of twin monasteries. Double monasteries arose around charismatic figures drawn by the particular saint's way of life. Others were established to provide for the needs of a family which decided to embrace an ascetical regime. The Seventh Ecumenical Council saw the wisdom of the provisions laid down by Basil in his Rule and endorsed this as the model for all eastern double monasteries. Mixed monasteries were to be eradicated, thus legisla-

tion was drafted to prohibit the dwelling together of monks and nuns within the same monastic building serving as dormitory. While Basilian double monasteries met these requirements, the Council decreed that no more could be erected because such establishments were a stumbling block to ordinary folk. Ironically, the subsequently adapted alternative system of twin monasteries was more susceptible to scandal—due to a decentralized means of authority and supervision—than the double monastic institute headed by one major superior over both monks and nuns who lived in separate quarters while sharing prayers and work in common.

Significantly, (apart from the one puzzling decree ascribed to Athanasius I who himself founded double monasteries and later retired to one dying there) none of the patriarchs sought to abolish double monasticism as has been previously claimed, in fact, some actively founded new double institutes. The Ecumenical Patriarchs did not choose to enforce Nicaea II's decree prohibiting the erection of new double monasteries. The widespread disappearance of double monasticism in the Byzantine Empire was the result of the fall of the empire itself and the general upheaval which ensued, not because of ecclesiastical proscription. Perhaps a few double monasteries did continue to persist before dissolving into oblivion along with their same-sex counterparts.

NOTES

¹ For this basic definition see E. Jombart, "Les monastères doubles," section 3 in "Cohabitation, historique," *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 3:972-73; H.J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, (New York: B. Herder Books, 1937), 153-54; Philibert Schmitz, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoit* (Liege: Editions de Maredsous, 1948), 7:45-46; and Micheline de Fontette, *Les religieuses à l'âge classique du droit canon* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1967), 17 note 20.

² The following scholars make this assertion: Jules Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins," *Echos d'Orient* 9 (1906): 24; Stephanus Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster: Entstehung und Organisation*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens* vol. 15 (Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen, 1928), 22; Raymond Janin, "Monachisme byzantin au moyen âge: commende et typica (Xe-XIVe siècle)," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 22 (1964): 42-44; Robert H. Trone, "A Constantinopolitan Double Monastery of the Fourteenth Century: the Philanthropic Saviour," *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* 10 (1983): 81-82; and Alice-Mary M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985): 6. Schroeder claims that the institution disappeared in the East in the ninth century because of suppression; see Schroeder,

Disciplinary Decrees, 155.

³ See my article, "Double Monasticism in the Greek East—Fourth through Eighth Centuries," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6.2 (1998): 269-312.

⁴ Johnson considers the term a "definitional quagmire" and calls for a "paradigm shift" since "in reality all women's houses were 'double' insofar as they all had priests attached to them;" see Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 7. Gold wishes the term to be dropped because it is too vague, embracing many institutions with various lived experiences; see Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 101-02. While Gold is correct to point out that the designation "double monastery" does not guarantee a uniformity among various monasteries regarding their histories of foundation and subsequent organizational structures, this does not warrant abandoning the term any more than jettisoning the appellation "benedictine monastery" would because benedictine houses have divergent foundational histories, types of members, structures and forms of governance. The same would hold true for the classification "Orthodox monastery." Admittedly, "double monastery" is an umbrella category, but one which is exclusive, that is to say not including same sex institutions or locally proximate monasteries of men and women. In this regard, it is helpful because it narrows the focus of investigation which, however, should always be carried out in the wider historical context.

Nonetheless, Elkins remarks that "double monastery" is a designation not used by monastic houses in her particular historical context and therefore refrains from importing it into her presentation; see Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), xviii. I, on the other hand, use it especially in this article because it is a Greek term used from the sixth century onward describing certain Greek monasteries.

⁵ Recent entries for "Monasteries, double" are supplied by Alice-Mary Talbot in the 1991 *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* and by Jean Gribomont in the 1992 *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*. Such continuous scholarly use of the designation "double monastery" explains the title of this article.

⁶ See Jombart, "Les monastères doubles," 973 and Gribomont, "Monasteries, Double," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*.

⁷ For the canonists who make this distinction see Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, 154 and Jombart, "Les monastères doubles," *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 3:972-73 read in connection with "Monastère," 5:929. For the historians who emphasize the difference see Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins," 21; H. Leclercq and J. Pargoire, "Monastère double," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 2183; Mary Bateson, "Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* NS 13 (1899): 138; Schmitz, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoit*, vol. 7:45 note 3 and page 48; and V. Laurent, "Une princesse byzantine au cloître," *Echos d'Orient* 29 (1930): 48 note 5.

⁸ Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins," 21.

⁹ See H. Hemmer, "Agapètes," *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*; E. Magnin, "Agapètes," *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*; Antoine Guillaumont, "Le nom des 'Agapètes,'" *Vigiliae Christianae* 23 (1969): 30-37; and Gillian Cloke, *This Female Man of God: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450* (London:

Routledge, 1995), 77-81. Also see Melchiorre di Santa Maria and Jean Gribomont, "Agapète (Mulieres et virgines subintroductae)," *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione* and H. Achelis, *Virgines Subintroductae: Ein Beitrag zum VII. Kapitel des I. Korintherbriefes* (Leipzig, 1902).

¹⁰ See Susanna Elm, "Virgins of God: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 25-51. For a synopsis of the canonical proscriptions see Magnin, "Agapètes," *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* and Francis X. Murphy, "Virgines Subintroductae," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*.

¹¹ Jean Gribomont, "Monachisme," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 10:1539-40.

¹² See my article, "Double Monasticism in the Greek East—Fourth through Eighth Centuries," 273-74.

¹³ For Basil the Great's form of double monasticism see my article, "Double Monasticism in the Greek East—Fourth through Eighth Centuries."

¹⁴ See Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae* 169-71 and 188.6, Courtonne 2:104-06 and 126 as well as Elm, *Virgins of God*, 147 & 184.

¹⁵ Schmitz, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoit*, 7:46. His clarification holds true of Greek double monasteries.

¹⁶ For this assertion see Aimé Solignac, "Monachisme," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 10:1604; E. V. Severus and S. Hilpisch, "Monasterio doppio," *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione* 51; G. Cyprian Alston, "Monasteries, Double," *Catholic Encyclopedia* 452; and Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster*, 12 as well as my article.

¹⁷ Jean Leclercq, "Feminine Monasticism in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *The Continuing Quest for God: Monastic Spirituality in Tradition and Transition*, edited by William Skudlarek (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1982), 115. Leclercq's comments are likewise apropos for monasticism in the early church. A more recent scholar makes the same differentiation; see Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The archaeology of religious women* (London: Routledge, 1994), 25.

¹⁸ My own research had led me to the same distinction and terminology before coming across Leclercq's nomenclature. Hilpisch likewise argued that one must not confuse neighboring monasteries with double monasteries; see Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster*, 1 and 4.

¹⁹ Jombart, "Cohabitation, historique," 973.

²⁰ Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins," 22.

²¹ See Leclercq, "Monastère double," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 2184.

²² For the proscriptions of monastic legislators against homosexual activity as well as heterosexual see, "Double Monasticism in the Greek East: Fourth through Eighth Centuries," 308-11.

²³ See Elm, *Virgins of God*, 111-12 and 125 as well as my article pages 278-79 and 308.

²⁴ Justinian, *Codex Justinianum* 1.3.43, translated by P. R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State & Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to AD 535*, vol. 3 (London: SPCK 1966), 1032.

²⁵ Justinian, *Novellae* 123.36, edited by Rudulfus Schell, *Corpus iuris civilis: novellae* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), 619; my translation.

²⁶ See for example, Basil of Caesarea, *De renuntiatione saeculi* 5, PG 31:637B-C; FC 9:23-24. Regarding the persistence of homosexuality in monastic life see David

Amand, *L'ascèse monastique de saint Basile: essai historique* (Maredsous: Editions de Maredsous, 1948), 246-48 and "Double Monasticism in the Greek East: Fourth through Eighth Centuries," 294-95.

²⁷ For the use of *adelphotes* to mean double monastery see my article, "Ἀδελφότης — Two Frequently Overlooked Meanings," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997): 316-20.

²⁸ See Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 15, PG 31:952C, as well as Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita s. Macrinae* 16 & 37, SC 178:194 & 258.

²⁹ See Charles Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VI^e siècle* vol. 2 (NY: Burt Franklin, 1969), 510.

³⁰ See Asterios Gerostergios, *Justinian the Great: The Emperor and Saint* (Belmont, NY: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1982), 170-71.

³¹ See for example J.M. Besse, "Abbaye. III Monastère double," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 1.27 and John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1992 [reprint of 1931 edition]), 142.

³² It is difficult to date this but Alypius died during the reign of Heraclius (610-41) after spending sixty-seven years as a stylite; see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Paris: Librairie Auguste Picard, 1923), lxxix. Soon after he became a stylite a double monastery arose up around him. If he died in 611, the double monastery arose as early as 544, one year after Justinian's decree. If it arose after Justinian's death in 565, this would place Alypius' death in 633 which is possible. Even if Alypius died in 641 this means the double monastery arose in 574 thirty years after Justinian's decree.

³³ In 536 Babylas was the priest and archimandrite over three monasteries centered around Daniel the stylite: 1) Daniel, 2) St. John the Baptist and 3) St Andrew; see Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin—première partie le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique: tome III les Églises et les monastères* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969), 86. This work is henceforth cited as *Géographie ecclésiastique* I.3:86 etc. Volume two will also be cited; thus I.2:37 etc. Was one of these three monasteries for women like that at the base of Alypius' column? As Janin points out, we know nothing concerning the members. If this was a double monastery, Justinian's decree was not obeyed.

³⁴ See Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins," 22-23.

³⁵ See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* I.3:12. Nothing in the *Vita* clarifies the matter.

³⁶ See Paul Peeters, "S. Romain le néomartyr (1 mai 780) d'après un document géorgien," *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911): 394.

³⁷ For Greek monasticism in general from the seventh through fifteenth centuries see Peter Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971): 63-84.

³⁸ See for example, Trone, "A Constantinopolitan Double Monastery," 81-82.

³⁹ *Concilium Nicaenum II* canon 20, Tanner 153-54.

⁴⁰ See Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractate* 12, PG 31:948C-949A as well as my article "Double Monasticism in the Greek East: Fourth through Eighth Centuries," 280-86.

⁴¹ See Peter Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948): 53-118 as well as Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁴² See J. M. Hussey, "Byzantine Monasticism" Chapter XXV in *The Cambridge*

Medieval History Vol. IV Part II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 161-84; Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," 66-67; and Charles A. Frazee, "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation on the Monastic Life from the Fourth through the Eighth Centuries," *Church History* 51 (1982): 277-78.

⁴³ See John Travis, *In Defence of the Faith: The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984), 104-06.

⁴⁴ To name a few: Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins," 24; Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster*, 22; Janin, "Monachisme byzantin au moyen age," 42-44; Trone, "A Constantinopolitan Double Monastery," 82; Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience," 6; and Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 155.

⁴⁵ See *Vita s. Nicephori* 4.27, PG 100:69C-72C or the more recent critical text by Carl de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani: Opuscula Historica* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), 159-60. de Boor's text has a few insignificant orthographic corrections with no additional words or lines; the meaning does not change whatsoever.

⁴⁶ See Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* 23.4, SC 119:538/40.

⁴⁷ Nicaea II, *Actio Sexta, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Mansi 13:293E, (Paris, 1902).

⁴⁸ See J. Dumortier, "L'auteur présumé du *Corpus Asceticum* de S. Jean Chrysostome," *Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1955): 99-102.

⁴⁹ Dumortier, "L'auteur présumé du *Corpus Asceticum*," 101.

⁵⁰ See his comment on canon 20 of Nicaea II, Karl Joseph von Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church* vol. 5 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896), 385.

⁵¹ See *Vita s. Stephani Juniorius*, PG 100:1129B and Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience," 3.

⁵² See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:10 and 525 and Gribomont, "Monasteries, Double," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*.

⁵³ See Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des ascétiques*, 54 and 60.

⁵⁴ See Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des ascétiques*, 294.

⁵⁵ See Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," 67 and his "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," 56-64.

⁵⁶ See Janin, "Monachisme au moyen age," 42. Schroeder notes that "The [double] monastery and all that belonged to it was in most cases, especially in the East, the common property of the community, monks and nuns," *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, 154. For the economic structure of double monasteries, once again see "Double Monasticism in the Greek East: Fourth through Eighth Centuries," 306-08.

⁵⁷ See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:525.

⁵⁸ See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:373 and 421-22.

⁵⁹ See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:399.

⁶⁰ See Paul Peeters, "Le légende de Saïdaia," *Analecta Bollandiana* 25 (1906): 137-38.

⁶¹ In fact in Janin's nearly five hundred page tome: *Les Églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines (1975), which supplements his other opus focused on monasteries in Constantinople, he does not list a single double monastery. Janin's methodology is seriously flawed in this regard. Some of the monasteries must have been double.

⁶² See Dorothy de F. Abrahamse, "Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine

Period: Problems and Prospects," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985): 35-58.

⁶³ For monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire: 867-1185* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 158-200.

⁶⁴ See Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the Τυπικά," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 38 (1988): 263-90.

⁶⁵ See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:10. Also see Talbot, "Comparison of the Monastic Experience," 6-7.

⁶⁶ See Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche, 1959), 138.

⁶⁷ See Vitalien Laurent, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches. Fasc. IV. Les registres de 1208 à 1309* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1971).

⁶⁸ For example, Marthana of St. Thekla's, Theodora of some unspecified monastery, as well as Susanna, and Anthusa of Tomantion. See "Double Monasticism in the Greek East—Fourth through Eighth Centuries," 297-301.

⁶⁹ Apparently there was no Athanasius II since the next Patriarch of Constantinople by that name is numbered the III (1634); Athanasius I held office twice, perhaps the reason for the jump in enumeration.

⁷⁰ See Talbot, "Comparison of the Monastic Experience," 6.

⁷¹ See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:396 and 510.

⁷² See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:527-28; Trone, "A Constantinopolitan Double Monastery," 81-87; Laurent, "Une princesse byzantine au cloître," 29-60; and Robert E. Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos of Philadelphia: The Monastic Discourses* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), 18-20.

⁷³ See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique* 1.3:177 and 386.

⁷⁴ See Basilike Papoulia, "Die Vita des Heiligen Philotheos vom Athos," *Südost Forschungen* 22 (1963): 278-79 and Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis* edited by Laiou-Thomadakis, 84-114 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 94-95.

⁷⁵ As quoted by Pargoire in "Les monastères doubles chez les byzantins," 25 from I. Habert, *Ἀρχιερατικόν*, Paris, 1643, p. 521.

⁷⁶ See Georges-Joseph Mahfoud, "Chapitre IV: Les monastères doubles," in *L'Organisation monastique dans l'église maronite: étude historique* (Beirut: Bibliothèque de l'Université Saint-Esprit, 1967), 289-315.

⁷⁷ For the social and economic condition in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," 84-114.

⁷⁸ See Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," 68-69.

⁷⁹ See Anthony Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside," in *Church in Town and Countryside*, edited by Derek Baker, 219-41 (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1979).

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style, his excellent use of sources, and his creative approach to such a sensitive subject.

Prof. George S. Bebis

Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos, *Epitome Kanonikou Dikaïou* ("Summary of Canon Law"). G. Dedoussis Publications. Thessaloniki, 1998, Pp. 481.

If there is anything to be said about the discipline of Orthodox Canon Law, it is that it is a discipline in crisis. The crisis in our canonical tradition manifests itself in the tension which exists between theory and praxis when canons are applied in the life of the Church. A certain way to limit abuse in the application of the holy canons is to articulate the way in which they regulate the affairs of the Church. This is precisely what this book does.

It is the valuable contribution of Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos of Tyroloe and Serention, who recently retired from a distinguished teaching career as Professor of Canon Law and Pastoral Theology at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki. Metropolitan Rodopoulos is well known and widely respected internationally for his methodical approach to the study of the holy canons, as well as for his faithfulness to their correct application. These attributes are immediately apparent to the reader of the canonical work at hand. To his credit, Metropolitan Rodopoulos has not been content to lay claim to the fulness of tradition within Orthodoxy and remain aloof from the other communions which espouse the Christian faith. As the longstanding President of the Society for the Law of the Eastern Churches, he has shown himself ready to enter into open dialogue with those with whom we share much in common both in faith and in our canonical tradition.

Although in particulars Metropolitan Rodopoulos' work has in mind the practice of the Church of Greece, its basic approach to Orthodox canonical tradition conforms to the generally accepted structure introduced by Bishop Nikodim Milasch in his classic textbook on Orthodox Canon Law (*Ekklesiastikon Dikaion tes Orthodoxou Anatolikes Ekklesias*, Athens, 1906).

Part One introduces the ecclesiological foundations of Canon Law. It opens with a chapter touching upon several essential questions: What is Church?; What is Law?; What is their interrelationship?; etc.

It continues with an investigation of the sources of Canon Law and their application, an especially important topic in view of the fact that the canons of the Orthodox Church have never been codified. The reader is thereby introduced to the basic concepts and problematics within the canonical tradition at the outset, an absolutely essential presupposition for the proper comprehension of what follows.

Part Two is devoted to the polity of the Church. Among other things, it discusses the all important issues of clergy - laity relations, the synodical system of ecclesiastical administration, and the episcopacy. Given the current interest in these topics, especially in America, it is helpful to be reminded of the Church's timeless teaching thereon. The Church's polity is hierarchical. As such, it is not the will of the faithful, but the will of God applied with exactness by the hierarchy, which characterizes it. At the same time, however, although the polity of the Church is hierarchical, it is founded upon principles entirely democratic.

It is this latter affirmation which mistakenly leads some to believe that the Church is a democratic institution. It is not. As articulated by the author (pg. 116), the Church, as both visible and invisible institution, has as her head the Lord Jesus Christ. The principle of monarchy, however, reflected in this belief cannot be applied to the visible Church. For this reason, and although the bishop to some extent exercises monarchical authority within his diocese, the visible Church is governed according to principles which are participatory, hence in this sense democratic.

Part Three focuses upon the equally important topic related to authority and how it is administered in the Church. Authority is divided into the three areas corresponding to the threefold ministry of Christ as prophet, priest and king. These are the teaching authority, sanctifying authority and governing authority of the Church. Of these three, governing or administrative authority in the broad sense includes legislative authority, administrative authority over persons, and judiciary authority. What is especially noteworthy is the reminder that all authority in the Church emanates from the Holy Spirit who lives and reigns within it. Consequently, those who exercise authority in the Church (first and foremost, the members of the episcopacy) do so neither in their own name, nor by special privilege, but by the grace of the Holy Spirit (pg. 157). A fourth paragraph devoted to the law of

ecclesiastical property, also understood as administrative authority in the narrow sense, concludes this division of the work.

Part Four examines the life of the Christian in his/her varied relations within the body of the Church. Ordinarily, this is where all canonical aspects of the sacramental life would be discussed. Owing to limitations of time acknowledged by the author, however, this section is restricted to an in depth analysis of the sacrament of marriage and related matters only. One hopes that a future edition of this work will expand upon the material herein to include also issues of worship, as well as types of canonical relations and how these rights may be suspended or terminated.

The final section, Part Five, introduces the ever timely discussion of Church-State relations. Once again, and presumably for the same reason, a related issue, that of relations of the Church with other religious confessions, is lacking. Perhaps this, too, will be included in a future edition. Owing to the author's strong involvement in this endeavor, there is certainly much to learn and benefit from his experience.

A fitting sequel to this work is the appendix which follows, taking up more than half the remainder of the study. In it are the actual legislative texts and principles of administration which serve as the basis of the administrative structure of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and of the Church of Greece. At a time when administrative models of ecclesiastical governance reflecting genuine canonical principles of church polity are being sought, these texts are an invaluable source of information. Let us hope, therefore, that they will serve as a basis for strengthening ecclesiastical administrative documents for the further growth and development of our holy Orthodox Church wherever they are needed.

Lewis J. Patsavos

George Poulos, *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988, pp. i-xii, 1-320, pictures, in English and Greek.

In 1997, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology of the Archdiocese of America celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its foundation (1937-1997) in the presence of Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople.

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Exchange or Communication of Properties and Deification: *Antidosis* or *Communicatio Idiomatum* and *Theosis*

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

1. Introduction: the general context of the Patristic doctrine of Christ

The present topic belongs to the general context of the patristic doctrine on Christ, to which Orthodox Dogmatics fully adheres, and especially to the chapter on the implications of the Incarnation. Before we turn to the latter it is proper to recall in broad outline the general context of the patristic doctrine on Christ.

The patristic doctrine on Christ was expounded by several accredited Fathers and was authoritatively formulated by several Ecumenical Synods. Among these Fathers we should especially mention those of the undivided Church of the first Christian millennium, the great Alexandrine Patriarchs Athanasius and Cyril, the Cappadocians Basil and the two Gregories, Leo of Rome and Leontius of Byzantium, Sophronius of Jerusalem, Maximus the Confessor and John Damascene. The Ecumenical Synods include all seven Ecumenical Synods of the first millennium of the ancient undivided catholic Church in which all churches in East and West participated with some exceptions. A brief review of the Christological doctrine of the seven Ecumenical Synods will serve as a basis for addressing the present topic.

The Christology of the Seven Ecumenical Synods

The First Ecumenical Synod (Nicaea, 325) affirmed the true Godhead of Christ, i.e. the fact that he is God's true Son and Logos, eternally born from the very substance or being (οὐσία) of the Father and consubstantial or one in being (ὁμοούσιος) with him,¹ who became incarnate and revealed himself as the Christ. Particularly rel-

evant for understanding this Nicene doctrine of Christ is the teaching of St. Athanasius the Great who fought against Arianism and Pneumatomachianism and clarified in a fundamental way the basic aspects of the doctrine of the Incarnation. His famous early work *De Incarnatione* and his various dogmatic treatises and epistles against the Arians and the Tropici, but especially the so-called later ones which dealt with heresies relating to the Incarnation, are of particular relevance in this connection.² The Synod of Nicaea, then, affirmed the true Godhead of Christ through defending the mystery of his true and unique divine Sonship. Its key dogmatic Christological notion was that of *divine generation*, which was clarified by the Nicene “decrees,” “from the Father’s being” (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς) and “one in being” (ὁμοούσιος) with him. These terms were meant to be counter-blasts to those of Arianism that denied the true Godhead of Christ, and respectively referred to the unity and distinction in being between the Father and the Son.

The Second Ecumenical Synod (Constantinople, 381) reaffirmed and clarified the Nicene theology by extending, as it were, its doctrine of the true Godhead of the Son to the Holy Spirit and thereby, clarifying the doctrine of the Trinity by a new settlement of dogmatic terms; but it also condemned the new error of Apollinarism, which had to do with the denial of the integrity of the humanity of Christ. As far as Christology is concerned, the second Ecumenical Synod taught that Christ is true God and true man. Here the work of St. Athanasius and the great Cappadocian Fathers is particularly relevant, especially the treatises/letters of these Fathers against the Apollinarists who denied the complete humanity of Christ. Particularly important as clarificatory of the mind of the Church was in this context the distinction between the *one divine being* (οὐσία) and the three divine *hypostaseis* or *persons* which had been accepted by St. Athanasius at the crucial Synod of the Confessors that he had summoned in Alexandria in 362,³ and clarified by the Cappadocian Fathers and St. Basil in particular. The best summary of the doctrine of this Synod is the following paragraph from its *Synodical Letter* to Pope Damasus and the Western Bishops (382):

“... our disposition is all for the peace with unity for its sole object, and that we are full of zeal for the right faith... This is the faith which ought to be sufficient for you, for us, for all who wrest not the word of

true faith; for it is the ancient faith; it is the faith of our baptism; it is the faith that teaches us to believe in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. According to this faith there is one Godhead, Power and Substance of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; the dignity being equal, and the majesty being equal in three perfect Hypostaseis, i.e. three perfect Persons. Thus there is no room for the heresy of Sabellius by the confusion of the Hypostaseis, i.e. the destruction of the Persons; thus the blasphemy of the Eunomians, of the Arians, and of the Pneumatomachians is nullified, which divides the Substance, the Nature and the Godhead, and superinduces on the uncreated consubstantial and co-eternal Trinity a nature posterior, created and of a different substance. We moreover preserve unperverted the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Lord, holding the tradition that the economy (dispensation) of the flesh is neither soulless, nor mindless, nor imperfect; and knowing full well that God's Logos was perfect before the ages, and became perfect man in the last days for our salvation. Let this suffice for a summary of the doctrine which is fearlessly and frankly preached by us, and concerning which you will be able to be still further satisfied if you will deign to read the Tome of the Synod of Antioch [Athanasius' *Tomus ad Antiochenos* (362)?], and also that Tome issued last year[(381)] by the Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople, in which we have set forth our confession of the faith at greater length, and have appended an anathema against the heresies which innovators have recently inscribed."⁴

The particular concern of the Third Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus (431/3) was not only the reaffirmation of Nicene orthodoxy but also the affirmation of the unity of the *hypostasis* or person of Christ against the new error of Nestorianism. Nestorianism saw in Christ *two hypostaseis* and two persons, the eternal Son and Logos of God (understood in Nicene terms) and Jesus the son of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Mary being therefore, *anthropotokos*=man-bearer or *Christotokos*=Christ-bearer, but not *Theotokos*=God-bearer), although it did also use the phrase "one person" in the sense of "a prosopic union." Nestorianism was the directly opposite error to Apollinarianism. Against the Christological monophysitic monism of Apollinarianism Nestorianism produced a dyophysitic dualistic dialectic.⁵ Thus, if the former introduced confusion the latter stood for division between Godhead and Manhood in Christ. Here the solution (unity in duality) was provided by the great St. Cyril of Alexandria, whose works against

Nestorius and especially some of his epistles to Nestorius, to John of Antioch, to Succensus etc., are of particular relevance.⁶ The Third Ecumenical Synod, then, taught the unity of the Person of Christ, while affirming the integrity of his Godhead and manhood, so as to preserve the integrity and mystery of the incarnation; the fact that the true and eternal Son and Logos of God truly became man in Christ without ceasing to be true God, not by entering into a man but himself becoming man through assuming the human nature from the holy Virgin Mary (Mary being therefore true *Theotokos*=God-bearer).⁷ Here is how John of Antioch put it in "the formula of union" as St. Cyril records it approvingly in his Letter to him:

"...the Same [Person] consubstantial with the Father as to the Godhead and consubstantial with us as to the Manhood, for there was a Union of Two Natures, whereby we confess One Christ, One Son, One Lord. And according to this idea of the unconfused Union we confess the holy Virgin to be Theotokos, because God the Logos was incarnate, and lived as Man, and from the very conception united to Himself the temple which he took from her."

Further on in this same Epistle St. Cyril stresses the same point in his own words:

"...He is therefore now conceived of as One with his own flesh ... being perfect in Godhead and perfect in Manhood, and conceived of as in One Person, for there is One Lord Jesus Christ, although the difference of the Natures is not ignored, from both of which we say that the ineffable Union has been wrought."

The key terms of this Synod are those of "hypostasis" and "person," "hypostatic union" and "Theotokos." The final settlement emphasized "one *hypostasis* or one person" and "two perfect natures of Godhead and Manhood," although the primary emphasis was laid on the former.

The Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) represents a reaffirmation and clarification of the work of the three preceding Ecumenical Synods and especially of the third Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus 431 against the erroneous (Eutychian) Monophysitism of the so-called fourth Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus II or Robber Synod (*concilium latrocinium* as Pope Leo called it) of 449 which had overturned the condemnation of Eutychian Monophysitism by the Endemousa Synod of Constantinople of 448. The dogmatic *Horos*

of the Synod of Chalcedon constitutes a pivotal point in the patristic doctrine of Christ, because it provides a classic formulation which has lasted to the present day, i.e. the unity of the hypostasis or person of Christ and the duality of his natures, the divine and the human.⁸ Leo's *Tome to Flavian of Constantinople*⁹ against the error of Eutychianism that denied the double consubstantiality of Christ and propounded a Monophysitism which confused the divine and human natures of Christ, is a key statement here, but not in an absolute sense, since Cyril of Alexandria's doctrinal authority continues to hold the ground especially through the acceptance of his famous *Twelve Chapters* by this Synod.¹⁰ The *Horos of Chalcedon* states:

"...and on account of those who attempt to corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, and who shamelessly pretend that he who was born of the Holy Mary was a mere man, it has received the Synodical Epistles of the blessed Cyril, Pastor of the Church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and the Easterners, as being agreeable thereto, for the refutation of the wild notions of Nestorius and for the instruction of those who in pious zeal desire to understand the saving Symbol. To these also it has suitably united, for the confirmation of the right doctrines, the Epistles of the Prelate of the great and older Rome, the most blessed and most holy Archbishop Leo, which was written to the saintly Archbishop Flavian for the exclusion of the wrong opinion of Eutyches, inasmuch as it agrees with the confession of the great Peter, and is a common pillar against the heterodox."

The Synod of Chalcedon, then, taught the true Godhead, the true Manhood and the unity of the Person of Christ. Its particular Christological formula is the statement:¹¹

"One and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in Two Natures *unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably*, the difference of the Natures being in no way removed because of the Union, but rather the property of each Nature being preserved, and both concurring in One Person and One Hypostasis; not as though he were parted or divided into Two Persons, but One and the Self-same Son and Only-begotten God, Logos, Lord, Jesus Christ."

The "Definition" (ὁρος) of the Synod of Chalcedon obviously brings together the doctrines of the three preceding Ecumenical Synods, Nicaea, Constantinople I and Ephesus I.

The fifth Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople II (553), summoned

by the Roman king Justinian, reaffirmed and clarified the doctrine of Chalcedon and of the previous Councils exposing and refuting the error of the crypto-Nestorianism of the so-called *Three Chapters*,¹² namely: 1) *The Christological teaching* of Theodore of Mopsuestia, 2) Theodoret of Cyrus' *Writings against Cyril of Alexandria's Twelve Chapters* and 3) Ibas of Edessa's *Letter to Maris the Persian*, while recognizing the orthodox understanding and therefore acceptability of the 'monophysitism' of Cyril's Christological formula "One nature of God the Logos Incarnate" (μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη).¹³ Like the previous Synod at Chalcedon, this one too reaffirmed the unity of the person of Christ and the duality of natures united in him in a way that both the error of dualistic Nestorianism is excluded and the orthodox Monophysite statement of it is acknowledged. In a sense Constantinople II looks back and restates the dogmatic insights of Ephesus I, clarifying the Cyrillic dogmatic heritage in order to procure a reconciliation of orthodox Monophysites with orthodox Dyophysites. The key to it all is the strong Cyrillic emphasis on the unity of the *Hypostasis* or Person of Christ. The main Christological points of this Council are laid out in the 14 Chapters, which can be summarized as follows:

- 1) There is one Nature or Being in three Hypostaseis in God. 2) There are "two generations" of God the Logos, one eternal and divine from God the Father and another in (eschatological) time from the Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary. 3) God the Logos is not "another" and Christ "another" (ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος), nor is there "another in another" (ἄλλος ἐν ἄλλῳ) in Christ, but there is "One and the Same" (ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτόν) Lord Jesus Christ, God the Logos who became incarnate and inhuman. 4) In Christ we do not have God the Logos united to a man, nor are there two persons in him. Rather God the Logos was hypostatically united with flesh that was ensouled with a rational and mind-endowed soul. There is one hypostasis in Christ, that of the second person of the Trinity which has been united with the flesh in a "composite or hypostatic" way (κατὰ σύνθεσιν... ὅπερ ἐστὶ). 5) The One Hypostasis or Person of the Lord Jesus Christ could in no way imply two Hypostaseis or Persons as Theodore and Nestorius hold, because the incarnation did not add another Person to the Holy Trinity. 6) The Virgin Mary is properly and truly *Theotokos* (κυρίως καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν Θεοτόκος) and not conventionally (καταχρηστικῶς). 7) The union of the two Natures of Godhead and Manhood in the One Lord Jesus Christ does not undo the difference

of the Natures, nor does this difference divide him. There is "One from both" (εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν) and "Both are through One" (δι' ἐνὸς ἀμφοτέρω). 8) The patristic understanding of the formulae "from two Natures" (ἐκ δύο φύσεων) and "one Nature of God the Logos incarnate" (μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην), does not imply that "one Nature resulted" (μία φύσις ἀποτελέσθη) from the hypostatic union, because the double consubstantiality of the One Lord Jesus Christ to God and to us is not abolished; but this, in turn, does not imply either division or confusion of the mystery of Christ. 9) Worshipping Christ in two Natures does not incur two forms of worship, for this would imply division; nor again the one worship implies the confusion of "one nature." 10) The Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified in the flesh is none other than true God and Lord of Glory and One of the Trinity. 11) Acceptance of the first four Ecumenical Synods means rejection of Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, Eutyches and Origen, as well as those who are associated with them. 12) Theodore's Christology which teaches that God the Logos is "another" and Christ "another" and that the latter is a "mere man" (ψυλὸς ἄνθρωπος) with all that this implies, is totally unacceptable. 13) Theodoret's calumny of the *Twelve Chapters* of St. Cyril and his defense of the teachings of Theodore and Nestorius are also totally unacceptable. 14) Equally unacceptable is finally Ibas of Edessa's *Epistle* to Maris the Persian which teaches that the Virgin Mary is not Theotokos, that Christ is a "mere man" and that St. Cyril is an Apollinarian for holding such views.

The Sixth Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople III (680/1) reaffirmed the teaching of the previous Synods stating further the teaching of the two "natural operations" and "natural wills" of Christ, the divine and the human, against the heresies of *monenergism* and *monothelitism*. Important here is the teaching of Sophronius of Jerusalem¹⁴ and Maximus the Confessor who provided the basic patristic documentation and argumentation in support of the doctrine of this Synod. Sophronius' contribution was decisively made through his *Synodical [Dogmatic] Epistle to Sergius of Constantinople* which recapitulates all the preceding Patristic teaching and elaborates it in a mastery way. This *Epistle*, which was incorporated into the Minutes of Constantinople III, focuses on the *kenosis* of God the Logos at the Incarnation, which is reminiscent of Cyril's doctrine, to whom explicit reference is made, and elaborates its meaning using traditional terminology: "the hypostatic union of God the Logos with the hu-

man flesh (nature)," "the two generations of God the Logos (from the Father eternally and from the Virgin Theotokos in time)," "a union from two Natures," "a natural (φυσική) or hypostatic concurrence (σύννοδος)," "from two and in two Natures," "One and the same [Person] in both," "each Nature operating its own in communion with the other," "one composite and unique hypostasis (ἡ σύνθετος αὐτοῦ καὶ μοναδικὴ ὑπόστασις)," "one common and theandric so-called energy, which is not one but heterogeneous and differentiated," etc. The key terms are "natural energy or operation" (ἐνέργεια φυσική) and "natural will" (θέλημα φυσικόν). The Synod affirmed that in Christ there were "two natural wills" which did not oppose each other because they were united in one and the same person, and that the notion of a "personal will" is totally unacceptable and heretical.¹⁵

The main concern of the seventh ecumenical Synod of Nicaea II (787), the restoration of the holy icons, is identified in the Orthodox Church with the restoration of orthodoxy mainly because of its Christological basis which is none other than the doctrine of the previous six Ecumenical Synods. The basis for the liturgical use of icons is the Incarnation and indeed the communication of uncreated and created properties, the fact that the Son and Logos of God who is undepictable in his divine nature is depictable in his humanity which he assumed at the Incarnation. The holy icons are related to the mystery of the incarnation of the Son and Logos of God and are particularly related to his divine/human (composite) person or hypostasis. Here is how the *Horos* of the Synod puts it:

"... To make our confession short, we keep unchanged all the ecclesiastical traditions handed down to us, written or unwritten, and of these one is the making of iconic representations, agreeable to the history of the preaching of the Gospel, a tradition useful in many respects, but especially in this, *that so the incarnation of the Logos of God is shown forth as real and not as merely imaginary*, (πρὸς πίστῳσιν τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ φαντασίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐνανθρωπήσεως) for these have mutual indications, and without doubt have also mutual signification ... to these due salutation and honorable reverence (ἄσπασμόν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν) is given, not indeed that true worship (ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν) which pertains alone to the divine nature ... For the honor which is paid to the icon passes on to that which the icon represents, and he who shows reverence to the icon shows reverence to the person (τὴν ὑπόστασιν) represented in it."¹⁶

2. Exchange of properties and circumincession (*perichoresis*) according to John Damascene

The question which was not fully answered, at least explicitly and synodally was the precise effect of the hypostatic or personal union on the two natures, the divine and the human, which were united in this one Christ. Most Fathers did this to some extent in an uncontrived and unassuming way as they insisted in their writings on the *deification* of the human nature as a result of its union with the divine. The Father, however, who is particularly connected with the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, and has provided the basis for the patristic doctrine of the icons, St John Damascene, is he who has provided a systematic and comprehensive presentation of the Christological doctrine of the above-mentioned Fathers and Synods in his famous *Expositio de Orthodoxae Fidei* (*Ἐκδοσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*).¹⁷ This book, as it is well known, is divided into four parts, I II III IV, which deal respectively with the topics of Theology (chs. 1-14), Cosmology (chs. 15-44), Christology (chs. 45-73), and Clarifications of various Christological and other topics of theological concern (chs. 74-100). Particularly relevant here are books III and IV and especially certain chapters from these books which have a direct bearing on the topic of this paper. We may turn to these as our accredited guide to our particular topic.

In the first two chapters of Book III St John Damascene deals on the one hand with the divine economy of the Incarnation of the Son and Logos of God, drawing out the soteriological character of this event, and on the other hand, with the manner of the Incarnation. More specifically, he refers to the birth from the Holy Virgin and to the union of the divine hypostasis of the Son and Logos of God with the flesh, which was taken from the Blessed Virgin and was endowed with soul and mind. He concludes with the statement that this hypostatic union took place

“without confusion, alteration and division, for neither the nature of the Godhead of the Divine Son and Logos of God was converted into the substance of the flesh, nor the substance of the flesh was converted into the nature of the Godhead, nor was a “*composite nature*” (*φύσις σύνθετος*) constituted from the nature of the Godhead of God’s Son and Logos and the human nature which he assumed from the Blessed Virgin Mary.”¹⁸

This statement, which is clearly reminiscent of the Chalcedonian *Horos*, is further explained in the third chapter, which deals specifically with the “two natures” of the Godhead and the manhood and their hypostatic union in Christ and introduces the notion of the communication of properties (ἀντίδοσις ἰδιωμάτων). Here St John Damascene argues at some length, against the “heretical,” as he calls it, (Monophysite) notion of a “*composite nature*” on the ground that such a nature could not sustain the essential differences of uncreated Godhead and created manhood, nor the double consubstantiality which is applicable to Christ, i.e. the fact that he is *homoousios* with God the Father and *homoousios* with us. He also argues against the notion of a “*simple nature*” (φύσις ἀπλή) which he attributes either to the Docetists or to Nestorius, inasmuch as it suggests either only the divine nature, regarding the Incarnation as a mere appearance, or only the human nature, regarding Christ as a mere man. St John stresses against the notion of “*one nature*,” “*composite*” or “*simple*,” the two natures, the divine and the human, which are united in the one hypostasis of the Son and Logos of God and on account of which he is and is called both true God and true man.¹⁹

The key to St John’s orthodox Christological doctrine is what he calls “*the one composite hypostasis*” (μία σύνθετος ὑπόστασις) of Christ, in which the divine and human natures are united “*paradoxically*” and “*super-naturally*” (παραδόξως καὶ ὑπερφυσῶς).²⁰ This is, as he says, what the heretics fail to understand, for they identify hypostasis and nature and thus end up either with the Monophysite error of the “*one hypostasis*” which goes hand in hand with “*one composite nature*” (e.g. Dioscoros, Eutyches and Severos),²¹ or with the dyophysite error of “*two hypostaseis*” which goes hand in hand with “*two simple natures*” (Nestorius, Diodorus and Theodorus).²² His point concerning Christ’s “*composite hypostasis*” is further explained through the clarification that the very name “Christ,” which designates the hypostasis of the Son and Logos of God, is not to be taken univocally or one-sidedly (μονοτρόπως) but equivocally, inasmuch as it refers to both natures and denotes one who both anoints and is anointed; he anoints with his Godhead and is anointed in his manhood.²³

It is at this point that St John Damascene introduces his very illuminating discussion of the “*exchange of properties*” which has been utilized as a *locus classicus dogmaticus* by orthodox dogmaticians in the past and in the present. This notion has to do with the implica-

tions of the Incarnation and especially of the hypostatic union of the two natures of the Godhead and the Manhood. "He says in a crucial text,

"that the Logos, appropriates to himself the human [properties], because what belong to his holy flesh are his; and he transmits to the flesh what are his own divine [properties] according to the manner of the exchange (ἀντίδοσις) on account of the circumincession (περιχώρησις) of the parts towards each other and the hypostatic union, and because it was one and the same who wrought the divine and the human operations in each form along with the participation of the other."²⁴

St John Damascene explains this by recalling two scriptural statements as examples: I Cor. 2:8 (the Lord of Glory was crucified), John 3:13 (the Son of Man who is from heaven before his passion). The exchange that we observe here is that the Lord of Glory is credited with the crucifixion while the Son of Man is credited with being from heaven. The reason is, as St John explains, that the Lord of Glory and the Son of Man are one and the same person or hypostasis (εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός),²⁵ for the one who was Lord of Glory has become Son of Man as well. Thus the same one is attributed of both the miraculous and the passible operations by whatever name he is designated, divine or human, although the basis for these miraculous and passible operations are one thing (nature) and another (κατ' ἄλλο καὶ κατ' ἄλλο).

There is, then, in Christ one hypostasis but also a difference of natures. The difference of the natures, says St John Damascene,

"points to his conjunction with two different ends; the divine natures point to his conjunction with the Father and the Spirit, whereas the human nature points to his conjunction with his Mother and the rest of the human beings."²⁶

At the same time the conjunction of the two natures points to "his difference from his Father and the Spirit or from his Mother and the rest of the human beings." In fact, this has to do with his hypostasis, which is different from the other divine and human hypostaseis, because his is a "composite" one.²⁷ Being "composite" he can be the subject of attribution of both divine and human properties, even though he can be designated by either divine or human names. It is because of this that the exchange of properties occurs; human properties are

attributed of him as God, and divine properties are attributed of him as man.

It is precisely "the manner of this exchange" (περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἀντιδόσεως) that chapter four of book III is designed to clarify.²⁸ St John Damascene first points to the distinction between the abstract nouns of "Godhead" and "Manhood" and the concrete nouns of "God" and "man." Both of these, he says, are used with reference to the two natures or substances of Christ, but only the latter (the concrete nouns) can be also used with reference to Christ's hypostasis. When the concrete nouns of God and man, or their synonyms (e.g. Lord of Glory, Son of Man, Christ), are used with reference to Christ's hypostasis, then, the exchange of properties is applicable. So, one could speak of Christ as "passible God," or "crucified Lord of Glory," and also as "pre-eternal servant," or "man without beginning and genealogy." Thus, St John Damascene concludes with the statement, that

"this is the manner of the exchange of properties, namely, that each nature exchanges with the other its own properties on account of the hypostasis and of the circumincession of the one into the other; and so we may say of Christ, that He is our God who appeared on the earth and sojourned with human beings, and he is the heavenly Man who is uncreated and impassible and indescribable."²⁹

In chapter five the Damascene explains further the distinction and the unity of the two natures and stresses that the circumincession of these natures does not incur any natural change or alteration in either of them, because each of them keeps its own natural properties.³⁰

In chapter six he argues on soteriological grounds that the entire nature and not a part of it was united in one of the divine hypostaseis with the entire human nature. Here he explains that "the whole [Godhead] assumed the whole of me (ὅλον γὰρ ὅλος ἀνέλαβέ με), and the whole was united with the whole (ὅλος ὅλῳ ἡνώθη) so that he might grant salvation to the whole; for what is not assumed is not healed."³¹ The importance of this insistence on the assumption of the "whole" of the human nature is clearly brought out in St John Damascene's claim that the statement of Eph. 2:6 (he raised us up and made us sit in Christ) is true not in the sense that all our hypostaseis have been raised with Christ, but because the entirety of our nature has been taken up in the hypostasis of Christ.³²

Chapter seven clarifies further the *composite hypostasis* of Christ and especially how he came to be such having been first “simple, incomposite, uncreated, bodiless, invisible, etc.”³³ He is *composite*, he says, because he bears the properties of both natures, and, as he goes on to explain, he differs from both the divine hypostaseis of the Father and the Spirit and the human hypostaseis of his Mother and the rest of the human beings. He differs from all these especially in that he is both God and man, a fact that constitutes “*the most peculiar property of the hypostasis of Christ*” (τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποστάσεως ἰδιαίτατον ἰδίωμα γινώσκομεν).³⁴ He is not “one and another” (ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος) but “one and the same” person (εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός), even though there is “one and another” nature in him (ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο); he is both perfect God and perfect man (τέλειος καὶ τέλειος) in the fullness of his two natures, and whole God and whole man (ὅλος καὶ ὅλος) in the uniqueness and indivisibility of his hypostasis.³⁵ Particularly important in this chapter is the clarification of the notion of circumincession (περιχώρησις) of the two natures, which has to do with the notion of the exchange of properties.³⁶ St John Damascene sees it as having a *direction from the Godhead to the Manhood* and not the other way round.

“We must be aware,” he notes, “that even when we say that there is a circumincession between the natures of the Lord, we realize that this circumincession takes place on account of the divine nature; because this nature penetrates all things, as it wills, with circumincession, whilst nothing penetrates it; and *it is this nature that offers to the flesh its glory, while remaining itself impassible and without participating in the passions of the flesh*. For if the sun does not participate in our properties, how much more would this be the case with the creator of the sun and Lord!”³⁷

Chapter eight clarifies further this divine character of the circumincession of the natures by explaining the sense of the veneration of Christ together with his immaculate flesh. He is venerated with his flesh because of the one hypostasis of the Logos, which has appropriated this flesh. It is not “a mere flesh that we venerate but a flesh that is united with the Godhead and because the two natures of the Godhead and the flesh are brought together in and through the one person and hypostasis of the Logos of God.”³⁸ The appropriate example here is that of the coal which is lit up with fire. In Christ the

coal is the flesh and the fire is the Godhead. As fear does not separate the flaming coal so veneration does not distinguish the flesh from the Godhead of Christ.³⁹ A similar example is provided in chapter fifteen where St John Damascene discusses the topic of the two energies of Christ. Here he talks about the inflamed sword and points out, that as the natures of the fire and the iron are inseparably united and their energies and properties coordinated in producing one result without losing their essential difference, so in Christ Godhead and manhood are inseparably coordinated into *one theandric operation without abolition of their natural difference*.⁴⁰ These examples are indicative of the way in which St John Damascene understands both the circumincession and the communication of the properties of the two natures in Christ. They are such that no essential alteration occurs in the properties of either of them, although there is in accordance with these properties *a change in the human nature of Christ* that falls within the context of its natural "limits" or creaturely "capabilities." The divine nature is unchangeable and impassible but the human is changeable in accordance with its own terms and on account of its union and communion with the divine. The notion that sums up this natural "change" of the human nature is that of "*deification*."

3. Exchange of properties, circumincession and deification of the human nature

The combination of the notion of deification of the human nature with the notion of the union and circumincession of the divine and human natures in Christ appears in a very interesting paragraph in chapter fifteen of book III. Here St John Damascene states, that

"As we accept that the natures are united and there is a circumincession between them and yet, we do not deny their difference, but we number them knowing full well that that they are inseparable, likewise we are fully aware of the conjunction of the wills and energies of these natures and know full well their difference and number them without introducing any division; for in the whatever manner *the flesh has been deified without changing its nature*, in the same way *the will and the energy have been deified without stepping out of their natural limits*."⁴¹

The reason for this is that "there is one who is both this and that and who operates in this way and in that way, i.e. in a divine and in a

human manner.”⁴² Although St John Damascene does not say here what *deification* consists in, he does suggest that it is connected with the human nature, that it results from its union with the divine and that it involves no essential alteration to the human nature. Another statement further on in the same chapter suggests that *deification* has to do with *glorification* resulting from the acquisition of the gift of God’s glory (τῶν μὲν οὖν οἰκείων ἀρχιμάτων ἡ θεότης τῷ σώματι μεταδίδωσιν)⁴³ but stress is laid on the fact that the divine nature is not affected by the passibility of the human flesh (αὕτη δὲ τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν διαμένει ἀμέτοχος) even though the flesh suffered through the Godhead (διὰ τῆς θεότητος ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ἔπασχεν).⁴⁴ The glorification of the flesh and the impassibility of the divine nature in the circumincession that occurs between them in Christ are connected with the fact that the human nature is the instrument of the divine (ὄργανον γὰρ τῆς θεότητος ἡ σὰρξ ἐχρημάτισεν)⁴⁵ and that the quality (ποιότης) of the form of each nature cannot be confused.⁴⁶ These points are picked up and elaborated in subsequent chapters in books III and IV.

St John Damascene returns to a further discussion of the theme of the *deification* of the nature of the Lord’s flesh and will in chapter seventeen. He starts with the unequivocal statement that the flesh of the Lord was not deified in the sense of a change or mutation or alteration or confusion, even though it is even said to have become “co-divine” (ὁμόθεος) and “divine” (θεός) by Gregory the theologian. He cites Gregory’s statement, “of which the one procured the deification and the other received it and I would even dare to say that it became equal to God and that the one who procured the anointing became man whereas the one who received the anointing became God.”⁴⁷

St John Damascene opposes to the “change of nature” the “economic union” (οἰκονομικὴν ἕνωσιν) or “hypostatic union” and the mutual “circumincession” (περιχώρησιν) of the two natures and states that this should be understood in the light of the example of the inflammation of the iron.⁴⁸ In becoming flesh the Logos did not step out of the terms of his own Godhead, not of the glory which befits his Godhead, just as the flesh did not change its nature nor did it lose its natural properties in becoming deified. The natures remained unconfused and their properties retained their integrity even after the union.⁴⁹ The Lord’s flesh was enriched, however, with the presence

of the divine energies on account of its full and hypostatic union with the Logos. It acted divinely not according to its own energy but on account of the divine Logos who was united with it and exhibited his own divine energy in and through it.⁵⁰ Something similar happens with the inflamed iron, in that it becomes capable to convey the cutting energy of fire. Likewise *the Lord's flesh which is mortal in itself became life giving* because of its hypostatic union with the Logos. This is the way St John understands the deification of the flesh and the deification of the human will of the Lord. They are united with the divine nature and will and convey their divine operations. Thus St John concludes, that "the deification of the human nature and of the human will assumed by the Lord reveals most clearly and emphatically the two natures and the two wills. In no way does it indicate a *composite nature*, but in every way it shows *the hypostatic union of the two natures*."⁵¹

In chapter eighteen St John Damascene elaborates in a most profound way his understanding of *deification* by discussing the way in which the human mind of Christ was united with the Godhead and the way in which the divine and human wills of Christ acted in the whole economy of his passion and death.⁵²

In chapter nineteen he elaborates further the notion of the "communication of properties" of the two natures and their "circumincession" through a detailed explanation of the Dionysian notion of the "*one theandric energy*" of Christ, which first appears in pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and is explained by St. Maximus the Confessor in his Disputation with Pyrrhus. The crucial point here is that this notion is intended to convey the fact that the two energies are not divided and the two natures do not operate separately, but *each one of them operates in communion with the other* (ἐνεργεῖ ἑκάτερα ἐν Χριστῷ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας).⁵³ This communion implies that the divine nature participates in the operation of the flesh by letting it suffer and operate what is proper to it out of the good-pleasure of the divine will and transforming the operation of the flesh into a saving one because of its coordination with the divine. Likewise the flesh participates in the operation of the Logos by serving as an instrument of the divine energy for the sake of the one Lord who acts both as God and as man.⁵⁴

St John Damascene elaborates this perspective of the communion and coordination of the two natures of the Godhead and the manhood

in Christ by discussing in the following chapters of book III a variety of topics. These include: Christ's "natural and blameless sufferings" (ch.20), "ignorance and servitude," (ch.21) "advancement in wisdom, stature and grace" (ch.22), "faint-heartedness" (ch.23), "prayer and cry of dereliction" (ch.24), "appropriation of human predicament" (ch.25), "passibility and impassibility" (ch.26), "death and the indivisibility of his divine from his human nature" (ch.27), "corruptible and incorruptible body" (ch.28) and "descend into hades" (ch.29). Such discussions are further extended in book IV and comprise such topics as "the state of the body of Christ after the resurrection" (ch.1), "the sitting of Christ at the right hand of the Father" (ch.2), "the veneration of Christ after the resurrection" (ch.3), "the reason why the Son himself became Incarnate and not another divine person" (ch.4), "that Christ's hypostasis is uncreated and created" (ch.5), "the meaning of the name Christ" (ch.6), "the two natures in the context of the birth from the Virgin and the death of Christ" (ch.7), Christ being "Only-begotten and firstborn" (ch.8), "on the sacred and immaculate sacraments of the Lord" (ch.13), "on the genealogy of Christ" (ch.14), "on what is said of Christ before the incarnation, for the incarnation, after the incarnation and after the resurrection" (ch.18).

4. General concluding points

These topics highlight the amazing wealth of the Damascene patristic doctrine of Christ and the hidden soteriological treasures, which are primary in it. Exchange of properties and deification sound rather abstract terms when considered independently of the data of the history of Christ as given to us in the history of salvation and especially in the Holy Gospel. The patristic dogmatic terms find their true significance and meaning when they are expounded in the context of both the Holy Scriptures and the history of salvation.

St John Damascene serves as a starting point and main source for most of the contemporary orthodox dogmaticians in their discussions of our present topic. Their doctrine can be summed up as follows:

The union of the divine and the human natures in Christ without confusion, change, division, separation, in the one person and hypostasis of the eternal Son and Logos of God has meant that *Christ's person is composite* and that all divine and human properties are attributed of him without any distinction. Thus, it is possible to qualify

Christ as man and attribute to him divine properties, or to qualify him as God and attribute to him human properties, effecting thereby an exchange of properties. For example, one can talk about the "blood of God," or about the "crucified Lord of Glory," or about the "Lordly man," or "Man from heaven," or the "Man who is a vivifying Spirit." This in no way implies confusion or change of the essential properties of the two natures, because the exchange of properties is not, as it were, a natural one, i.e. from the one nature to the other, but a personal or hypostatic one, i.e. from each nature to the same person as person of the other. This means that in the doctrine of Christ we may speak of his *composite person* but not of his *composite nature*.

The union, however, of the two natures without division or separation does raise the question as to what the impact of the one nature on the other actually is. Patristic and Orthodox Christology speaks here of a circumincession or *perichoresis* of the divine nature into the human and of the deification or *theosis* of the human nature of Christ. The precise meaning of these terms is determined on the presupposition that neither of these natures is changed as to the terms of its particular essence, i.e. neither the Godhead nor the manhood cease to be what they are in their essence. Yet, given the difference of the terms of their essence, i.e. the difference between the uncreated, and infinite nature of God and the created and finite nature of man one can differentiate between the *perichoresis* of the divine nature into the human and of the human into the divine. In the former case we observe a fullness and impassibility which is impossible in the latter case. Thus we affirm that the *perichoresis* of the divine into the human does not involve any change in the former although it involves a transmission of its operations in and through the latter. On the other hand, we affirm that the *perichoresis* of the human into the divine nature involves "a change" which again does not alter the essential limits of the former but brings about its perfection and fulfillment through its communion and union with the latter.

It is this "change" that lies at the heart of the doctrine of the "exchange of properties." It is the change of "deification of the human nature through communion with the divine." This "change in Christology is the basis for the understanding of the "change" of the Eucharistic Gifts of the Bread and the Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Here is St. John Damascene's statement that can be offered as a clue to resolving the asymmetry that exists in the Eucharistic debates between Lutherans and Reformed.

*"How shall this be, said the holy Virgin, seeing I know not a man? And the Archangel Gabriel answered her: The Holy Spirit shall come upon you, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow you. And now you ask, how the Bread became Christ's Body and the Wine and Water Christ's Blood. And I say to you, The Holy Spirit is present and does those things which surpass reason and thought ... The Body which is born of the holy Virgin is in truth Body united with the Godhead, not that the Body which was received up into the heavens descends, but that the bread itself and the wine are changed into God's Body and Blood. But if you ask how this happens, it is enough for you to learn that it was through the Holy Spirit, just as the Lord took on himself flesh that subsisted in him and was born of the holy Theotokos through the Spirit."*⁵⁵

There is a sort of hypostatic union of the Eucharistic gifts and the Lord, which is affected by the Holy Spirit and unites them mystically with the very Body and Blood of Christ.

The implications of the *perichoresis* as outlined by Orthodox dogmaticians include the fact that the human nature of Christ became a sharer of the divine nature to a fuller extent than any other God-bearing (God-sanctified) person. Thus, Christ's knowledge of God was the most perfect that any human person could acquire, i.e., complete, true and infallible, but not absolute and limitless. The same could be said of Christ's sanctity and power. He sanctified himself as much and as fully as human nature can bear, achieving complete sinlessness so that he can forgive, sanctify and heal every human being who turns to him. Finally, after the resurrection the human nature of Christ overcame through the grace of the Godhead even the natural and blameless passions (φυσικὰ καὶ ἀδιάβλητα πάθη), natural corruption, mortality, hunger, thirst, fatigue and need for sleep, etc. It became incorruptible, immortal and fully glorified. In the teaching of the New Testament, it was elevated above the angelic nature and was clothed with the full majesty of God. As such it reigns as the Son of Glory illuminating the firmament of the saints and the whole body of the Church.

NOTES

¹ The English terms "substance" and "essence" have been traditionally used to translate the Greek term "οὐσία" or the Latin "substantia." Contemporary scholars

tend to use the term "being" which is probably closer to the original semantics of the Greek term. Accordingly, the term "ὁμοούσιος," which was used to be translated by the terms 'consubstantial,' or "co-essential," is now being translated by the periphrastic term "one in being." If I had a preference, I would choose the term "co-existing" for "ὁμοούσιος," because in the last analysis, as Saint Athanasius says, "οὐσία" means "ὑπαρξις" i.e. "existence" and, since "ὁμοούσιος" is derived from "ὁμοῦ+οὐσία," it must mean "co-existing." This is further supported by the fact that for St. Athanasius, as for most, if not all, of the Fathers God's, "οὐσία" is totally unknowable and its semantics is equivalent to the fact "that he is," i.e. "ὅτι ἔστιν" (as opposed to "what he is," "τὸ τί ἔστιν"). For St. Athanasius' masterly exposition of the "ὁμοούσιος" one may turn to his *De Decretis* and *De Synodis*, but for a more unusual but, I believe interesting approach, see my succinct essay: "The ὁμοούσιος in Athanasius' Contra Apollinarem I," in *Arianism, Historical and Theological Reassessments* (papers from the IXth Oxford Conference on Patristic Studies, 5-10 Sept.) 1983, ed. by R.C.Gregg, The Philadelphia Patristic Monograph Series, No. 11 Cambridge Mass. USA 1985, 233-242.

² See here my essay "The Eternal Son: an essay on Christology in the Early Church with particular reference to St. Athanasius the Great," in *Abba Salama*, vol. x (1979) 18-54, or in *The Incarnation*, ed. by T. F. Torrance, Edinburgh 1981, pp. 16-57, which traces the doctrine of Christ from the Apostolic Fathers to St. Athanasius; Also, my essay: "He became Man, the forgotten aspect of Athanasius' Christology," *Studia Patristica* (Akademie Verlag, Berlin), vol. xvi (1985), 281-294.; and especially my book *Athanasius 'Contra Apollinarem'* (Church and Theology vol. vi), Athens 1985, chapter vii: "The Christology," pp. 400-595.

³ Cf. his *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, which represents the minutes of this Synod.

⁴ See A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. xiv: the Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Universal Church, ed. by Henry R. Percival, Wm B. Eerdmans reprinted edition 1974, p. 189.

⁵ Unfortunately the early anti-Apollinarian works of Diodore and Theodore (who are regarded as precursors, if not forefathers of Nestorianism) have been lost and it is only indirectly that we can detect this fatal dialectic between these two Antiochian schools of thought. Modern (mainly Western) textbooks of "Histories of early Christian Dogmas" see here a dialectical contest between Alexandria (allegedly Apollinarian in tendency) and Antioch (allegedly Antiochian in tendency). The Orthodox position is rather different, inasmuch as it sees these new fourth and fifth century Christological errors in terms of their philosophical (Aristotelian) epistemological presuppositions and their different rationalistic choices in interpreting and elaborating the data of the traditional faith. The Orthodox solution of the third Ecumenical Synod, especially the so-called "Formula of Union" (ὁ ὅρος τῶν διαλλαγῶν), provided by the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, indicates a non-dialectical non-philosophical position, which affirms the data of the traditional faith without explaining them away by means of rationalistic syllogisms.

⁶ See here St. Cyril's "Third Letter to Nestorius," which contains the famous "Twelve Chapters," and his "Letter to John of Antioch" in Ioannis Karmiris, *Dogmatica et Symbolica Monumenta Orthodoxae Catholicae Ecclesiae*, tomos 1, editio secunda, Athens 1960, pp. 141-146 and 148-150. Also, in T. H. Bindley's and F. W. Green's *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, Methuen & Co., London 1950, pp. 105-144 (original Greek texts and notes) and 212-223 (English translations).

⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁸ See Karmiris, *Op. cit.* pp. 173-176 (original Greek texts); Also Bindley & Green, *Op. cit.* pp. 191-199 (original Greek texts with notes) and 232-235 (English translations).

⁹ Cf. Karmiris, *Op. cit.* pp. 162-166 (original Greek text); Also Bindley & Green, *Op. cit.* pp. 168-180 (original Latin text with notes) and 232-235 (English translation).

¹⁰ See Bindley & Green *Op. cit.* p. 234.

¹¹ See Bindley & Green *Op. cit.* p. 235.

¹² Only the Latin Minutes have survived in two recensions which have been published by Schwartz in his *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*. For a Greek Translation with an extensive introduction and scholia see, Metropolitan Meletios (Kalamaras) of Nikopolis, *The Fifth Ecumenical Synod* [in Greek], Athens 1985. For the "Definition (*Horos*) of Faith" and the 14 Anathemas or Chapters of this Ecumenical Synod, see Karmiris, *Op. cit.* pp. 185-197 (original Greek and Latin text). See also Bindley & Green *Op. cit.* p. 153-156. For an English translation of this *Horos* and these Chapters see, Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, London Sheed and Ward, 1990, vol. 1.

¹³ cf. Chapter 8 of the "Definition of Faith" of this Synod which implicitly accepts this formula as it states: "if anyone confesses that the Union was affected from two Natures, Godhead and Manhood, or speaks of One incarnate Nature of God the Logos, does not take these terms, as the holy Fathers taught, that out of the divine nature and the human, when the hypostatic Union took place, One Christ was formed, but out of these phrases tries to introduce One Nature or Substance (Being) of the Godhead and the Flesh of Christ, let him be anathema. For when saying that the unique Logos was hypostatically united, we do not mean that there was any mixture of the natures with each other, but rather we think of the Logos as united with flesh, while each remained as it is. Therefore Christ is One, God and Man, the Same consubstantial with the Father in Godhead, and the Same consubstantial with us in Manhood. Equally therefore does the Church of God reject and anathematizes those who divide into parts or cut up, and those who confuse the mystery of the divine economy of Christ."

¹⁴ For the original Greek text of his *Epistle*, which was included in the 11th Act of the sixth Ecumenical Synod, see Karmiris, *Op. cit.* pp. 203-219. Cf. C. von Schönborn's, *Sophrone de Jérusalem*, Beauchesne, Paris 1972.

¹⁵ For the "Horos" or "Definition of the Faith" of this Synod, see Karmiris, *Op. cit.* pp. 221-224. Also Bindley & Green *op. cit.* p. 204-205 (Greek text) and E.R. Hardy (Ed.) *Christology of the Later Fathers*, Library of Christian Classics iii, London & Philadelphia 1954, p. 382 (English translation).

¹⁶ See Karmiris, *op. cit.* p. 240.

¹⁷ For a useful updated edition of the Greek text see, Nikos Matsoukas, "Ἐκδόσεις ἀκριβῆς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως Ἰωάννου Δαμασκηνοῦ, ἐκδόσεις Πουρναγῶ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1976. For a critical edition see, P. Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* ii, Patristische Texte und Studien, Band 12, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York 1973. For an English translation see Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Church, vol. ix, or The Fathers of the Church vol. 37 New York 1958. For John Damascene's doctrine of *deification* see, George P. Patronos, "The Deification of Man in the light of the eschatological views of Orthodox Theology," (in Greek), *Theologia (Athens)* 51 (1980) pp. 497-499 (on John Damascene).

¹⁸ Kotter, *op. cit.* III:2f (46f), pp.110-111. For a comprehensive statement on the Christology of St. John Damascene, see John Romanides, "The Christological Teaching of St. John of Damascus" in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 48 (1976) 232-269 Also, N. Chitescu,

"The Christology of St. John of Damascus," in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 48 (1976) 302-356.

¹⁹ Kotter, *op. cit.* III:3 (47), p.112.

²⁰ Kotter, *op. cit.* III:3 (47) p.113, (see the added text from Codex M Oxoniensis and Codex N Londini Musei Brit. Add 27862. Also, p.114 l.66, p.115 l.69, p.116 l.97, ch. III:4 (48) l.15, and especially ch. III:7 (51) p. 122ff which deals with the "composite hypostasis" of the Logos. But see also Romanides, *op. cit.* ch. 4. pp. 260-263, "One Hypostasis of the Logos Compound," and Chitescu, *op. cit.* pp. 314ff which deal with the "the unique composite Hypostasis of the Word of God."

²¹ *Ibid.* p.114

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.* p.111f

²⁴ *Ibid.* p.115

²⁵ *Ibid.* p.115 l.82f.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p.115f ll.90-94.

²⁷ *Ibid.* ll.96-98. (συνάπτονται γὰρ αἱ φύσεις τῇ ὑποστάσει, μίαν ὑπόστασιν σύνθετον ἔχουσαι καθ' ἣν διαφέρει τοῦ τε Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, τῆς τε μητρὸς καὶ ἡμῶν)

²⁸ Kotter, *op. cit.* III: 4 (48) pp.116-118.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ll.38-42.

³⁰ Kotter, *op. cit.* III: 5 (49) p.119 ll.26-29. (εἰ καὶ ἀλλήλαις περιχωροῦσι, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας τροπὴν καὶ μεταβολὴν οὐ προσίενται, φυλάττει γὰρ ἑκατέρα φύσις τὴν ἑαυτῆς φυσικὴν ιδιότητα).

³¹ Kotter, *op. cit.* III: 6 (50) p.121 ll.35-37.

³² *Ibid.* p.122 ll.51-53 and 65-67.

³³ Kotter, *op.cit.* III: 7 (51) pp.122ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.124 ll.26f

³⁵ *Ibid.* p.125 ll.38ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Even St. Cyril of Alexandria's phrase "one nature of God the Logos incarnate" is to be understood, says the Damascene, in the same way. *Ibid.* ll.45ff. Cf. also the whole ch. III:11 (55) pp. 131ff which deals with this formulation.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.126 ll.57-63. Cf. also ch. III: 8 (52) p.127 ll.20-22.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p.127 ll.24-30.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ll.30-32.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* III: 15 (59) p.148 ll.104-118.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.146 ll.50-52 (ὃν τρόπον ἡ σὰρξ καὶ τεθέωται καὶ μεταβολὴν τῆς οἰκειᾶς οὐ πέπονθεν φύσεως, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ θέλημα καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια καὶ τεθέωνται καὶ τὸν οἰκειῶν οὐκ ἐξίστανται ὄρων).

⁴² *Ibid.* p. Ll.52-54.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p.150 ll.168.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* l.169.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* l.171

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.151 ll.175f.

⁴⁷ Ὡν τὸ μὲν ἐθέωσε, τὸ δὲ ἐθεώθη, καὶ θαρρῶ λέγειν ὁμόθεον καὶ ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι τὸ χρῶσαν καὶ θεὸν τὸ χρῶμενον (Oratio 38, PG 35: 325B15ff).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ch. III: 17 (61) p.155 ll.10ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.156 ll.16-20.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* pp.156f ll.32-37.

⁴² *Ibid.* III: 18 (62) pp.157ff.

⁴³ *Ibid.* ch. III 19 (63) pp.160f ll.12-14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p.161 ll.25-29.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ch. IV: 13 (86).

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FOR US AND OUR SALVATION: INCARNATION AND ATONEMENT IN THE REFORMED TRADITION

DR. BRUCE L. MCCORMACK

Who for us men [and women] and our salvation, came down from heaven, and was made flesh from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and was made man and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate.

INTRODUCTION

Christological controversy lay at the heart of the solidification of the Reformed movement into an independent branch of the Protestant reformation in the sixteenth century. The conflict which developed between the Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli in 1520's over the nature and significance of the eucharist very quickly resolved itself into a fundamental disagreement over Christology. In the initial stages of the debate, Reformed theologians tended to content themselves with exposing what they saw as docetic tendencies in the Lutheran Christology. This had the effect of giving their own reflections on Christology a largely negative, polemical cast. Calvin's presentation of Christology for example, even in the 1559 edition of his *Institutes*, is controlled to a great extent by his concern to refute the errors of "opponents:" the Lutherans generally, but also the teachings of Andreas Osiander, Menno Simons and Michael Servetus. By the 1560's however, a more positive treatment of Christology began to emerge which—through its reappropriation of the ancient anhypostatic-enhypostatic Christology of the post-Chalcedonian period—brought Reformed Christology into close proximity to the

interpretation of the Chalcedonian formula which had been declared to be orthodox by the Sixth Ecumenical Council. The thesis of this paper is that a tremendous theological compatibility exists between the mature and positive Reformed Christology of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the orthodox Christology of the seventh century. Such a shared understanding in the area of Christology does not automatically yield agreement on the doctrine of the atonement (as we shall see) but it may indeed lay a promising foundation for further discussions in that area as well.

I. THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION

A. Background for Reformed Christology: the Debate with Lutheranism

Reformed Christology did not emerge in a vacuum; it was the product of a lengthy, sustained debate with Lutheranism over the proper understanding of the hypostatic union and the *communicatio idiomatum* to which it gave rise. Therefore, Reformed Christology will not be understood in all of its depths and dimensions unless some attention is given first to the theological context in which it was born.

The spark which gave rise to the highly polemical debate between Luther and Zwingli was the publication of the latter's *De Vera et falsa religione* in 1525. In this work, the Swiss reformer set forth for the first time the doctrine of the Lord's Supper which is customarily associated with his name.¹ Zwingli's memorialism was extremely offensive to Luther and a pamphlet war between the two broke out in 1526/27. As the debate progressed, it focused increasingly on Christology. One of the major arguments advanced by Zwingli in support of his rejection of every notion of a real presence of the body and blood of Christ in or with the Eucharistic elements was that after the ascension, the body of Christ is "located" at the "right hand of the Father." If the resurrection was truly a resurrection of the body, Zwingli reasoned, then a sufficient continuity must exist between the earthly body and the resurrected body such that what is true of the former must also be true of the latter. This meant that since earthly bodies are circumscribed locally (and can only be present in one place at any given time), then the same must be true of the risen body. Therefore, if Christ has ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of God, then he cannot still be present here on earth (un-

der the elements of bread and wine).

Luther's response was his doctrine of the ubiquity of the risen body of Christ. For the sake of brevity, I will not recount here the development of this doctrine historically, but will simply set it forth in the form in which it became accepted Lutheran teaching in the *Formula of Concord*.

The idea of the ubiquity of the risen body of Christ rested upon a rather novel interpretation of the ancient doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*. According to this interpretation, the effect of the hypostatic union of divine and human natures in Christ was to establish a communion between the natures.² The fruit of this communion of natures is an exchange of attributes; most especially, a sharing by the human nature in the attributes of the divine nature - including the divine attribute of omnipresence.³ Thereby, the problem of how the risen body of Christ could be physically present in the Eucharist while at the same time being physically present in heaven was resolved. The divine nature of the Logos fills heaven and earth; the human nature participates in the attributes of the divine nature as a result of the hypostatic union; therefore, the human nature (including the body of Christ) is present wherever the divine nature of the Logos is.

To be accurate, it must be added that the Lutherans were sensitive to the charge of Eutychianism which their Christology immediately drew forth from Reformed theologians. The *Formula of Concord* went to great lengths to try to show why Lutheran Christology was not Eutychian. "We believe, teach, and confess that the divine and the human natures are not fused into one essence and that the one is not changed into the other, but that each retains its essential properties and that they never become the properties of the other nature."⁴ The delimitation intended by this affirmation was that essential properties of one nature never become *essential* to the other nature; rather, the human nature, while not ceasing to possess its natural, essential properties, has added to it the properties of the divine nature as a gift, through sharing or participation.⁵ The ancient analogy of an iron in a fire was adduced by way of explaining this participation.⁶ In spite of these careful delimitations, the net effect of the Lutheran teaching was the affirmation that after the resurrection, the human nature of Christ was established in the "full use, revelation and manifestation" of the attributes of the divine majesty. Thus, it could be said "...now not only as God, but also as man, he knows all things, can do all

things, is present to all creatures, and has all things in heaven and on earth and under the earth beneath his feet and in his hands..."⁷

In conclusion, it should be noted that the restriction of the sharing by the human nature in the attributes of the divine majesty to the time after the resurrection was itself a recognition that logically, such a participation (and the exchange of attributes it entailed) should have been true of Jesus Christ during the days of his earthly ministry as well, since it is the hypostatic union which provided the ground and explanation for it. The Lutherans resolved this difficulty by appealing to a distinction between the "state of humiliation" (in which the human nature voluntarily dispensed with the use of the attributes of divine majesty) and the "state of exaltation" (in which such use was established). The "state of humiliation" was seen to encompass the life of the Incarnate One from conception to resurrection; the "state of exaltation" then followed with the resurrection.

The Reformed response to the issues posed by Lutheran Christology did not begin to emerge in its mature form until the 1560's. When it did, the focus of attention was on the problem of the *communicatio idiomatum*. Reformed theologians too, wanted to affirm an exchange of attributes. But their understanding of it constituted the rejection of the idea of a direct *communio naturarum*. They opted rather for an indirect communion; a communion not of the natures between themselves but a communion of the natures *through* the Person of the union. The attributes of each nature are indeed properly attributed to the Person of the union, but not to each other. To put it this way (I would argue) brought the Reformed position closely into line with the careful distinctions made between hypostases and natures which had been laid down in the seventh century. As I say, such a view did not emerge all at once. In the next four sections, I will try to sketch briefly the development of Reformed Christology.

B. Jean Calvin (1509-64)

Jean Calvin never set forth a comprehensive account of Christology in the classical sense of a careful investigation into the ontological constitution of the Mediator. There are two basic reasons for this. One was the oft-noted anti-speculative tendency which governed all of Calvin's theology. In part at least, this tendency was a function of his commitment to Scripture alone as having ultimate and divine au-

thority. The authority of councils was for him at best the relatively binding authority proper to a more or less adequate human exposition of the scriptural witness.⁸ In practice, this meant that Calvin was passionately concerned not to speak on any subject beyond the bounds set by the express warrants provided by Scripture. Questions of ontology (whether in relation to trinitarian or christological dogma) were taken up by him only in the broadest terms. The second major reason for Calvin's relative lack of interest in questions of ontology was his overwhelming preoccupation with the *beneficia Christi*. Calvin's theology was shaped by his piety to a greater extent than is often recognized. As E. David Willis has so aptly put it, "The theme which dominates Calvin's Christology is that Christ is to be known fruitfully not in his essence but in his power to save, not as he is invisibly in himself, but as the Father willed him to be towards us in his office."⁹ It was the *office* of the Mediator which dominated Calvin's attention—the mediatorial *activity* of Christ which had brought salvation to the human race—and not the (to his mind) more abstract question of the being of the Mediator.

This is not to say that Calvin had nothing to say on the subject of Christ's person; he did. It is only to suggest that his position on questions which arose in the period after Chalcedon can only be deduced (and at times, only guessed at) on the basis of certain hints and suggestions which he provided in an occasional fashion in his *Institutes*, as well as his commentaries. In general, it can be said that Calvin was deeply committed to the Christology of Chalcedon as a "pure and genuine exposition of Scripture."¹⁰ Beyond that however, he is often silent at the very points where one would most like to have further information.

Calvin treated the incarnation (and hypostatic union) in Book II, chapters xii through xiv of his *Institutes*. Much of the material which appears here in the 1559 edition was first set forth in the 1536 and 1539 editions; only the polemics against Osiander, Simons, and Servetus are really new. What this tells us is that Calvin's view on the subject did not significantly change over the course of his life. His basic position was already in place by 1539.

The centerpiece of Calvin's reflections on the incarnation is his interpretation of the humiliation of the eternal Son of God (Phil.2). For Calvin, the *kenosis* (or self-emptying) of the Son of God in the incarnation consisted in the *addition* of a human nature. The Son of

God did not surrender anything proper to himself as God,¹¹ but rather "allowed his divinity to be hidden by a 'veil of flesh.'"¹² He took on the form of a servant, thereby surrendering his "glory" (defined as a direct manifestation of his deity to the world).¹³ Karl Barth's interpretation of the *kenosis* in terms of a laying aside of "recognizability" and an entrance into a kind of "incognito"¹⁴ is wholly apt for describing Calvin's view. God "manifest in the flesh"¹⁵—that is the heartbeat of Calvin's thought.

There have been those who wanted to see in Calvin's Christology the influence of Antiochene forms of thought—especially in phrases like "...He chose for himself the virgin's womb as a temple in which to dwell."¹⁶ Johannes Witte went so far as to suggest that such a mode of expression was "characteristic" of Calvin and spoke of "a certain spiritual kinship with the Antiochene Christology..."¹⁷ To be sure, such language is of Antiochene origin, but its use is not decisive for determining the overall cast of Calvin's thought. Calvin certainly read Antiochene theologians, especially the commentaries of John Chrysostom, and occasionally borrowed phrases from them. But such borrowing must not make us blind to the subtle shifts in significance which such phrases could undergo in Calvin's hands. Calvin used the language of "indwelling" rather loosely to refer to the Son's inhabiting of a body; he did not intend thereby that the Son indwelt a man with his own human *hypostasis*. Of a truly Antiochene Christology there is scarcely a hint in Calvin's theology. It was more characteristic of Calvin to speak of the Son taking on our "nature" or "flesh."¹⁸ In the main, Calvin's Christology belonged to the Alexandrian-Cyrrillian type. He was adamant in his rejection of "the error of Nestorius, who in wanting to pull apart rather than distinguish the natures of Christ devised a double Christ!"¹⁹

Witte was not wrong, however, to see in Calvin a somewhat one-sided handling of the Chalcedonian formula.²⁰ Calvin was much more interested in the "without confusion, without change" of the formula than he was in the "without division, without separation." The reason for the overemphasis on the distinction of natures is not far to seek; the controversy with the Lutherans was always in the back of his mind. Calvin was never able to escape the impression that the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity resulted in a Eutychian mixing of the two natures. He devoted all of his strength to insisting that after the union, the two natures retain their own distinctive character unim-

paired.²¹ Divine nature and human nature belong to radically different planes of being as far removed from one another as heaven from earth.²² From the perspective of later Reformed theology, Calvin was not at all wrong to insist on the distinction of natures in the way he did. His weakness lay rather in his inability to go on to say something positive and concrete about the union itself. This showed itself especially in his treatment of the *communicatio idiomatum*.

In Calvin's hands, the *communicatio idiomatum* becomes largely a hermeneutical device for dealing with passages in the New Testament which attribute activities to the person of the Mediator which may "properly" only be attributed to one of the two natures. So, for instance, in relation to passages which speak of God purchasing the church with his blood (Acts 20:28) or the Lord of glory being crucified (1 Cor. 2:8), Calvin says, "Surely God does not have blood, does not suffer, cannot be touched with hands. But since Christ, who was true God and also true man, was crucified and shed his blood for us, the things that he carried out in his human nature are transferred *improperly*, although not without reason, to his divinity."²³ What Calvin has done is to reduce the *communicatio* to a mere figure of speech—in this case, a *synecdoche*. What is in reality true only for a "part" (the human nature) is attributed to the whole God-man. What is missing in this account is any sense that the exchange of properties on a verbal level is only possible (and necessary!) because it has already occurred on the level of reality. Later Reformed theology would want to insist that a real (and not merely verbal) exchange of properties does indeed occur; not, to be sure, between the natures, but between the natures and the Person of the union.²⁴ So, that which is true of the human nature is properly predicated of the Person of the union since it is that Person who is the Subject of that human nature. On that basis, it would indeed be wholly *proper* to say that the Word of God (the Second Person of the Trinity) became human and lived a completely human life with all the limitations that implies up to and including death. But in Calvin, such an affirmation is wholly lacking. I suspect that the reason for this lack has to do with Calvin's polemical horizon. Lutheran theology spoke of a communication of properties between the natures; Calvin was eager to oppose such an idea. The problem was that his zeal to counteract the Lutheran option made him blind to the other possibility: a real communication of properties to the Person of the union. But to envision that possibility would

have required a more careful distinction too between the Person (or *hypostasis*) of the union and the divine nature than can be found in Calvin. Later Reformed theology would be faced with the task of reflecting upon the hypostatic union and its implications on a much more profound level than Calvin had been able to reach.

To conclude our discussion of Calvin: Calvin's great strength lay in his insistence that *after* the union, the properties of each nature are unimpaired. Two natures after the union—that certainly gave expression to a central feature of what became orthodox teaching in the late seventh century.²⁵ Calvin's weakness lay in his inability (or unwillingness!) to reflect more deeply on the hypostatic union itself. Without a more carefully considered teaching on the *communicatio*, Calvin's emphasis on the integrity of the natures after the union would inevitably serve the interests of Nestorianism, even if he himself were not Nestorian.

C. Heinrich Bullinger (1504-75)

Heinrich Bullinger's Christology offered a significant advance beyond what we have seen in Calvin in that he clearly opened the door to a real *communicatio idiomatum*. He *opened the door* I say; his understanding of the problem of the hypostatic union was still fragmentary and incomplete. But his contribution to the development of Reformed Christology was nonetheless quite real and should not be overlooked.

Bullinger's most extended reflection on the problem of the hypostatic union is found in *Decade IV*, Sermon vi. Much of the material found here was devoted to defending the view we have already seen in Calvin; viz. that after the union the two natures retain their properties unimpaired. Clearly, Bullinger was as preoccupied with addressing the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity as Calvin was. The effect of such a preoccupation was that Bullinger too, gave far more attention to the distinction of natures than he did to their union.

In spite of his relative silence on the problem of the unity of the natures however, Bullinger gave some evidence that he had at least glimpsed some of the more crucial implications which would have followed from (and been grounded by) the analysis he failed to provide. He affirmed for example, against Nestorius that Mary is rightly called the "mother of God." "...albeit his heavenly nature be without

generation and corruption, yet notwithstanding it is most certain that he whom Mary brought forth was God in very deed... [T]herefore she brought forth God and she worthily is called the mother of God."²⁶ Bullinger also did not hesitate to say that "...God suffered and was nailed on the cross for us."²⁷ To be sure, he was quick to add that God could only suffer and die as a result of the assumption of a human nature which was capable of suffering and dying, but he seemed to sense (however dimly) that to attribute the sufferings of Christ to the human nature alone (full stop), *as though to a subject in its own right*, would be to commit the error of Nestorius of seeing two persons in Christ. And so he says, "And since that [flesh] God accounteth not that as another's, *but as his own*, which he took unto himself; we most truly say, that God with his own blood redeemed the world."²⁸ The crucial thought here is that God has attributed something to hHimself. Whether Bullinger himself was fully conscious of it or not, the move that he made here was quite significant. If taken with full seriousness, it would mean that a *communicatio idiomatum* on the verbal level of theological discourse is possible and proper only because it is grounded in an objectively real *communicatio idiomatum*; God has attributed something to himself—God has taken on a human nature and lived a human life. The fact that Bullinger was also willing to interpret the *communicatio* by means of an appeal to John of Damascus' understanding of it as a mutual giving (*antidosis*) or interchange of properties²⁹ shows that he probably was conscious of the significance of this move; he probably did understand the *communicatio* as real and not merely verbal. In any case, he certainly did open the door to the affirmation of a real *communicatio*.

Bullinger's Christology represented something of a halfway house on the road to the emergence of Reformed Christology in its more mature form. He did not, so far as I am aware, reappropriate the ancient anhypostatic-enhypostatic model for understanding the relation of the human nature to the Person of the union. Later Reformed theologians would take this step, thereby opening up the possibility that preoccupation with the distinction of natures might finally give way to a greater concentration on the Person of the union.

D. Zacharius Ursinus (1534-83)

Zacharius Ursinus, the principle author of the Heidelberg Cat-

echism, is rightly regarded as one of the fathers of early Reformed orthodoxy.³⁰ He was a professor of theology first at the University of Heidelberg from 1562 to 1577; then at the *Gymnasium* in Neustadt an der Weinstrasse until his death in 1583. His chief work—aside from the catechism itself—was his *Corpus doctrinae orthodoxae*, a series of lectures on the Catechism which were edited and published after his death by his good friend, David Pareus.³¹

Ursinus taught an anhypostatic-enhypostatic Christology in everything but the name—and therein lay his chief contribution to the development of what became the orthodox Reformed conception. According to Ursinus, the human nature of Christ is complete and full in every way but is not rightly regarded as a person because it does not subsist of itself. "...the human nature assumed by the Word...does not subsist by itself, but is sustained in and by another, viz., in and by the Word. It was formed and assumed by the Word at one and the same time, and never would have existed, unless it had been assumed by the Word..."³² Both sides of the classical anhypostatic-enhypostatic understanding of Christology are present in this passage. "Anhypostatic" affirms something negative—i.e. the human nature does not "subsist" or have existence in itself. "Enhypostatic" adds the positive thought that the human nature of Christ had its being and existence grounded (at every moment, from the conception on) in the Person of the Word.

Taking a step back then: what distinguishes "person" from "nature" for Ursinus is this: a "nature" is simply a catalogue of attributes or properties necessary to provide a full description of all that belongs by definition to a particular kind of being (in this case, human being). "Person" adds to this the thought that such a being is instantiated somewhere; that it exists.³³ Christology however, requires a further refinement. Here the question becomes one of rightly determining what it is that gives rise to and grounds this particular human nature. The answer is that what gave the human nature of Christ its existence was not generation through sexual intercourse; it was rather the miracle of conception by the Holy Ghost. Ursinus was careful to say that this was not "a nature created out of nothing, or brought down from heaven."³⁴ Rather, the human nature was formed from the "substance" of the mother (thus ensuring its consubstantiality with human beings) and joined to the Word in the Virgin's womb by the power of the Holy Spirit (thereby granting to it existence and life).

The significance of Ursinus's Christology may be fairly summarized as follows. In making subsistence to be the key element in distinguishing nature and person, Ursinus was suggesting (consciously or unconsciously) that the only thing that may be properly predicated of the "person" is the nature itself, as a whole and in its entirety. Particular attributes or traits on the other hand, must be predicated of the nature. And so, for example, while intellect, will and "energy" of operation are properly predicated of the nature, it yet remains true that it is the person to whom the whole of the nature (together with its attributes and actions) must be attributed. And so, whatever is done in and through the human nature of Christ is properly (and not improperly) attributed to the Person of the Word, in whom such action is grounded and granted existence.

Such an interpretation of the hypostatic union brought the Reformed conception closely into line with the decision of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Against the Monothelites of the seventh century, the Council affirmed "two natural volitions or wills in him and two natural principles of action which undergo no division, no change, no partition, no confusion"³⁵ as a result of the union. The Council thereby clearly assigned volition and energy of operation to the natures, rather than to the Person of the union. The effect was to safeguard the necessary distinction between nature and person. That Ursinus should have come to this—broadly speaking—Orthodox conclusion is probably not coincidental; he had read John of Damascus' *The Orthodox Faith* and cited it as an authority in the context of his delineation of the problem of how two natures constitute a single person.

Once the distinction between person and nature had been worked out, it then became possible for Reformed theologians to reconsider the problem of the *communicatio*. The problem now became one of showing one could speak of a real *communicatio*—and even of a *perichoresis*—without doing violence to the principle embraced by Reformed and Orthodox theologians alike; viz. that "at no point was the difference between the natures taken away through the union, but rather the property of both natures is preserved and comes together into a single subsistent being [*hypostasis*]." ³⁶ Reformed conclusions on this question might not have been fully amenable to every Orthodox theology of the late seventh century, but it surely would have found sympathy.

E. The Communicatio Idiomatum in the Period of Reformed Orthodoxy

According to the Reformed conception which established itself as orthodox in the seventeenth century, the *unio personalis* has as its effect a real *communicatio idiomatum* "by which the attributes of each of the two natures coincide in one and the same person and are thereby also predicated of the person."³⁷ In insisting that the *communicatio* proceeded from the natures to the person, these theologians were at the same time rejecting the Lutheran notion of a direct *communio naturarum*. The communion of natures is not to be thought of as direct, but rather as indirect, mediated as it were by the Person of the union. Therefore, a distinction was helpfully made between the *unio immediata*, which pertained between the human nature and the Person of the Logos, and the *unio mediata* of the two natures.³⁸

Now to speak of "person" as something that can mediate between "natures" obviously entails some difficulties. It would seem to predicate something of the "person" which is not predicated of either of the natures. Such a predication would be in violation of the rule established above that the only thing that can be predicated of the person is the natures themselves, taken as a whole, in their entirety. To speak of the person as a sort of buffer between the natures would be to make it a third something, between the natures—and that would clearly be a mistake. And yet it is clear that something like a *unio mediata* has to be maintained. Otherwise, we wind up with a direct *communio naturarum* and there would then be no good reason not to follow the Lutherans in speaking of a participation by the human nature in the attributes of divine majesty. So we must think of the communion of natures as indirect and mediated by the person. The notion of a *unio mediata* therefore functions as a kind of hermeneutical rule; a negative principle which establishes the limits of what may be thought and said. What it really says is that we must not think in terms of a direct *communio naturarum*. But if we go on to flesh out the meaning of the *unio mediata* in too positive a fashion, we will enter into error. The seventeenth century theologians recognized that and said that the hypostatic union is ultimately a mystery. It is a union that is entirely unique in kind and therefore every attempt to point to an analogy to it must finally fail.

On the positive side however, the *unio immediata* tells us something very important. It tells us openly and frankly that the human

nature with all of its attributes and operations must be attributed to the Person of the Logos. The full consequences of this position were admittedly not seen by these seventeenth century theologians. They did not see for example, what it would mean for their understanding of divine being that God was able without ceasing to be God - to take up a human nature and to suffer and die in and through it. Nevertheless, they did succeed in opening the door to a possibility which a later theologian like Karl Barth would exploit (with his view of divine being as being-in-act).

There is one further aspect of seventeenth century Reformed reflection on the *communicatio* which merits our attention here because of its implication for soteriology. This is the idea of a *communicatio operationum* or *apotelesmatum*.³⁹ The presupposition here is once again the idea that the two natures remain distinct and their properties unimpaired after the union; further that each nature possesses its own will and "energy." What the *communicatio apotelesmatum* says is that although the work of the God-man is single as regards its result, it is dual as regards its origination in the natures. In every action of the God-man, the two natures work together, cooperatively, each in a way entirely appropriate to the kind of nature it is (the human nature humanly, the divine nature divinely), to produce a single effect. The energies remain distinct (because the natures remain distinct); but the work of redemption which results is single because it was produced by the two energies working together in complete harmony (a harmony that is ensured by the fact that the two natures subsist in one and the same person).

We may best draw out the significance of this teaching for soteriology by seeking an answer to the following question: who was the subject who redeemed us? Who was it that performed the work of redemption? On the basis of the Reformed understanding of the *communicatio apotelesmatum*, we would have to say that the subject was neither God nor man (considered abstractly) but the one God-man in his divine-human unity. If we were to speak—as occasionally happens in theological literature—of the Logos as the Subject of our redemption (full stop), we would run the risk of suggesting that the human nature was merely an instrument in the hands of God the Word. Not only would we then become soteriological docetists (in that we would be failing to give full weight to the humanness of the work of the God-man); we would also be Nestorian because we would be

thinking of the work of redemption as being effected by "God in man," and not yet by "God as man."⁴⁰ By contrast, what the Reformed understanding the *communicatio apotelesmaturum* says is that not only the full divinity of the work of redemption but also the full humanity of it must be acknowledged. To put it this way is simply to apply the principles laid down by the Chalcedonian formula to the work of Christ. What the formula says of the Person of Christ is also true of the work of Christ: without separation, without division (so there are not two sets of works, two effects), *but also* without confusion, without change (so that in working together to produce a single work, the natures are not mixed or confused). If we take this seriously, then we must say that the work of redemption is *fully* human and *fully* divine. Thus, the Subject of our redemption is the God-man in his divine-human unity. The consequences of this for our understanding of the atonement will become clear in the next major section of this paper.

F. Where Do We Now Stand?

What we have established to this point is basically two things. The first is that for a Christology to be "Reformed," it must affirm the principle that the two natures remain distinct and their properties unimpaired after the union. On that point, there is such overwhelming unanimity in the Reformed tradition that a Christology which would set it aside or weaken it must, by doing so, cease to be Reformed.⁴¹ Secondly, we have established that the Subject who worked out our redemption is the God-man in his divine-human unity. In saying this, I am also suggesting that the language of "subject" should not be used to translate *hypostasis* into a more modern idiom. The "Subject" in this case is not the *hypostasis* as such, but the hypostasis together with the two natures which subsist in it. *God as human*—He is the Subject of our redemption.

II. THE ATONEMENT

The decisive questions to be borne in mind in what follows are two: first, what is the nature of the atonement (i.e. *how* does Christ atone for our sins?) are secondly, what is the relation of the atonement to the incarnation itself?

A. The Assumption of Human "Flesh:" Fallen or Unfallen?

The question implied by the title of this sub-section is this: how are we to understand the human nature assumed by the Logos in becoming incarnate? Was it somehow a new creation, the miraculous emergence in time of that uncorrupted nature which Adam had before the fall, a human nature uncorrupted by original sin? Or was it a nature like unto our own in every respect; was it fallen human nature, a human nature tainted as our own is by original sin?

At the outset, it must be pointed out that the question in the form in which we have posed it here has a degree of precision which was lacking before the nineteenth century.⁴² That means that when we seek an answer to the question amongst sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, we inevitably give to their thought a precision it did not possess. Had anyone put the question in this precise form to Calvin, for example, his answer would undoubtedly have been that the Logos assumed an unfallen human nature. After all, his conclusion was that Christ "was exempted from common corruption."⁴³ And yet there are elements on the boundaries of his thought which—because they point in the other direction—force us to examine the matter more closely.

Calvin's reflections on the problem of how Christ was kept from defilement by original sin are found in the *Institutes* in the context of a debate with Menno Simons. Menno held to the view that in procreation, the female contributes nothing to the generation of the offspring; women are "without seed."⁴⁴ The woman acts solely as the passive receptacle for the male seed. If then, original sin is transmitted through procreation—as was widely held—then it would follow necessarily that the corruption of original sin attaches itself only to the male seed.⁴⁵ The absence of the male in producing an offspring (such as occurred in the miracle of the Virgin Birth) would then be sufficient of itself to guarantee that the human nature of Christ was without the taint of original sin. On Menno's view, Christ's human nature is literally created out of nothing—since the woman contributes nothing to the generation of an offspring. Of course, Menno's entire position rested on a thoroughly unscientific understanding of human reproduction and Calvin at least knew enough about the subject to know that "woman's seed must share in the act of generation."⁴⁶ But this left him with the question: how then was Christ preserved from original

sin? Calvin willingly acknowledged that the seed of the woman could not be exempted from corruption. The "substance" of the woman Mary from which the human nature of Christ was formed was indeed fallen. So what then? Calvin's answer was this: "...we make Christ free of all stain not just because he was begotten of his mother without copulation with man, but because he was sanctified by the Spirit that the generation might be pure and undefiled as would have been true before Adam's fall."⁴⁷ In other words, it is due to the sanctifying work of the Spirit in the miraculous conception that the sinful substance of the woman is cleansed from every taint of corruption.

On this view, the question posed at the outset—was Christ's human nature fallen or unfallen cannot be answered without qualification. It was indeed a fallen human nature in that it was taken from the substance of sinful human flesh. But it was made to be "unfallen"—or better, a "restored" true humanity, for this was in the strictest sense not a new creation—by the sanctifying work of the Spirit. Now it has to be admitted that this conclusion was not one that was drawn by Calvin himself; but then the question in the form in which we have posed it was not one that he entertained directly. Therefore, we can only elicit an answer to it on the basis of what he does say, all the while bearing in mind that we are giving to Calvin's thought a precision which it did not have.

Ursinus too, rejected the thought that the human nature of Christ was created out of nothing or brought down from heaven.⁴⁸ It was a human nature formed from the seed of sinful human flesh. And yet it was of the utmost importance to him that the Word did not "assume a nature polluted with sin." His solution was the same as Calvin's: "The Holy Ghost miraculously sanctified that which was conceived and produced in the womb of the Virgin..."⁴⁹

For our purposes here, it is very important to notice that for both Calvin and Ursinus, the agent of this sanctifying work was the Holy Spirit and that the work itself was complete in the moment of conception. It is not the case that the sanctification of human nature (its healing from the corruption of original sin) took place in a processive fashion through the acts of obedience carried out by the God-man through the course of his life. It is also not the case that the healing resulted from bringing the divine nature into contact with the human nature. The agent who healed the human nature was not the Logos; it was the Holy Spirit. Such a conception coheres nicely with the view

advanced earlier that the communion of natures was a mediated union and not an immediate one. The implications of this view for our understanding of Christ's redeeming and reconciling work is this: if the God-man's life of obedience is to be accorded a redemptive significance, it will not be because those acts resulted in the sanctification of the human nature. The reason will have to be sought elsewhere.

Before turning to that question (in the next sub-section) however, we must look first at how the Reformed fathers understood passages like 2 Cor. 5:21. If "He made him who knew no sin to be sin on our behalf" does not mean that Christ assumed a fallen human nature, then what does it mean? Calvin understood "sin" in this passage to refer not to a sin nature but to guilt.⁵⁰ And how is the guilt accruing to human sinfulness generally made to be his? To be "made sin" means that "the guilt that held us liable for punishment has been transferred to the head of the Son of God."⁵¹ The mechanism by which the guilt of our sins is made to be his then, is that of divine verdict or imputation. "'The Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all' [Is.53:6]. That is, he who was about to cleanse the filth of those iniquities was covered with them by transferred imputation."⁵² Thus, the fact that the human nature of Christ is sanctified in the miraculous conception and thereby kept from the defilement of original sin does not mean that he was not at some point "made sin" for us. But being "made sin" is here understood as a judicial act of God in which the God-man is made liable for our sins and judged in our place.⁵³

B. The Acquired Righteousness of Christ

How then did the Reformed tradition construe the redemptive significance of Christ's life? That Calvin, for example, wanted to see the life of Christ as itself redemptive is quite clear. "...from the time he took on the form of a servant, he began to pay the price of liberation in order to redeem us."⁵⁴ Similarly, Bullinger could affirm: "...by his passion and death and everything which he did and suffered for our sake by his coming into the flesh, the Lord reconciled all the faithful to the heavenly Father, made expiation for sins. His resurrection from the dead disarmed death, overcame damnation and hell, and brought again and restored life and immortality. For he is our righteousness, life and resurrection..."⁵⁵ But how was this insistence on the redemptive character of the life of Christ concretely understood?

To understand the significance that was attached to the life of Christ, we must see it in the broader stream of sixteenth century reflection on the doctrine of justification. Luther had taught a view of justification as involving a twofold imputation: negatively, a non-imputation of sin to the sinner and positively, the imputation of Christ's righteousness to him/her. In the early 1550's, a controversy broke out over the proper interpretation of the righteousness of Christ being imputed to the believer. Andreas Osiander, a professor of theology in Koenigsberg until his death in 1552, initiated the controversy through his teaching that the righteousness which is made ours in justification is the essential divine righteousness which was proper to Christ as divine.⁵⁶ Against this view, Calvin insisted in the 1559 edition of his *Institutes* that the righteousness which is made ours in justification is the *acquired* righteousness of Christ; i.e. that righteousness which the God-man acquired through the acts of obedience performed throughout his life in his divine-human unity. Osiander, said Calvin, was not "content with that righteousness which has been acquired for us by Christ's obedience and sacrificial death, but pretends that we are substantially righteous in God by the infusion of his essence and quality."⁵⁷ Such a "mingling" of God and humankind was not something Calvin could allow. He did indeed believe that God does not merely impute Christ's righteousness to us but also makes us to "feed upon" it (through baptism and the Eucharist), thereby making us to be in actuality what he declares us to be by a judicial declaration. But the crucial point to notice here is that it is the righteousness which the God-man acquired through his acts of obedience which provides the basis of our salvation. Not even in Christ himself is the righteousness which is proper to the Logos as God mixed with or infused into his human nature. Such a teaching would be a clear violation of the Chalcedonian formula (as well as its interpretation by the Sixth Ecumenical Council).

The redemptive significance of the life of Christ then, is not made to consist in the cleansing of a diseased human nature but (more positively) in the establishing of a divine-human righteousness; the creation of a new humanity. For Calvin, we are made participants in that righteousness by the power of the Holy Spirit who joins us to Christ. In stressing that it is the Holy Spirit who is the "bond by which Christ unites us to himself,"⁵⁸ Calvin was once again seeking to maintain the distinction between divine being and human being.

To say that this union is spiritual in nature does not yet explain it; after all, *how* the Spirit works is one of the greatest mysteries of the Christian faith. At most, we can say that the Spirit works through the preached word and sacrament to awaken faith. Union with Christ is thereby seen to be effected through faith. But the affirmation that the union is spiritual in character did act as an effective barrier for Calvin against the idea of an "essential union."⁵⁹ Justification and sanctification were then interpreted by him as "a double grace" of our union with Christ; two benefits which cannot be confused without error and yet cannot exist apart from one another. Justification was interpreted in Lutheran fashion as a forensic judgment by God in which Christ's righteousness is imputed to men and women. Sanctification was understood as the process which endures throughout the Christian life, by which the believer is progressively made to be actually righteous. Since both flow from our union with Christ, they cannot exist apart from one another. And the basis for both is that righteousness of Christ which he acquired through his perfect obedience to the will of the Father.

This focus on the acts of obedience through which Christ acquired a positive righteousness for us also provided Calvin with a way of integrating the life and death of Christ into a unified understanding of redemption. Obedience itself was the thread which joined the life of Christ to His death. And so he could write, "Now someone asks, How has Christ abolished sin, banished the separation between us and God, and acquired righteousness to render God favourable and kindly toward us? To this we can in general reply that he has achieved this for us by the whole course of his obedience."⁶⁰ This obedience reached its apex in his voluntary submission to death on a cross.

The Osiandrian affair and the response given to it by Calvin provided something of a defining moment for later Reformed theology. From that point on, Reformed theologians were united in their desire to see the redemptive significance of Christ's life in terms of his acquisitions of a new righteousness. At times, they were guilty of giving too great a prominence to law in their conception of it. They could speak, for example, of a "twofold satisfaction," a satisfaction of the righteous demands of the law and a satisfaction of the penalty due to sin.⁶¹ Such a conception afforded a great deal of integration; it brought both the life and death of Christ together under the heading of satisfaction. Unfortunately, the prominence of law in the conception

resulted in an abstracting of law from the *graciousness* of the divine willing and action, thereby construing the efficacy of Christ's works in terms of *merit*.⁶² Such an abstracting of law from grace was the unfortunate consequence of the emergence of the idea of a "covenant of works." But they were on the right track in suggesting that this "twofold satisfaction" was the response to a *twofold need* in the human race. For these later theologians, the death of Christ was seen to be addressed to the problem of guilt and the life of Christ to the problem of original sin (the "sin nature"). And certainly, it is quite true that it is not enough to be forgiven for sins committed. Sin has to be dealt with at its roots, in that primal decision which determines and shapes human existence. The life of Christ was understood as having laid the basis for the new humanity and it is now the Spirit who makes us participants in it.⁶³

C. The Death of Death in the Death of Christ

Sixteenth and seventeenth century Reformed reflection on the meaning of the death of Christ stood squarely in the stream whose source was the modified Anselmianism of Thomas Aquinas. I speak here quite deliberately of a "modified Anselmianism" because of the very important transformation which Anselm's so-called "satisfaction theory" underwent at the hands of Thomas. The modification consisted in this: where "satisfaction" (consisting in restitution of the obedience "stolen" from God and an additional recompense for his wounded honor) and punishment had been regarded by Anselm as an either-or (as mutually exclusive alternatives), Thomas saw satisfaction occurring through punishment. The righteous demands of God are satisfied through punishment, a punishment consisting in the death of the sinner. For Thomas, the death of Christ was to be regarded as substitutionary in this sense: Christ submitted himself voluntarily to be punished in our place, to die the death that sizzlers deserved, thereby redeeming us from the debt of punishment which we owed to God.⁶⁴ It was this understanding which provided the kernel of the Reformed interpretation as well.

The cross stood at the heart of Calvin's understanding of atonement. The life of Christ was certainly important to him as we have seen. But it was the cross above all that absorbed his attention when he turned to the question of *how* Christ achieved salvation for us.

And the central categories by means of which he explicated the significance of the cross for our salvation were the categories of wrath and judgment, satisfaction and penal substitution. "...God's wrath and curse always lie upon sinners until they are absolved of guilt. Since he is a righteous Judge, he does not allow his law to be broken without punishment, but is equipped to avenge it."⁶⁵ Briefly stated, Calvin's view was this. Christ stood in the place of sinners. The whole burden of our sin and guilt were transferred to him. "This is our acquittal: the guilt that held us liable for punishment has been transferred to the head of the Son of God."⁶⁶ Thus, we are absolved from all guilt, for the guilt for sins we committed was now Christ's alone. He made Himself to be the Sinner in our place and as Sinner died the death which we deserved. This was not simply the "common death" which awaits every human being as his or her destiny.⁶⁷ It was a death in God-forsakenness which produced tremendous agony in his human soul. This death was the expression of the wrath of God; it was the punishment ordained by God in response to human sin. Through this death, the wrath of God was appeased and God was rendered gracious and favourable towards us.⁶⁸ In addition to satisfying the wrath of God, the death of Christ had one other fruit. 'By our participation in it, his death mortifies our earthly members so that they may no longer perform their functions; and it kills the old man in us that he may not flourish and bear fruit.'⁶⁹ Thus, the fact that the obedience of Christ extended even unto death is regarded by Calvin as the completion of that new righteousness which is made ours in justification and sanctification. The shed blood of Christ is "a laver to wash away our corruption."⁷⁰

There are two chief weaknesses in Calvin's theology of the cross. I would like to explore here by way of a conversation with the theology of Karl Barth.

1. The first major weakness in Calvin's theology of the cross is this: to speak as Calvin did of the death of Christ as rendering God favourable and kindly toward us seems to imply that God was not so inclined until moved to be so by the sacrifice of the Son. Such a conception however, is exceedingly problematic. If God were not graciously and mercifully inclined towards the human race from the outset, why would he have sent his Son to redeem us? Calvin was clearly aware of this problem. He noted that a contradiction seems to arise when we think that God was our enemy until he was reconciled

to us through Christ. "For how could he have given in his only-begotten Son a singular pledge of his love to us if he had not already embraced us in his free favour?"⁷¹ And yet, passages like Romans 5:10 seemed to him to suggest that God was indeed our enemy until Christ reconciled us to Him. Calvin's solution was to regard passages like Romans 5:10 as "accommodated to our capacity."⁷² Calvin believed that we could grasp neither the profound depths of our misery apart from Christ nor the depths of the divine mercy if such passages were not present in the Scriptural witness. But because these passages are accommodated by God to our limited capacity for understanding, they do not give adequate expression to the truth as it is in God. In the final analysis, Calvin was convinced that the grace and mercy of God is the effective ground of the atonement; the atonement did not give rise to grace and mercy as its effect. "Indeed, "because He first loved us," He afterward reconciles us to Himself."⁷³

Calvin's solution to this "contradiction" was not finally satisfactory. The notion of a divine accommodation is itself problematic, for it all too easily suggests that the way God reveals Himself to be is not finally commensurate with what He is in Himself. Moreover, his way of formulating the problem rested on a misinterpretation of passages like Romans 5:10, which do not say that God was our enemy until Christ reconciled us to Him, but rather that we were His enemies. The enmity spoken of lies on the human side, not on the divine side. Does such a reading of the New Testament witness then mean that all talk of the judgment and wrath of God may simply be dismissed? Not at all. Such categories belong to the heart of New Testament teaching on the atonement.

The real source of the problem lay in Calvin's tendency to make the righteousness of God (abstracted from His love) to be the object towards which the atoning work of Christ is directed. It is the righteousness of God (or, alternatively, His wrath) which is satisfied; the love of God drops from view at the decisive point. The truth is that it is not enough to affirm that the reconciling activity of the Son of God has its *ground* in the divine love if we are not then able to affirm in a coherent way that that love is operative at every step along the way in the accomplishment of our redemption. What we must do is to show how the divine love comes to expression precisely in the outpouring of wrath and judgment. If we do not, we introduce a contradiction into the being of God between God's mercy and His

righteousness. We make God's mercy the prisoner, so to speak, of his righteousness, until such time as righteousness has been fully satisfied. And that is the final outcome of Calvin's version of the satisfaction theory. By appealing to the idea of accommodation, he had allowed the (apparent!) contradiction between mercy and righteousness to stand. He had taken the position that on the conceptual level, these things cannot be resolved—all the while hoping that somehow, in a way incomprehensible to us, a resolution does exist in God himself. Calvin's difficulty in this area was due in no small measure to the very scant attention he gave to the classical problem of the attributes of God. His treatment of the being and attributes of God was thin to say the least.⁷⁴ It is only when we see the atoning work of Christ against the background of a carefully thought through doctrine of God that the unity of mercy and righteousness can be seen and allowed to come to expression in our formulation of the doctrine of the atonement. Seventeenth century Reformed theology was scarcely able to overcome this defect. If anything, its treatment of the atonement as a satisfaction of the divine wrath was even more abstract than Calvin's. Calvin at least, sensed that there was a problem here. The later Reformed theologians (from Ursinus on) did not.

It was not until the twentieth century that a theologian emerged who was finally able to overcome the deficiencies in the satisfaction theory as traditionally set forth in Reformed theology and to give it a more solid foundation. The theologian in question was Karl Barth. Barth's first extended treatment of the doctrine of the atonement (in the *Kirchliche Dogmatik* at least) is found in volume II/1, in the context of a treatment of the divine attributes or "perfections" (as he preferred to call them).⁷⁵ For our purposes here, the crucial move made by Barth was to order the holiness and righteousness of God under the heading of perfections of the divine loving. The perfections of the divine loving were then set forth in dialectically related pairs which mutually condition each other. The holiness of God was paired with grace and the righteousness of God was paired with mercy.

The grace of God was defined by Barth as the completely unmerited turning by God towards sinful men and women with the fullness of the divine good pleasure and favor. But holiness too, is a perfection of the divine loving. In a very real sense, it is the holiness of God's love which makes his love different from every other kind of love. It is the holiness of his love that makes it divine. The holiness

of the divine love refers to the fact that as God graciously seeks and creates fellowship with men and women, he does so as their Lord, as One who maintains his own will over against every other will. What this means in practice is that God will not allow anything to stand in the way of his love. The holiness of the divine love is its irresistibility. God's will to love the creature will not be stopped by the will of the creature to resist that love. God's love will reach its goal, even if the path to that end lies through condemning, excluding and annihilating all resistance to it. God's love turns to wrath when it is resisted, but not for a minute does it cease to be love even when it expresses itself as wrath. For the goal at which the wrath of God arrives when once it has removed every obstacle in its path is the gracious renewal of fellowship. The wrath of God, in other words, serves the gracious purposes of God. God's No serves God's Yes. His judgment is the instrument of our salvation. Throughout, God's grace is powerfully at work.

In a similar fashion, Barth made righteousness to be dialectically related to mercy. The mercy of God refers to the pity with which God regards our distress. Our situation is one of pitiable folly and bondage to our own desires, evasions and rationalizations. In spite of this, God never ceases to sympathize with us, to suffer with us in our suffering. That is the mercy of God. But here again, righteousness must be brought in as a perfection of the divine loving to condition our understanding of mercy. The loving of God is a righteous loving, and this too distinguishes it from all other kinds of love and qualifies it as divine. To speak of God's love as righteous means that when God, out of the richness of his mercy, wills and creates fellowship with sinful human creatures, he does that which is worthy of himself. He is faithful to himself as God.

Now this fidelity of God to himself must not be reduced to a mere consistency in the way God guides his people to himself (as occurred in Albrecht Ritschl, for example). God's revelation of himself has the character not only of Gospel but also and at the same time, of Law. God's revelation manifests his will as righteous and distinguishes it from all that is unrighteous. The God who is revealed in the death of Christ is in truth the Judge; the absolute standard of righteousness in whose light all the thoughts, words and deeds of men and women are seen to be what they are—either good or evil. So whatever God does in order to create and establish fellowship with men and women

has to be in accordance with his righteousness in this sense; it must be in accordance with Law. According to Barth, this is the point of Paul's twice repeated phrase in Romans 3:24f.: the setting forth of Jesus Christ to be a *hilasterion* in his blood was for the "demonstration of God's righteousness."⁷⁶ In other words, what took place in the death of Christ was not the execution of a divine will that was out of step with the divine righteousness; what took place on Calvary was the execution of the one righteous will of God. The unity of mercy and righteousness is seen precisely here. *Mercy reaches its goal through the execution of the righteous judgment of God.*

With this groundwork on the perfections of God in place, Barth turned briefly to the doctrine of the atonement. The central question here was: how does the righteous judgment of God express itself in the event of the cross? Answer: it expresses itself as wrath and condemnation. Why as wrath and condemnation? Because that is what the human race deserved from God. "The meaning of the death of Jesus Christ is that there God's condemning and punishing righteousness broke out, really smiting and piercing human sin...It did so in such a way that in what happened there...the righteousness of God which we have offended was really revealed and satisfied." We deserved the punishment of death, but Jesus Christ took our place and as our Substitute endured the punishment which was due to our sins.

But in saying this, there was one crucial misconception which Barth wanted to guard against. The motive force in the drama which unfolded on Calvary was not the suffering of an innocent man. "There is no moving of God by the creature on the basis of which God can then decide on a universal amnesty. It is rather God's own heart which moves in creation on the basis of his own good pleasure. It suffers what the creature ought to suffer and could not without being destroyed." What Barth is suggesting is that God is not moved from wrath to mercy by an offering made to him from the human side. God's mind is not changed by what happens on Calvary. Rather, the motive force which produced the saving work of Christ is throughout the love of God—even when that love expresses itself as wrath and judgment and punishment.

In spite of his best efforts to affirm the unity of grace and holiness, mercy and righteousness as perfections of the divine loving, Barth's treatment of the atonement in K.D. II/1 suffered from a potentially disastrous weakness. At the crucial point, he repeated the error of the

sixteenth and seventeenth century Reformed theologians and made the death of Christ to be a satisfaction offered to the divine righteousness. This way of speaking still tended to abstract righteousness from love as mercy. If the intentions expressed in Barth's dialectically ordered treatment of the divine perfections were to bear fruit, a different way of conceiving of satisfaction would have to found.

Barth returned to the problem of atonement in K.D. IV/1.⁷⁷ His treatment of the subject there showed that he had seen his inconsistency and was now in a position to rectify it. The change consisted above all in this: the idea of penal substitution, while not being wholly abandoned, was now clearly seen to be the instrument of the divine love. Where before, penal substitution had enjoyed a great prominence (as that which satisfies the divine wrath and thereby is the effective element in producing atonement), it now was placed in a more clearly subordinate position. "The concept of punishment has come into the answer given by Christian theology from Is. 53. In the New Testament it does not occur in this connection. But it cannot be completely rejected or evaded on this account. My turning from God is followed by God's annihilating turning from me... But we must not make this a main concept as in some of the older presentations of the doctrine of the atonement...in the sense that by his suffering our punishment... He 'satisfied' or offered satisfaction to the wrath of God. The latter idea is quite foreign to the New Testament."⁷⁸ According to Barth's mature conception, what is "satisfied" in the atonement is not the wrath of God in the abstract, but rather the holy love of God. The divine action in which sin is attacked and destroyed at its root in Jesus Christ occurs "...not out of any desire for vengeance and retribution on the part of God, but because of the radical nature of the divine love, which could 'satisfy' itself only in the outworking of its wrath against the man of sin, only by killing him, extinguishing him, removing him. Here is the place for the doubtful concept that in the passion of Jesus Christ, in the giving up of his Son to death, God has done that which is 'satisfactory' or sufficient in the victorious fighting of sin to make this victory radical and total."⁷⁹ It is the love of God which is "satisfied"—which does all that is necessary to achieve our salvation. And now, seen against the background of the thought of the overwhelming of sin by the holy love of God, the element of penal substitution can be introduced and receive its proper due. "The very heart of the idea of atonement is the overcom-

ing of sin... It was to fulfill this judgment on sin that the Son of God as human took our place as sinners. He fulfills it—as human in our place—by completing our work in the omnipotence of the divine Son, by treading the way of sinners to its bitter end in death, in destruction, in the limitless anguish of separation from God... We can indeed say that he fulfills this judgment by suffering the punishment which we have all brought on ourselves."⁸⁰

That the love of God is *holy* love means that God must do what is worthy of Himself in achieving the ends of love. Therefore, God's love could not accomplish its purposes with humankind unless God condemned sin and removed it, unless he poured out his wrath upon it. The way to the full accomplishment of God's loving and merciful purposes with the human race had to lie through the outpouring of wrath. Wrath is here clearly seen in its proper place—as the means to the accomplishment of the ends of love; as the necessary means (since God is *holy* love), but still only the means. Still more important however, is to see that this is an act of *holy love*. It has its ground in the love of God; it is accomplished through the loving act in which the Son of God as human takes upon himself the full reality and consequences of our sin and judges it and removes it; and it has its end in the loving purpose of restoring fellowship with sinful human creatures.

Barth's view of the atonement still operates—as he himself expressly says—within a forensic [*juristischen*] framework.⁸¹ The Son of God as human takes our sin upon himself by placing himself under the divine judgment, by making himself liable for our guilt and its consequences. The major difference between Barth's conception and the classical Reformed view at this point is that Barth understands the Son of God to stand under this judgment through the whole of his life, from cradle to grave, whereas the old Reformed theologians saw the imputation of sin to him as taking place only in the passion itself. Still, Barth operates within a forensic framework and to that extent is still moving within the sphere of classical Reformed thought (and its modified Anselmianism).

2. The second chief weakness in Calvin's understanding of the passion and death of Christ is a function of his Christology. As we saw earlier, Calvin was quite concerned to maintain the distinction between human nature and divine nature in the hypostatic union. The effect of this concern on his interpretation of the work of Christ is

that he tended to strictly segregate actions which he thought pertained to the human nature from actions which he saw as pertaining to the divine nature. Because he had not reflected deeply enough on the *anhypostasia* of the human nature assumed in the incarnation, he was not able to see clearly that what is accomplished in and through the human nature has to be attributed to the Logos as the Person of the union. This shows up most poignantly in his treatment of Jesus' cry of dereliction ("My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"). In fairness to Calvin, it has to be said that he took the cry of dereliction very seriously indeed. He understood the cry to be the expression of heartfelt anguish, fear and even despair due to his abandonment by God. "...[S]urely no more terrible abyss can be conceived than to feel yourself forsaken and estranged from God; and when you call upon him, not to be heard."⁸² And so, Christ "suffered in his soul the terrible torments of a condemned and forsaken man." But Calvin's way of handling these problems does not yet probe the depths of the situation. He rightly assigns fear and dread to Christ's human nature; rightly, because it is only through the addition of a human nature that the Logos can have this experience. And yet he stops short of attributing this experience (on the basis of a real *communicatio*) to the Person of the Logos. His reason for doing so is clear. He is concerned not to weaken or set aside the biblical concept of the divine immutability. And he also senses that to make the eternal Son the Subject of the death in God-abandonment would seem to introduce a conflict of even rift between Father and Son. And this is to his mind impossible. The Father never ceased to love his eternal Son.⁸³

The truth in Calvin's position is that we must not introduce a rift into the divine being. Death in God-abandonment must not be reduced to an intra-trinitarian affair in which the eternal Father abandons the eternal Son. Such a conclusion would mean that the eternal bond of love joining Father and Son was broken in the event of the cross and that is indeed unthinkable.

Here again, it was Karl Barth who showed the way in which the difficulty might be resolved. The way forward lay through a Christocentric approach to fleshing out the definition of divine being. God's being for Barth is to be understood as self-determined being, i.e. as a being determined by his primal decision never to be God apart from humankind.⁸⁴ In electing the human race in eternity to be his covenant partner, God at the same time was also electing

himself to be God for us. He was determining himself for incarnation, for taking on human life with all the limitations proper to it, up to and including death. If God dies on the cross—and the doctrine of the anhypostasia ought at least to tell us that the Subject of this death could be no other than *God-man*—if God has done this, then who are we to tell God that he cannot do it? Again and again, Barth insisted that we must not come to Christology with a pre-formed conception of the divine being; an understanding of the divine being which has been fleshed out entirely without reference to what God has actually done in Christ. If God does something in Christ, then it is obvious that he can do it. We must learn to understand divine being on the basis of what God concretely does in Christ and not on the basis of some kind of philosophical reflection carried out in abstraction from the Christ event. Thus, Calvin's chief problem was resolved. The immutability of God is in no way called in question for the actions and relations of the eternal Son in time (in the incarnation) are "built-into" the being of God in eternity through election.

Calvin's problem was not really immutability at all but the concept of God which he presupposed and which he used the thought of immutability to secure. Calvin's concept of God was finally that of a being complete in itself before it ever thinks, wills and acts. It was an abstract concept of divine being, fleshed through a process of philosophical reflection without reference to the concrete acts of God. Against this procedure, Barth showed that the kind of being God is is determined by his primal decision to be the kind of God who can take to himself a human nature and live a human life. The net effect of Barth's effort to see divine being as determined by divine decision and act is this: if God has determined himself from eternity for death on a cross, then death on the cross, so far from introducing a change into the divine being is actually the most complete and full expression of that being. The immutability of God is in no way set aside. It is in the cross—as nowhere else—that we receive the fullest possible disclosure of the nature of divine being; therefore, God does not undergo change by coming to us in this way.

If then we expand our focus a bit and ask about the meaning of death in God-abandonment, we will have to say this. "God abandonment" does not mean that the eternal Father abandons the eternal Son. The thought of a rift in the divine being (of a "God against God") is already excluded by the fact that in becoming human and

dying on a cross, God does that which is proper to himself. The meaning of "God-abandonment" has to lie elsewhere. The way to a solution is seen when we keep in mind that the Subject of Christ's work is not finally the Logos *simpliciter*, but the Logos made human—the God-man in his divine-human Unity. This is a *human* experience, the experience of the man or woman who dies in dereliction. In taking human nature to himself, the Logos takes this experience to himself. He takes it into himself and absorbs it and - precisely because he is God and thus not able to be separated from his loving Father - he extinguishes its power. Because he has had this human experience, we will never have to and that is good news indeed. That is the real significance of the biblical phrase "O death, where is thy sting?" The sting is gone, removed forever by the glorious victory of the God-man over it.

CONCLUSION

When I first began this paper, it was my intention to say something about the subject of "divinisation" as the concluding piece in my discussion of the atonement. Unfortunately, the pressure of time has made that impossible to do full justice to that theme. A few brief comments by way of conclusion will have to suffice.

In the sixteenth century, there were hints and suggestions here and there which suggested that in spite of the stringent focus on the radical distinction between divine being and human being, room was still left for the thought of a real communion between the two. Consider for example, the following statement from the *First Helvetic Confession*, Art. 11: "This Lord Christ, hell, Who has overcome and conquered death, sin and the whole power of sin is our Forerunner, our Leader and our Head. He is the true High Priest who sits at God's right hand and always defends and promotes our cause, until he brings us back and restores us to the image in which we were created, *and leads us into the fellowship of his divine nature.*" Now what conclusions might we draw from the use of such language?

The first thing to notice is that that the fellowship spoken of here is an eschatological reality. As such, it ought not to be conceived as entirely discontinuous with what comes before. Already, in this life, fellowship with God through the Son is established, on the Reformed view, by the Holy Spirit. This fellowship is initiated by the regener-

ating work of the Spirit in baptism and is nourished by the sanctifying work of the Spirit in the Eucharist. The process of sanctification which is initiated in baptism continues throughout life until, after dying, the believer is brought into the very presence of God. At this point, the "sin nature" of the believer is at last annihilated and the believer is restored in the image of God, i.e. in holiness, righteousness and true knowledge of God. In later Reformed theology, this consummation of the process of sanctification was called "glorification."

Secondly, the Subject who brings about this fellowship is once again the Holy Spirit. The Spirit not only makes believers to be participants in the divine virtues of wisdom, holiness and righteousness; He also glorifies the Son, thereby making possible a spiritual vision of the Son as he really is. The focus of this vision is still Christ in his human nature. The Spirit reveals the Son in His glory by casting light on his human nature, making it a constant and eternal bearer of revelation; and the Spirit in the believer receives and rejoices in that light. Throughout, the thought of the mediated character of our fellowship with the divine being is maintained.

In conclusion: the Reformed understanding of incarnation and atonement distinguishes itself through its continuous emphasis on the distinction of divine being and human being as well as through the very prominent role it assigns to the Holy Spirit, as the Power which joins together divine being and human being without setting aside the distinction. It is the Spirit who brings divine nature and human nature together in the hypostatic union and in a very real sense, mediates between them; it is the Spirit who empowers and makes possible the obedience of the Son in and through his human nature; it is the Spirit who joins us to the Son, thereby effecting our sanctification and our justification; and it is the Spirit who "glorifies" believers by glorifying the Son in eternity.

NOTES

¹ Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper has been aptly described by one writer as "symbolic memorialism" in order to distinguish it from the two other major interpretations advanced by Reformed theologians in the sixteenth century: the "symbolic parallelism" of Heinrich Bullinger and the "symbolic instrumentalism" of Jean Calvin. See Brian Gerrish, "The Lord's Supper in the Reformed Confessions" *Theology Today* 23 (1966): 224-43. It must be noted that Zwingli's sacramentology in itself is of no interest to us

insistence that the risen Christ was physically and locally present after the ascension only in heaven, at the right hand of the Father, was an idea that continued to inform Calvin's and Bullinger's reflection on Christology, in spite of their disagreements with his sacramentology.

² *Solid Declaration*, VIII, 14.

³ *Epitome*, VIII, 7; *Solid Declaration*, VIII, 9.

⁴ *Epitome*, VIII, 6.

⁵ *Epitome*, VIII, 35.

⁶ *Solid Declaration*, VIII, 19.

⁷ *Epitome*, VIII, 16.

⁸ *Institutes*, IV. ix.

⁹ E. David Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology: the Function of the So-Called Extra Calvinisticum in Calvin's Theology* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), p. 61.

¹⁰ *Institutes*, IV. ix. 8. In this section of the *Institutes*, Calvin says that he embraces and reverences as holy the "early councils" and mentions specifically those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I, and Chalcedon. To my knowledge, he nowhere makes mention of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils.

¹¹ See Calvin's *Comm.* on Jn. 1:14 where he says, "...the unity of His person does not prevent His natures from remaining distinct, so that the divinity retains whatever is proper to it and the humanity likewise has separately what belongs to it."

¹² *Institutes*, II. xiii. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Karl Barth, *Erklärung des Philipperbriefes* (Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag, 1947), p. 61.

¹⁵ *Institutes*, I. xiii. 11.

¹⁶ *Institutes*, II. xiv. 1.

¹⁷ Johannes L. Witte, "Die Christologie Calvins," in Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht (Eds.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bd. III (Wuerzburg: Echter-Verlag), pp. 501 and 493.

¹⁸ A striking example is the following: "...the church's definition stands firm: he is believed to be the Son of God because the Word begotten of the Father before all ages took human nature in a hypostatic union." *Institutes*, II. xiv. 5. But see also the whole of *Institutes*, II. xii-xiii.

¹⁹ *Institutes*, II. xiv. 4.

²⁰ Witte, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

²¹ *Institutes*, IV. xvii. 30.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Institutes*, II. xiv. 2. The emphasis in this quotation is mine.

²⁴ Heinrich Heppe, *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche*, newly edited by Ernst Bizer (Neukirchen: Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins Neukirchen, Kreis Moers, 1935), p. 328. [Hereafter cited as "HpB"].

²⁵ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 63.

²⁶ *Decades* IV, Sermon vi, p. 268. [I will here be citing from the Parker Society translation of 1851.]

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

³⁰ For justification of this claim see Ernst Bizer, *Fruehorthodoxie und Rationalismus* (Zurich: EVZ-Verlag, 1963), pp. 16-32.

³¹ This work was translated into English in 1852 and is still available in reprint. See Zacharius Ursinus, *Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*, trans. by G.W. Williard (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, n.d.). [Hereafter cited as *Commentary*.]

³² *Commentary*, p. 210.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³⁵ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I*, ed. by Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), p. 128.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

³⁷ Friedrich Wendelin, cited in HpB, p. 328; E.T., p. 439. The theology of Wendelin (1584–1652) can be seen generally as belonging to the German Reformed type which emanated from Heidelberg, where he received his education under Ursinus' friend, David Pareus. See Ernst Bizer's "Historische Einleitung zu Heinrich Heppes Dogmatik der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche," p. lvi.

³⁸ This distinction also comes from the work of Friedrich Wendelin. See HpB, p. 327; E.T., p. 431.

³⁹ HpB, pp. 328–9; E.T., p. 445.

⁴⁰ T.F. Torrance, *The Trinitarian Faith* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1988), p. 150.

⁴¹ This principle has been given confessional status in the following.

The Second Helvetic Confession, Chapter XI: "We therefore acknowledge two natures or substances, the divine and the human...And we say that these are bound and united with one another in such a way that they are not absorbed, or confused, or confused or mixed, but are united and joined together in one person—the properties of the natures being unimpaired and permanent."

The Gallican Confession, Art. XV: "We believe that in one person, that is, Jesus Christ, the two natures are actually and inseparable joined and united, and yet each remains in its proper character..."

The Belgic Confession, Art. XIX: "We believe that by this conception the person of the Son is inseparably united and connected with the human nature; so that there are not two Sons of God, nor two persons, but two natures united in a single person; yet each nature retains its own distinct properties."

⁴² Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik I/2*, p. 166–69.

⁴³ *Institutes*, II. xiii. 4.

⁴⁴ *Institutes*, II. xiii. 3.

⁴⁵ Menno's view is not entirely without parallel in Reformed circles. Huldrych Zwingli, though not committing himself to the thought that women are without seed, seems clearly to have thought that original sin attaches itself only to the male seed. See Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, ed. by Samuel Macauley Jackson (Durham, NC: The Labyrinth Press, 1981), p. 112.

⁴⁶ *Institutes*, II. xiii. 3.

⁴⁷ *Institutes*, II. xiii. 4.

⁴⁸ See above, note #34.

⁴⁹ Ursinus, *Commentary*, p. 206. We will not pursue this matter further through the

investigation of other Reformed theologians. Suffice it to say that the Reformed tradition generally followed Calvin in his view that the conception by the Holy Spirit resulted in the sanctification of the human nature. See HpB, pp.325, 339–40; E.T., pp. 426–27.

⁴⁰ Calvin, *Commentary*, 2 Corinthians 5:21.

⁵¹ *Institutes*, II. xvi. 5.

⁵² *Institutes*, II. xvi. 6.

⁵³ The one criticism which I personally would wish to advance against the view thus far described is that it trades too heavily on traditional, substantialist notions of human nature and original sin. Calvin defined original sin as “a hereditary depravity and corruption of our nature, diffused into all parts of the soul, which makes us liable to God’s wrath, then also brings forth in us those works which Scripture calls ‘works of the flesh’ [Gal. 5:19].” See *Institutes*, II. i. 8. Original sin is thus likened to a contagion that spreads more or less organically throughout the human race, infecting the soul and all of its powers. To be tainted with this disease is itself sufficient to make one liable to God’s judgment, for guilt attaches to this disease before it ever gives rise to particular acts of sin. On this view, it is understandable that Calvin wanted to keep Christ free of this contagion. For if to be defiled in this way *already* entailed personal guilt and liability to God’s judgment before acts of sin were committed, then Christ had to be kept free of this defilement. If he were not, he would have needed a Mediator for himself, to redeem him from the guilt accruing to *his* own sin nature.

The fundamental flaw in this view is that it regarded original sin as *inherited* depravity, rather than as the primal decision of Adam in which each individual participates through his/her own primal decision to affirm the disordered relationship with God which was the effect of Adam’s first sin. Where original sin is understood in terms of primal decision, human “nature” is made to be the function of decision and act rather than the other way around. On this basis, it could then be seen how Christ could enter the situation of disorder without bearing any *personal* responsibility for it (and thereby requiring a Redeemer for his own sin). Christ does not inherit a “sin nature” which would then need to be cleansed. His “nature,” like our own, is defined by his decision. Christ enters our situation judicially, as our legal representative. The guilt of our sins is imputed to him. Such an imputation does not give rise to a “sin nature” in him because he never affirms the primal decision of Adam. On the contrary, he “condemns sin in his flesh” by not agreeing with this primal decision. One could even say, he “repented” of our decision by not making it himself. The great virtue of such a judicial or forensic understanding of the propagation of original sin is that it overcomes the substantialist understanding of human nature; it makes it finally clear how Christ could bear the guilt of our sins without having to affirm the primal decision of Adam. He does not affirm the primal decision of Adam because he does not inherit a diseased nature (any more than the rest of us do). The “sin nature” each of us has is a function of our primal decision to agree with Adam’s rebellion. Through his life of obedience, Christ refused to make that primal decision his own. That he did not do so cannot be explained on the basis of the hypostatic union alone; the work of the Spirit has to be appealed to to make the conception fully coherent. That is, the Spirit who brought together divine and human nature in the Virgin’s womb was the One who continually empowered the God-man in his life of obedience.

Such an interpretation, it seems to me, is what Karl Barth was after in speaking of the assumption of a “fallen human nature.” Barth did not understand human nature in substantialist terms. He understood “nature” to be a function of decision and act. The

Logos, for Barth, elected himself to stand in our place; to make himself liable for human sin. That is what is meant by the assumption of "fallen human nature." As Barth puts it, "In becoming the same as we are, the Son of God is the same in quite a different way from us; in other words, in our human being what we do is omitted, and what we omit is done...[The Word assumes our human existence, assumes flesh, i.e., he exists in the state and position, amid the conditions, under the curse and punishment of sinful man...Therefore, in our state and condition he does not do what underlies and produces that state and condition, or what we in that state and condition continually do." The "sanctification" human nature which results is not to be likened to a cleansing or healing of a disease; it is rather the function of the decision by which the Son of God chooses not to do what we do and to do what we choose not to. See Barth, K.D. I/2, p. 170; E.T., C.D. I/2, p. 155.

That Barth was able to come to this conclusion was due in part at least to the emergence in seventeenth century Reformed theology of the idea that original sin is transmitted to each individual by a direct divine act of imputation and not by means of inheritance. In the seventeenth century, such an understanding of how original sin was transmitted was not allowed to alter completely the view of original sin itself (which continued to be thought of inconsistently! - in largely substantialist terms as a disease infecting the soul and its powers). See K.D. IV/1, p. 569-73; E.T., C.D. IV/1, pp. 510-13. It was Barth's "actualistic" ontology which enabled him to finally overcome this inconsistency, and to integrate the God-man's life of obedience into the forensic framework within which he also interpreted the significance of the cross.

⁵⁴ *Institutes*, II. xvi. 5.

⁵⁵ Bullinger, *Second Helvetic Confession*, Chapter XI.

⁵⁶ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 151-52. Osiander developed this view on the basis of his belief that it is "God's Word and God Himself" who is the content of our justification (p.151). Such a notion ought to put us on alert to the possible negative ramifications of speaking too unguardedly of the Logos as the Subject of our redemption. The Subject of our redemption is not the Logos *simpliciter*, but the Logos who assumed human flesh, i.e. the God-man in His divine-human unity.

⁵⁷ *Institutes*, III. xi. 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III. i. 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III. xi. 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, II. xvi. 5.

⁶¹ Johannes Wollebius, *Compendium Theologiae Christianae*, I. xviii. 1(8) in John W. Beardslee, III trans., *Reformed Dogmatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 99.

⁶² The prominence of law was the unfortunate consequence of the emergence of the idea of a "covenant of works." For the history of this development, see Gottlob Schrenk, *Gottesreich und Bund im aelteren Protestantismus vornehmlich bei Johannes Coccejus* 2nd ed. (Giessen/Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 1985). For a penetrating criticism of the idea, see Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik* IV/1, pp. 57-70.

⁶³ A complete treatment of the Reformed understanding of the work of Christ would have to view the life of Christ in the light of its "prophetic" and "kingly" aspects. From Calvin on, Reformed theologians organized their presentations of the work of Christ in terms of a threefold mediatorial office, having a prophetic, a priestly, and a kingly aspect.

Unfortunately, limitations of time prevent me from entering more fully into the prophetic and the kingly.

⁶⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 3a. 48, 4.

⁶⁵ *Institutes*, II. xvi. 1.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II. xvi. 5.

⁶⁷ *The Geneva Catechism of 1545*, Q. 65: "...He endured not only cocoon death, which is the separation of soul from body; but also the pains of death, as Peter calls them (Acts 2:24). By this word I understand the fearful agonies with which his soul was tormented."

⁶⁸ *Institutes*, II. xvi. 4, 5, 6 and II. xvii. 4.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II. xvi. 7.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, II. xvi. 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II. xvi. 2.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II. xvi. 3.

⁷⁴ Calvin devotes only a very brief section of one chapter to the subject in his *Institutes*. He clearly regarded this subject-matter as susceptible to the kind of speculation he deplored. See *Institutes*, I. x. 2.

⁷⁵ Barth, K.D. II/1, pp. 394–457; E.T., C.D. II/1, pp. 351–406.

⁷⁶ Barth, K.D. II/1, p. 430; E.T., C.D. II/1, p. 382.

⁷⁷ Barth, K.D. IV/1, pp. 231–311; E.T., C.D. IV/1, pp. 211–283.

⁷⁸ Barth, K.D. IV/1, p. 279; E.T., C.D. IV/1, p. 253.

⁷⁹ Barth, K.D. IV/1, p. 280; E.T., C.D. IV/1, p. 254.

⁸⁰ Barth, K.D. IV/1, p. 278; E.T., C.D. IV/1, p. 253.

⁸¹ Barth, K.D. IV/1, p. 301; E.T., C.D. IV/1, p. 274.

⁸² *Institutes*, II. xvi. 11.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Barth, *The Humanity of God* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1978).

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“Formation” and Theological Schooling¹

DR. DAVID H. KELSEY

Our theme is “Formation and Theological Schooling.” Paul Ricoeur has famously remarked that symbol gives rise to thought;² and at least in the case of our theme, it may be said with equal justice that the symbol tends to confuse thought. The metaphor “*forming persons*,” especially in theological education is profoundly problematic.

Some problems generated by this metaphor are brought, out by two papers prepared for a consultation sponsored in 1988 by the Association of Theological Schools. Distinguished North American Theological educators, among them Professors David Tracy and George Lindbeck, delivered papers on the theme “*Theological Education as the Formation of Character*.” Their two papers illustrate very different views of the process by which persons might be “formed,” with quite different pictures of the nature of the theological schooling through which such “formation” might take place. Tracy’s paper assumed that “formation” could only occur through a *maieutic* process, while Lindbeck’s paper assumes that it can only take place through a *mimetic* process. What I want to explore are the implications for theological schooling of the instability inherent in the notion of “formation” oscillating as it does between the *maieutic* and *mimetic*.

In his paper, “*Can Virtue be Taught? Education, Character and the Soul*,” Professor Tracy urged³ that discussion of theological education as a type of “formation,” would profit from a retrieval of Plato’s insights in his controversies with Protagoras, on one hand, and the classical tragedians on the other. Protagoras and the sophists claimed that the moral virtues could be formed in the soul quite directly as a

kind of *techne* communicated to them by addressing them in speeches. For their part, the tragedians supposed that the soul could be morally formed and transformed by directly confronting the soul with its own inner conflicts which is mimetically portrayed in the conflicts driving the tragedies. Against both, Plato urged that virtue couldn't be taught at all. Indeed, one's soul cannot be directly formed by any other person. Character can be taught only indirectly. Plato's Socrates keeps insisting that as a teacher his role is like that of a midwife (*maieutikos*). The most a teacher can do is serve like a midwife to help someone else's soul to give birth to its own virtue.

Accordingly, a pedagogical process through which character is formed must be a *maieutic* process. If theological education is, at least in part, to be thought on analogy with this, then it must always remember that what it seeks to form in its students cannot be taught directly and its pedagogical processes need to be self-consciously *maieutic*.

Why can't virtue be taught and the soul formed directly? Because you can't teach people what they already know. In Plato's view, the soul already knows the "good," in some inchoate way. Tracy contends that this innate soul-knowledge can be properly translated into certain distinctly twentieth-century notions. He writes that "amidst all the scholarly debates" about Plato's concept of soul "this much is clear: besides its other functions (e.g. on self-movement) the term soul, is a direct analogue of what a modern like Bultmann or Ogden means by existential self-understanding or a post-modern like Kristiva means by subject-in-process" (p. 40).

Tracy likes to gloss Plato's word soul, with Kristiva's phrase subject-in-process, to stress that "soul" need not be understood statically as an unchanging substance. He likes to gloss "soul" with the phrase existential self-understanding, because basic elements of existential self-understanding come, so to speak, with the self and cannot be taught to it or otherwise formed in it. What the ideal teacher (Socrates!) can do is provide a context in which this innate self-understanding can bring itself to articulate clarity. Tracy devotes the bulk of his essay to a fascinating sketch of the complex inter-play between dialectic and myth that Plato uses in his dialogues to this *maieutic* end.

But how come the soul already knows, however inchoately, the "good" such that virtue need not, indeed cannot, be taught to it nor character directly formed in it? Tracy's discussion of this question

inadvertently surfaces not one, but two quite different answers to the question. Each of them would seem to entail a very different picture of the maieutic "formation" that might go on through Christian theological education. One, explicitly developed, is a cosmological reason. It suggests a cosmologically oriented maieutic pedagogy for theological education as a type of formation. The other, implicitly acknowledged, is a kerygmatic reason. It suggests a kerygmatically oriented maieutic pedagogy for theological education as a type formation.

I. COSMOLOGICALLY ORIENTED MAIEUTIC FORMATION

Tracy himself explicitly develops what I am calling a "cosmological answer." He is especially interested in two themes in Plato's account of the soul: 1) that intrinsic to the soul there is a certain, depth... and 2) that the soul is driven by a divine eros. A soul engaged in dialogue with an ideal teacher is placed in the maieutic context of the movement of dialectical inquiry. Especially when dialectic is practiced on one of the great myths, dialectical inquiry helps bring to birth a "differentiation of consciousness" (p. 40). In the process the soul is brought to articulate clarity about something that had always been true of it: "It finds itself 'pulled' to a depth both grounding and beyond itself which it cannot account for dialectically but can and must acknowledge through its own dialectical experience." This is an "acknowledgement of transcendence," transcendence whose traces can be seen in the great myths. It is experience of "a depth where the soul somehow 'participates' in or 'imitates' the whole and the divine..." (pp. 43-44).

Thus what comes to birth in the soul is articulate clarity about the souls oneness with the whole, the cosmos. What also comes to birth is clarity that the souls involvement in the dialectical process that is midwife to the birth of this self-understanding has all along been driven by the divine power of eros whose presence in the soul is itself "a manifestation of the souls participation in the divine and the whole" (p. 44).

To all of this David Tracy wishes, perhaps anomalously, to add the "further insight which the community of faith has to teach," viz. that "the eros of inquiry ... is itself driven by our commitments, our hopes, our loves;" and they—our commitments, hopes and loves—, in turn,

are communally shaped by our common life in the community of faith nurtured by Word and sacraments (p. 50).

A theological school construed on analogy with Plato's understanding of the maieutic role of pedagogy in forming "subjects-in-process" could, Tracy proposes, "become again a school for the training of the soul" (p. 51). Note the defining telos of theological schools on this picture: Theological schools would aim at the forming, not of religious functionaries, or of leaders of communities of faith, or of "professionals," in the various arts of ministry, but rather the forming of souls. Tracy thinks that the great conceptual advantage to be retrieved from Plato is an understanding of who and what we are seeking to "form" in theological education, viz. "souls" as "intrinsically relational" (p. 40) "subjects in process" and centers of "existential self-understanding." This clearly excludes the static picture of classical substantialist (Aristotelian? Thomist?) understandings of the soul, the Enlightenment's atomic individualist understandings of the soul (pp. 51-52) and, we might add (though Tracy does not) American culture's consumerist abstract-economic-unit, understanding of the soul.⁴

In order to educate persons maieutically, theological schools would need to devise pedagogical practices that could serve as contexts, which help, like midwives, to bring to birth a differentiation of consciousness in the soul. Above all, what is to be clarified is an inherent understanding of ourselves as open to and part of a transcending divine "whole" and an implicit, largely tacit, understanding of ourselves as driven by eros toward clarified consciousness of our inherent unity with that "whole."

Central to such pedagogy is dialectic practiced on myths. Dialectic is a pattern of inquiry in which "the question always prevails over the answer; ... inquiry always provokes further inquiry; inquiry ... is always directed to the horizons—the interests, experience, and character—of the actual inquirers" (p. 37). The "myths," on which dialectic is practiced would be those of the "Christian classics, especially the Bible" (p. 51). The aim of specifically *dialectical* inquiry into Christianity's *mythos* would be to discern in the *mythos* ciphers disclosive of the souls always, already, participation in the cosmos. Thus, presumably, theological schooling, like Plato's own work, would provide "an artistic-philosophical rendering of existential self-consciousness in its full complexity ..." (p. 45), a rendering that serves as

mid-wife to students, bringing to birth their own differentiated self-understanding.

II. KERYGMATICALLY ORIENTED MAIEUTIC FORMATION

Our question was this: within a picture of "formation," as a maieutic process, how is it that the soul already knows, however unclearly, that which we might seek to form in it, with the result that we cannot form it or teach it directly? As we have seen, Tracy's own answer is cosmological: The soul inherently knows itself somehow one with the "whole," the cosmos. However, when Tracy translates relevant themes in the Platonic concept "soul" into Bultmann's (and Ogden's) notion of "self-understanding" he thereby inadvertently invokes quite a different answer. It is a *kerygmatic* answer. The reason why the soul already understands, that which we seek to "form" in it through theological schooling does not lie in the soul's *ontology*, in its place in the cosmos. It lies rather in an ontic historical fact, viz. that the soul has already been confronted by God's saving grace through a particular event of proclamation of the gospel, the *kerygma*.

For Bultmann the relevant self-understanding, is the self-understanding that constitutes faith in God's grace in Jesus Christ. The hallmark of this self-understanding is freedom. In particular, for Bultmann, it is the freedom from sin, law and death that the Apostle Paul describes in Romans 5-8. The notion of self-understanding, here is a translation of the traditional Lutheran-Pauline understanding of the state of the redeemed as freedom from bondage to sin.

This self-understanding is not inherent in being a subject. It is not "ontological." For Bultmann there is also such an ontological self-understanding. That is, there is a self-presence or self-understanding that is an essential structural feature or "existential" of subjectivity as such. It is one of the conditions of the possibility of consciousness. It may well be a functional and structural equivalent to the ontological self-understanding that Tracy calls "soul." But that is not the self-understanding, in question here. Here Bultmann is trading on a distinction Heidegger makes between "authentic" and "inauthentic" self-understandings. Authenticity is characterized by freedom. It may well be that Bultmann misconstrues Heidegger, nonetheless he equates Heidegger's authentic/inauthentic self-understanding distinction with Paul's freedom-in-faith/bondage-in-sin distinction. The

actual self-understanding all of us have most of the time is in fact *inauthentic*. The Christian good news, the kerygma, is that by God's grace we may be restored to authentic self-understanding and freed from inauthentic self-understanding.

Bultmann insists that authentic self-understanding is a gift from God. It is a person's response to a concrete event in which the kerygma of God's unconditional love for her in Jesus Christ was proclaimed to her and she trusted it as that which existentially defines herself and her world. Bultmann is emphatic that authentic self-understanding cannot be a response to anything one could tell to oneself. Authentic self-understanding cannot be rooted, for example, in clarifying one's ontological-existential self-understanding. Rather, it must be a response to an unimaginable and hither-to unheard of message that comes to one from outside oneself. Authentic self-understanding is rooted in an ontic event in which the kerygma was proclaimed and trusted. No human being can cause that to happen for another. Only God gives it.

So with Bultmann we are still thinking, as we did with Tracy, within the set of assumptions that underwrite the view that "formation" can only occur *maieutically*. That which, for Bultmann, we would be seeking to "form" in another, i.e. "authentic self-understanding," cannot be directly communicated to another or formed in another. It either is already in fact the other's self-understanding, or there is no human way to convey it to the other. However, the reason why it is already "there" as someone's self-understanding, if indeed it is, is not, as it was for Tracy, that such self-understanding is ontologically constitutive of every "subject-in-process," but that such understanding was occasioned by a concrete, ontic event of proclamation of the Christian kerygma.

This version of why Christian formation must be *maieutic* would have quite different consequences for theological schooling than did Tracy's version. From Bultmann's perspective theological schooling by way of "formation" as Tracy understands it would have failed to take in the distinction Kierkegaard draws in *Philosophical Fragments* between Socrates and Jesus. Socrates is the greatest of teachers because he knows that he knows nothing and can teach us nothing except what we already know, viz. ourselves. However, Jesus, with whom theological education has to do, is not a teacher but the savior who can perform the miracle of re-creating us. From this perspective theo-

logical schooling that overlooked this distinction is bound to engage the central Christian classics, notably the Bible, in ways suited to aesthetic, moral or even generically religious stages of life but not in ways suited precisely to Christian existence.

According to this kerygmatically oriented type of maieutic formation, the defining goal of theological schooling would not be, as it is for Tracy, the "training of the soul." Rather, theological schooling would have two inter-dependent goals, one having to do with the act of proclamation and the other with faith seeking understanding. The two goals would require quite different pedagogies.

On one side, theological schooling would have the goal of preparing people to proclaim the kerygma. "Proclamation" must not be understood narrowly as "preaching" in the conventional sense. The kerygma may be proclaimed in a multitude of ways, formal and informal, more or less articulate, by action as much as by word alone. Theological schooling might well involve the cultivation of a variety of ministerial arts through which the kerygma may be enacted. However, on this side of things what is crucial is that theological education communicates to its students just what the gospel truly *is*.

The criteria of kerygmatic accuracy are historical. For Bultmann the normative source for the Christian kerygma are not the great Christian classics, or even the Bible as such, but simply the New Testament. And within the New Testament, the earliest literary strata are normative because they provide our closest access to the *original* Christian proclamation. Consequently the dominant academic disciplines that students must acquire are the disciplines of critical historiography.

Historical research shows that early Christian proclamation was couched in conceptualities regnant in the culture of the time. Much of that conceptuality takes the form of myth. Accordingly, for Bultmann the normative texts need to be demythologized so that their existential meaning is distinguished from their mythic forms of expression. Hence, theological schooling must also teach students how to interpret New Testament texts existentially.

The pedagogy of this side of theological schooling aims, not at forming students' faith, but rather at forming their intellectual capacities to do critical history and existential hermeneutics in the service of the proclamation of the authentic Christian kerygma. This is a pedagogy that is as direct as, and indeed is indistinguishable from, standard research university pedagogy aiming to form the next gen-

eration of research scholars. It has nothing directly to do with the self-understanding, authentic or otherwise, of subjects-in-process. However, it is rigorous historical training in the service of the practice of the ministry of proclamation of the gospel. Thus far this picture of theological schooling is a straight-line continuation of Schleiermacher's famous rationale for including theological education in the newly founded research University of Berlin:⁵ Standard university "scientific" historical research yields the data in which the essence of historically authentic Christian witness can be identified in the service of equipping persons to perform the socially necessary profession of the clergy.

The second goal of theological schooling understood as kerygmatically oriented maieutic formation, however, would have to do with faith's self-understanding. Assuming that there is a community of persons who, by God's action share a self-understanding given shape by its trust in the shape of the kerygma, then that community is going to have to figure out how the freedom that marks its self-understanding is to be lived out concretely in the endlessly new quandaries of every day life. Authentic self-understanding constantly needs to be clarified; faith constantly drives toward clearer understanding. Theological schooling, then, must have as its second goal the capacitating of persons to help others bring their faith to greater understanding. This cannot be done directly and, unlike the first goal of theological schooling on this model, it does require a maieutic pedagogy.

Bultmann thought Heidegger's more or less technical conceptual apparatus helpful in this task. In the process he tended, perhaps misleadingly, to convert Heidegger's phenomenological analysis in *Sein und Zeit* into a philosophical anthropology. Surely the conceptuality of *some* type of anthropology is indispensable for helping faith, understood in this particular way, give birth to clarity about itself. The conceptuality itself can be taught quite directly. The use of it to bring faith to understanding, however, needs to be indirect, in the context—as Plato knew—of on-going dialogue, in this case dialogue among members of the faith community. The most the teacher can hope to do in that process is serve as a kind of coach, helping people become more proficient in their own efforts to clarify their own self-understanding.

III. MIMETIC FORMATION

There is a second, quite different view of the "formation" that we may seek to accomplish through theological schooling. Where the first view assumes that formation requires a maieutic pedagogy, this second view assumes that formation properly comes through a *mimetic* pedagogy. That is, it comes through a process of imitation.

In his paper "Spiritual Formation and Theological Education," George Lindbeck⁶ describes what he means by "spiritual formation" this way: it is "the deep and personally committed appropriation of a comprehensive and coherent outlook on life and the world" (p. 12). The word "spiritual" here does not designate some one aspect of persons that is targeted for formation, i.e. "spirit" in contradistinction, say, to mind, or will, or emotions, or even Soul. Lindbeck is clear that it is the entire person who is shaped in spiritual formation. Those who undergo formation develop "the capacities and dispositions to think, feel and act in accordance with their world view no matter what the circumstances" (p. 12). There does not seem to be anything at stake in the choice of the word "spiritual;" he could equally as well have called it "character formation." Indeed, Lindbeck stresses that his description of formation is non-theological. it applies equally well to the formation of a committed Marxist as it does to a committed Christian. Unlike Tracy's cosmological maieutic view of formation, this is not predicated on our ontological unity with the divine "whole;" unlike the kerygmatic maieutic view, it is not predicated on our own involvement in an ontic event of divine revelation.

Consistent with his controversial "cultural- linguistic" view of religions, Lindbeck implicitly relies on two analogies of his account of specifically Christian Spiritual formation. First, being formed by a "world view" is analogous to becoming acculturated into a hitherto alien culture. It is possible to learn an alien culture's characteristic practices of thought, action, emotional response, and self-expression because those practices are implicitly rule-governed and the rules can be learned. Hence being formed of world-view is analogous (second analogy) to learning the alien culture's language. Every language has mostly implicit language and learning to speak the language is to learn its grammatical rules that one's own speech is shaped by them. Analogously, one is spiritually shaped by a process of following-alone-in-the-same-way (Wittgenstein) after paradigmatic instances

of the rule-governed patterns of speech, action and feeling that characterize a world-view. This "following along after in the same way" is an active imitating, a type of *mimesis*.

However "imitation" must be understood in a narrow, wooden, constricting way. What is imitated are rule-governed practices, and what is "followed after in the same way" are grammar like rules. And grammar is generative. Grammatical rules do not restrict what can be said. Rather, they make it possible to speak at all. Moreover, they make possible an indefinite number of new and unanticipated sentences. Formation in a world-view's practices is formation by grammar-like rules that empower one to think, act, feel and speak in fresh ways in novel circumstances.

Lindbeck holds that for Christians canonical Scripture is the normative source of paradigms for speech, thought, action and feelings that are Christianly "grammatical." Only *that* grammar which is internal to the Christian tradition ought to serve as the criterion of authenticity Christian first-order practices. Criteria external to the tradition ought not to be allowed to trump the grammar-like rules implicit in Scripture. This view of the appropriate criteria by which to assess the Christian authenticity of first-order Christian practices has an important implication regarding Biblical studies in theological education. Scripture may be the normative source of paradigmatic instances of properly grammatical Christian discourse and action, but it does not itself state the relevant grammatical rules. These rules must be formulated tentatively on the basis of close reading of the texts. This entails a shift from readings of the texts that are disciplined by historical-critical methods to readings that are disciplined more by literary critical methods. The scholarly methods granted hegemony on the kerygmatic-maieutic view of formation in theological schooling are made secondary to inter-textual methods.

This view of Formation has distinctive implications for theological education. To begin with, it draws attention to an important dis-analogy lurking in Lindbeck's root analogies. The "world-view" in question is Christianity. It might equally well be called a tradition, an *actus tradendi*, if "tradition" may be understood generously to embrace a complex of practices of thought, speech, action and feeling. Persons in community with a "deep and personally committed appropriation" of the Christian tradition are acting, speaking, thinking and feeling in ways formed by the tradition's implicit "grammar"

and at the same time they are being ever more deeply formed by that "grammar." In particular, they are being formed in faith, hope and love (p. 12). However, in this tradition there is high consciousness of the ever-present possibility of persons-in-community, and of entire communities of faith, coming to speak, think and act ungrammatically in profound and destructive ways. Indeed, a central practice of Christian communities is self-examination, repentance and reform. Here is the dis-analogy: Ordinary cultures and their languages change over time. Scholars can describe the changes. But no normative judgments are appropriate. Change over time in ordinary languages is just change, neither "good, nor bad." This is partly because nothing of ultimate concern is at stake. For the Christian tradition, however, "Christian authenticity" is of ultimate concern so that persons formed by it need to be constantly self-critical and self-reforming.

This need, in turn, introduces a distinction between spiritual formation and doing theology. The complex of practices that comprise the common life of communities of faith, the practices through which persons are spiritually formed, are first-order practices. Critical reflection on and assessment of first order practices, by contrast, is the doing of theology properly speaking and it is a second-order practice. Its central task is to bring the grammar-like rules implicit in first-order practices to articulate clarity so that the Christian authenticity of the communities, current practices may be assessed in reasoned and methodologically rigorous ways. The key phrase here is "critical reflection." Lindbeck stresses that some people, i.e. some of the saintly, come to be so deeply formed by the community's first-order practices that they have a talent for assessing "connaturally" when the community's deep grammar is being violated (p. 20). What the second-order practices of theology adds to this connatural talent is critical reflection, or in Tracy's sense, dialectic, brought to bear on the community's first-order practices.

It follows that "spiritual formation" and "theological education" are not two names for the same set of practices; but they are nonetheless interdependent sets of practices. Just how the two sets of practices are related to each other institutionally has been historically and culturally variable. In the first century they both took place in communities of faith. In time serious focus on spiritual formation shifted in both East and West to monastic communities. For Protes-

tants it shifted back to communities of faith, and later to intentional sub-communities within congregations. The Enlightenment generated highly individualistic types of spiritual formation. In our day it is common for spiritual formation not only to be highly individualistic, but also inter-religiously remarkably eclectic. The danger in having spiritual formation largely be housed outside of congregations, of course, is the development within the larger community of a class of the spiritually elite.

Meanwhile, second-order theological practices migrated first to monastic communities, and then especially in the medieval West to the Universities. Clergy were expected to have undergone extensive spiritual formation but very few were involved in second-order theological work. Lindbeck points out that it was only at the time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the West that all clergy were required not only to be deeply formed spiritually but also to be educated in second-order theological reflection. However, Roman Catholics set up seminaries in which both first-order (spiritual formation) and second-order (theological reflection) practices were housed, whereas Protestants characteristically housed theological reflection in universities and continued to rely on students, involvement in congregations, first-order practices for their spiritual formation. Even when American Protestants began establishing their own seminaries independent of universities, they characteristically relied on congregations to provide spiritual formation.

In our own cultural situation, Lindbeck seems to suggest, so many persons enter into critical theological reflection (second-order practices) with little or no spiritual formation by Christian first order practices that it may be necessary for theological schools once again intentionally and programmatically to house both levels of practices. The upshot for theological schooling, I take it, is this: What would make schooling properly *theological* would not be that it was schooling ordered to the preparation of clergy or, more broadly, religious leadership. Rather, it would be schooling in which spiritual formation and theological education was restored to an inter-dependent equipoise. Such schooling would, as a matter of fact, be the best possible education for those called to leadership responsibilities in communities of faith; but that would be a by-product of properly theological schooling.

IV. WORKING WITH THE AMBIGUITIES

In sum, the metaphor "forming persons" is ambiguous enough to confuse reflection on theological schooling when we construe theological schooling as a process of "formation." Persons are formed through participation in a set of educational practices, but in a Christian context the ambiguity of "forming persons" allows those practices to be seen as either mimetic practices (e.g. Lindbeck) or maieutic practices, and "mimesis" and "maieusis" are usually thought to be antithetical pictures of what goes on in teaching and learning. Furthermore, the ambiguity of "forming persons" leaves it open whether a maieutic understanding of Christian formation should be construed in a cosmologically oriented (e.g. Tracy) or in a kerygmatically oriented way (e.g. Bultmann).

Moreover, as we have seen, these diverse understandings of "formation" appear to have contrasting entailments regarding the nature of theological schooling: when the practices constituting theological schooling are seen as cosmologically oriented maieutic practices, they aim to help bring to birth students, own differentiated self-understanding, chiefly by practicing dialectic on Christian classics, in particular the Bible, to discern there ciphers disclosive of students' suppressed always-already present self-knowledge of their oneness with the cosmos. Here the practices constitute theological schooling simply *are* the practices that constitute Christian formation. When the practices constituting theological schooling are seen as kerygmatically oriented maieutic practices, they have two distinct goals, one achieved non-maieutically and the other maieutically: To convey to students directly (i.e. non-maieutically) an historically accurate grasp of authentic Christian kerygma whose proclamation is the sole ontic condition of the possibility of faith (which the students in their ministerial roles are then to proclaim), and to help (maieutically) bring to birth in students articulate expression of the self-understanding faith that is already in them by the grace of God through just that proclamation. The first is not necessarily a "forming of persons;" the second is. Here the practices constituting theological schooling are only partly the practices that constitute Christian formation; and the set of practices that is formative presupposes the set that is not. When the practices constituting theological schooling are seen as mimetic practices, they have two distinct goals: To guide students in their

involvement in first-order practices of following after Jesus that constitute the common life of Christian communities and therein shape (i.e. "form") persons' Christian identities, and to cultivate students' capacities for second-order practices of critical reflection on the first-order practices to assess their Christian adequacy and truth (i.e. capacities to think theologically about both the life of Christian communities and the world in which they are set). Both are arguably types of processes through which persons are "formed." Here (as in the case of theological schooling as cosmologically oriented *maieusis*) the practices constituting theological schooling simply are practices constituting Christian formation. The only question is whether theological schooling ought properly to include both sets of practices or only the second set, leaving the first set to the common life of Christian communities.

Is there a synthetic way by which to acknowledge and appropriate the insights of each of these? Very tentatively, I propose a sketch of a way to think them into each other.

Consider two assumptions that the three views of theological schooling as formation may be said to share, and one that I add on my own.

First: Christianly speaking, persons' lives ought in general to be shaped (i.e. "formed") as appropriate *responses* to the way in which God has related to them. We may add that this God, traditionally understood in a Triune way, is understood to relate to humankind in three distinguishable, inter-related ways: as the creative ground and continuous sustainer of their very existence, as One who has begun to bring them to an eschatological consummation that far exceeds in glory any potentialities implicit in their creatureliness, and as One who, despite their alienated hostility, has come among them as one of them in their bondage to "sin" death and the law to liberate them from this bondage and reconcile them in communion. Accordingly, the criteria of the "appropriateness" of persons, response to God lie in the (Biblically narrated) particular and concrete ways in which the Triune God has first related to them. Broadly speaking, "appropriately" shaped lives are lives characterized by faith, hope and love, by constant doxology that it is so, and by the constant awareness that these lives may be failing to respond appropriately, may fail in their faithfulness, hopefulness and love.

Second; As an educational project, Christian theological schooling aims in particular to bring to ever more profound and articulate clarity the understanding of God that is inherent in Christian faith, hope and love.⁷ Because the "appropriateness" of persons' response to the way God has related to them is always in question, this Understanding must be academically and epistemically disciplined to be critical and self-critical. The capacities required for ever-deeper critical understanding in faith, hope and love are in a broad (and perhaps pragmatists') sense of the term, *conceptual* capacities and learning them is an identity shaping process.⁸ Thus the practices comprising properly Christian theological schooling simply *are* person-forming practices. That is not in debate. What is in debate is whether they are properly maieutic practices (and if so, what kind) or mimetic practices.

Third: In addition, I propose that *in concreto* "faith, hope and love" in response to God are actual *as enacted* in the bodily practices of social beings, practices that constitute the common life of Christian communities. By "practice" I mean any form of cooperative human activity that is socially established, implicitly ruled, complex and internally coherent, subject to standards of excellence that partly define it, and is done to some end but does not necessarily have a product.⁹ The array of practices that constitute the common life of Christian communities is indefinitely large, embracing practices of proclamation of the Gospel, liturgies and private prayer, sacramental practices and moral practices, practices of teaching and counseling, some of which are entirely internal to the community and many of which are practices engaged in outside the community's common life. All such practices in one way or another have the form of *imitatio* response to the way God has related to humankind, a response that shapes human action as an imitation of divine action.

Characterizing faith, hope and love as concretely actual in practices has the conceptual advantage of sidelining persistent distortions of faith, hope and love as radically individual practices are cooperative human activities), authentic only when idiosyncratically expressive (practices are socially established and implicitly ruled), private and interior subjective states (practices are enacted by bodied beings in public spaces), valuable because they get us something such as "salvation" (practices have a goal but not necessarily a product; they may be done for their own sakes).

Because in Christian communities these practices are all supposed to be shaped as appropriate responses to the way in which God has related to us, they are necessarily subject to ongoing critical assessment. Hence practices of self-critical reflection are a necessary part of the array of mimetic practices that constitute the common life of Christian communities.

Now to the proposed synthesis: If the overarching goal of theological schooling is to help bring to ever more profound and articulate clarity the understanding of God that is inherent in faith, hope and love, then while that of which understanding is sought in theological schooling is God, the media through which that understanding comes in concrete actuality are these mimetic practices enacted inside and outside the Christian community, and the process through which the understanding comes to clarity and depth is inherently critical and self-critical. The methods of teaching and learning through which the relevant practices are critically studied have tended to be those of the historians (Biblical studies, history of Christianity, history of doctrine, history of liturgy, etc. etc.). This diachronic study of the practices constituting the common life of Christian communities needs to be augmented by synchronic studies employing the methods of the human sciences to examine these practices cross-culturally. In any case, my point is that such study may also be Christianly "formative" in a *mimetic* way.

Here Lindbeck's proposal is especially illuminating. If the media through which theological schooling seeks to come to deeper understanding of God is the array of mimetic practices that constitute the common life of Christian communities, then those practices may be seen together on analogy with a culture including its outlook on life and the world and its implicitly rule-governed language. If those engaged in theological schooling are also engaged in a "deep and personally committed appropriation" of that outlook and language, then study of those practices through the methods of the human sciences and the historians may also be a way of helping to shape their efforts to follow those rule-governed practices in their own ways in their own novel contexts. Of course, properly historical and social scientific, study of these practices do not in themselves involve mimesis and are not necessarily Christianly formative. However, conducted to the further end of understanding God more truly they may be put to the service of a mimesis that helps form persons with

capacities for understanding God in and through engagement in the practices.

Note that this already embraces one of the two goals of theological schooling implied by the kerygmatically oriented type of formation we associated with Bultmann: To convey to students directly and non-maieutically an historically critical and accurate grasp of the Christian kerygma. We noted that this is a straight-line extension of research university historical study, reaching and learning. But there is no inconsistency in engaging in such study in the service of another, more overarching goal, viz. the effort to understand God more truly. When it is so located, such study can also swerve as part of a process of formation by mimesis.

The next step is to propose that *within the context* of this study of Christian practices that can be mimetically formative, other teaching and learning in Christian theological schooling must be maieutically formative, in different respects both kerygmatically oriented and cosmically oriented.

Central to the practices that constitute the common life of Christian communities are proclamatory, sacramental, liturgical and devotional practices. They are central because they present that to which faith, hope and love are appropriate responses. They are the means of grace. While the faith, hope and love themselves, and the understanding of God inherent in them, may be formed ever more deeply in persons through mimetic formation, bringing that understanding of God to articulate clarity requires capacities formed in us only maieutically. It is an understanding always already in us given that we have been graced by God with faith, hope and love. This maieutic teaching and learning is precisely the task of systematic, ascetical and liturgical theology. The claim—which we associated with Bultmann—that theological schooling, in so far as it is formative at all, must be kerygmatically oriented maieutic formation is correct. However, it is not the whole truth about theological schooling as formation. It requires being located *within* the larger context of theological schooling as a process of mimetic formation. That, in turn, follows from theological schooling's dependence upon and derivation from the practices constituting the common life of Christian communities. Only this larger communal context protects such maieusis from the radical individualizing, interiorizing and privatizing of faith's understanding of God that follows from the existentialist

conceptuality Bultmann employs to express his claim.

Part of the understanding of God and how God relates to us that is inherent in faith, hope and love is an understanding of God as the ground and ongoing sustainer of the existence of all things as an ordered whole, and of us as minor parts of that cosmic whole. And it includes an understanding of ourselves as driven by an eros for inquiry into that God-dependent whole. The claim—which we associated with Tracy—that theological schooling must be cosmically oriented maieutic formation is correct. However, it is not an exhaustive account of theological schooling as formation. It requires to be placed within the larger context of theological schooling as mimetic formation. It is by virtue of confrontation with the means of grace and the graciously given responses of faith, hope and love that persons in theological schooling may be assumed always already in some degree to have understanding of the “whole” precisely as *creation*. The maieutic formation that helps give birth to greater articulateness and depth in this understanding is also the task of systematic, ascetical and liturgical theology. However, the home of the confrontation and the response is the set of ongoing practices of mimesis which, in turn, are studied through the methods of the human sciences and historians and may therewith also be studied in a mimetically formative way. Hence theological schooling as cosmologically oriented maieusis must have its home in the larger context of theological schooling as mimetic formation.

Furthermore, as Tracy pointed out, “the eros of inquiry ... is itself driven by our commitments, our hopes, our common life in the community of faith nurtured by word and sacraments. That is, the eros of inquiry into God that is always already in us is itself formed by the mimetic practices that constitute the common life of Christian communities, through whose study deeper understanding of God is sought in theological schooling. Hence, theological schooling as a cosmologically oriented maieusis, which is driven by this eros, must have its home in the larger context of theological schooling as mimetic formation.

In short, the ambiguities inherent in the metaphor “forming persons” may be synthesized in a picture of theological schooling as formation if patterns of maieutic teaching and learning, both those that are kerygmatically oriented and those that are cosmically oriented, are located within and subordinated to patterns of mimetic teaching and learning.

How could it be otherwise for theological schooling in a religious tradition that hangs entirely on the memory and promise of the historical event of One hanging on a cross, an event to which the appropriate response can only be some type of *imitatio*, an event whose memory must constantly be handed on in *actus tradendi* and whose promise must constantly be confronted afresh in novel circumstances? All that members of such a community may dare believe to be always already within them, and needing only to be brought to understanding with the help of a midwife, is there, solely as gift of the One to whom they first respond properly by practices of imitation.

NOTES

¹ This essay is based on the 1997 Priestly Ministry Lecture delivered at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Seminary in Brookline (MA) on February 13, 1997. The last section of the lecture has been entirely reworked to take into account a number of important questions and suggestions that were made in the discussion period following the lecture and, in particular, in response to the Rev. Dr. George D. Dragas' generous, thorough, and illuminating response to the paper.

² *The Symbolism of Evil* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969) 347-357.

³ *Theological Education*, xxiv Supplement 1, (1988) 33-52.

⁴ Cf. "New Ground: The Foundations and Future of the Theological Education Debate," David H. Kelsey and Barbara G. Wheeler in *Theology and the interhuman*, ed. by Robert R. Williams (Valley Forge, Trinity Press, 1995), 181-202.

⁵ For a brief account see Edward Farley, *Theologia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), Ch. 4.

⁶ *Theological Education*, xxiv Supplement 1, (1988) 10-32.

⁷ A great deal is packed into this apparently simple and pious remark. A vigorous fifteen year debate about theological education has focused on the question whether the overarching goal of theological schooling should be understood to be to "form" students for a distinctive "professional" role ("clergyperson"), or to "form" in them capacities and competencies to perform certain arts of ministry, or to "form" them in *theologia* (cf. Edward Farley, *Theologia*) or capacities for "vision and discernment" in regard to God (cf. Charles Wood, *Vision and Discernment* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985]) or capacities to understand God more truly (cf. David H. Kelsey, *To Understand God Truly*, pp. 124-129). Here I assume the validity of the third picture of the overarching goal of theological schooling, and leave the argument in its defense to the aforementioned books.

⁸ On this notion of "conceptual" in relation to theological schooling, see Charles Wood, *The Formation of Christian Understanding* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), pp. 16-19, and David H. Kelsey, *To Understand God Truly*, pp. 124-129.

⁹ At several removes, this account of "practices" echoes Alasdair MacIntyre's more developed, rigorous and theory-laden account in *After Virtue* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), pp. 175-283.

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Vayanos concludes correctly, that the Church recognized woman's natural ability to contribute to the social needs of the human community. Additionally, the Church recognized that women are endowed with all the necessary intellectual ability and efficiency to administer to the social services of the people around them.

Dr. Vayanos discusses the famous verse of St. Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians (Chap. 11:13), where Paul speaks about the obedience that women must have to men. In a wise manner, Dr. Vayanos suggests that these opinions must be seen from the point of view of Orthodox Christology and ecclesiology. This is where Christian love is the ultimate criterion of the true relations of two human beings, those who really love each other. In this context, Dr. Vayanos points to the importance of Clement of Alexandria's opinions as far as the relations between man and woman are concerned. Clement of Alexandria, a great theologian of the 3rd Century, stresses the importance of the equality of the genders. He resists the attitude of some of the pagan and heretical Christians who diminish the role of women. He asserts that such an attitude is a blasphemy against the Christian name. Naturally, Dr. Vayanos does not hide the fact that ecclesiastical men of the 3rd and 4th Centuries, like Origen, Tertullian, and Epiphanius of Salamis, look at women in an merciless manner. But, for them, as well as for all the Fathers of the Church, the Golden Rule is the Pauline dictum, "there is no male and female, all of you are one in Christ..." (Gal. 3:28).

This concludes the summary of Dr. Vayanos' book on man and woman in the ancient Church. The information and material that he offers is ample, and his style of writing is most attractive. In addition, those who are dealing with the religious education of young people will find Dr. Vayanos' book most edifying and useful.

Prof. George S. Bebis

George S. Vayanos, *Γάμος-Παρθενία*, (Translation: *Marriage and Virginity*) In Accordance with the Ancient Sources of Christian Literature, [In Greek] (Gregory Palamas, Thessaloniki, 1994)

With this work, Dr. George Vayanos, Professor of Pedagogy of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, has touched upon two very sensitive subjects: married life and the state of virginity. I must add here, that I am not comfortable with the translation of

"Parthenia" as Virginity. But, I use it with hesitation, if only because it is well known in the English-speaking world. Dr. Vayanos writes from the perspective of a Christian scholar, and also from the viewpoint of objective, but loving Pedagogy. Thus, he provides to the national, educational program of contemporary Greece some serious historical material and some beneficial pedagogical advice, which both teachers and young students must take into serious consideration.

Dr. Vayanos understands fully the social character of both marriage and virginity, with all the consequences of the "biomatic" parameters that these entail. Without any hesitation, on the basis of penetrating research, he confronts squarely the old perennial question of the external antithesis between marriage and virginity. In reality, Dr. Vayanos approaches the subject not in the understanding of antithesis, but in the spectrum of a dialogue and synthesis. In other words, Dr. Vayanos' refreshing approach gives to both teachers and young people a sound orientation for a meaningful, Christian, mature life. He, with candor, presents the views of the Orthodox Church on both marriage and virginity. He realizes the importance of the soteriological character of both marriage and virginity, as has been expounded for centuries, in the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church. And, although the Church appears to scale marriage after virginity, the Church does not refute their equality ("isotimia").

Naturally, the Church does not look at virginity from the pure, biological, and anatomical aspect. But embraces it in a wholesome way, in her moral, spiritual, as well as eschatological destiny for both men and women. Dr. Vayanos also reminds us of the dangers that the Church faced in the early Christian centuries, especially from the Gnostics, who tried to introduce into the Christian life absolute criteria and absolute practices. Thus, he shows that the Church always viewed the Christian marriage with much respect and honor, and resisted the disbanding of the Christian marriage with much severity and zeal. Finally, Dr. Vayanos points out correctly to the importance of "parthenia" in a sense of self-control and prudence, both inside and outside of marriage. On the whole, Dr. Vayanos successfully offers to both teachers and students the key for a blessed Christian life, for those who are married, as well as those who are not. The educational apparatus of Greece has found in Dr. Vayanos, a wise and prudent scholar and pedagogist. I am impressed with his prolific

style, his excellent use of sources, and his creative approach to such a sensitive subject.

Prof. George S. Bebis

Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos, *Epitome Kanonikou Dikaïou* ("Summary of Canon Law"). G. Dedoussis Publications. Thessaloniki, 1998, Pp. 481.

If there is anything to be said about the discipline of Orthodox Canon Law, it is that it is a discipline in crisis. The crisis in our canonical tradition manifests itself in the tension which exists between theory and praxis when canons are applied in the life of the Church. A certain way to limit abuse in the application of the holy canons is to articulate the way in which they regulate the affairs of the Church. This is precisely what this book does.

It is the valuable contribution of Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos of Tyroloe and Serention, who recently retired from a distinguished teaching career as Professor of Canon Law and Pastoral Theology at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki. Metropolitan Rodopoulos is well known and widely respected internationally for his methodical approach to the study of the holy canons, as well as for his faithfulness to their correct application. These attributes are immediately apparent to the reader of the canonical work at hand. To his credit, Metropolitan Rodopoulos has not been content to lay claim to the fulness of tradition within Orthodoxy and remain aloof from the other communions which espouse the Christian faith. As the longstanding President of the Society for the Law of the Eastern Churches, he has shown himself ready to enter into open dialogue with those with whom we share much in common both in faith and in our canonical tradition.

Although in particulars Metropolitan Rodopoulos' work has in mind the practice of the Church of Greece, its basic approach to Orthodox canonical tradition conforms to the generally accepted structure introduced by Bishop Nikodim Milasch in his classic textbook on Orthodox Canon Law (*Ekklesiastikon Dikaion tes Orthodoxou Anatolikes Ekklesias*, Athens, 1906).

Part One introduces the ecclesiological foundations of Canon Law. It opens with a chapter touching upon several essential questions: What is Church?; What is Law?; What is their interrelationship?; etc.

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Hiermonk Alexei Okoneshnikov

IRENE MANSHINA

Christianity was and remains a powerful means for social and cultural integration. This makes us think about and appreciate, in a new way, the priesthood linked with Christian activity among the peoples of North-East Asia. Thanks to the spiritual life in new Russia, Marx's famous formula "religion is the opiate of the people" is gradually stepping aside. There is no doubt that Orthodox missionaries provided a mutual enrichment of cultures by mutual influence. This had great importance for establishing neighbourly relations between those Russians who were bearers of Christian and European culture on the one hand, and on the other hand the Yakut native people.

The influence was wide and sometimes quite surprising, as we may see in the life of Hieromonk Alexei Okoneshnikov. He was born in 1870 in Kolyma in a Yakut family. When he came to Yakutsk, he became a novice of the Spasskii cloister. He learned English by himself. After graduating from the Kazan theological seminary, he translated church literature into the Yakut language and he learned oriental languages. When a priest with English was needed, Alexei Okoneshnikov became the chaplain on the cruiser "Ryurik" in 1903. In August 1904, the "Ryurik" took part in a bitter sea battle near Japan. After the sinking of the cruiser with most of its crew aboard, he was taken into Japanese captivity. Soon he was liberated. Passing through Nagasaki and Shanghai, he reached St Petersburg in October 1904, and then he returned to Yakutsk. In November 1905, he was awarded a Gold Cross on the George Ribbon from the procurator. In 1910, he took part in the work of the first All-Siberian Missionary Congress in Irkutsk. He died in Tomsk. Today we do not know ex-

actly what materials he left behind. But they had historical value in the opinion of Valentine Pikul.

Valentine Pikul was a Russian writer. He wrote an historical novel titled *Kreisera*. Some information about the life of Archpriest Alexei Okoneshnikov can be taken from this very novel.

Bishop Nikanor of Yakutsk published the following passage from Okoneshnikov's reminiscences. This was published in the periodical *Vedomosti*:

It was decided to sink the cruiser not to give it to the enemies. After the decision, I went to confess the dying people. I began the common confession [to those still living] among the dead bodies, among cripples in blood and moans."

Some were making the sign of the cross over themselves, some were moaning, some were stretching their hands, and some with wide open eyes full of tears were staring at me. Meanwhile, the cruiser was sinking. It was a horrible sight. When I came on to the deck, many other men were already swimming away. I jumped into the water in my ring buoy, but one of the sailors took it from me. I began to sink, but soon, I came to see something floating (it was a bed). I caught it. Swimming sailors close to me gave me a board. With the help of it I began to move my legs. It was so far to the Japanese ships. As for our "Ryurik" it began to sink in my sight. I felt a terrible pain in my heart, and I cried.

We were taken aboard a Japanese ship. I tried to explain to them in English about ourselves. They gave me a room and offered me a bath. Then a doctor came and examined me, he tied up my wounded leg. I was dressed in the uniform of a sailor.

Soon I had to consign to the deep some Russian sailors, who had died. After finishing my confession, the dead bodies were lowered into the water to the sound of salvo. I thanked the Japanese for the honour shown to the dead people. Soon I was taken aboard another ship to Nagasaki under escort without saying good-bye to my friends.

It was sad for me to go among an unknown people, who couldn't even speak English. Our dead people were buried in the Shinto temple, in Nagasaki. The authorities were present in the ceremony. I dressed in my chasuble over the Japanese officer's uniform and performed a

funeral service for our sailors.

Unfortunately on my way from Shanghai to Russia. I was presumed to be a Japanese captive.

This long quotation indicates why our Alexei can be considered as great a spiritual man as others.

When we compare Okoneshnikov's reminiscences as published by Bishop Nikanor on the one hand, with the text of the novel by Pikul titled *Kreisera* on the other hand, then we may see that the versions are very similar.

The reminiscences of hieromonk Alexei Okoneshnikov, a talented son of the Yakut people and a great patriot of Russia were — whether by the power of chance or by the power of God — noticed by the man, Valentin Pikul, who wrote this wonderful historical novel. We hope his reminiscences will live forever.

SOURCES

1. E.S. Shishigin, *Raspostranenie Khristianstva v Yakutii*, Yakutsk State Museum of the History and Culture of the Peoples of Siberia, Yakutsk (1991).
2. V. Pikul, *Kreisera*.
3. Bishop Nikanor of Yakutsk, *Vedomosti* (1904), quoted in Shishigin, *Raspostranenie*, trans. I.N. Mashina.

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Incarnation and Creation: Interpreting the World through the Theology of the Trinity

DR. CHRISTIAN LINK

To interpret the world in a theological manner as God's creation does not mean to compete with the manifold endeavours of philosophical or scientific interpretation of the world. It is to observe the cosmos from a different perspective. With its questions this theological interpretation moves in a different direction. Due to methodological reasons, philosophy and science are silent today before God. God is not a feasible object of their experience. Theology tries to break through this silence. Theology seeks to discover once more and anew the obscured, methodologically screened light. In its gleam the world appears as creation to the biblical writings. Theology wants to name the name which is passed over by our science, even there, where its own research leads to drawing its attention to phenomena of "transcendence." Theology presupposes faith in God. But faith does not deal with God as someone unknown, but as a known person. Because "*remoto deo*" ("God being removed") — by putting the presence of God so to speak in brackets or by introducing God merely as a hypothesis in the context of the world — knowledge of the world as creation can never be gained. Throughout all times theology has expressed with its creeds that it "knows" God. How theology knows him — as the Father of Jesus Christ, who will lead us through his Spirit into "all truth" (Jn. 16:13) — is indicated in its Trinitarian doctrine. At the same time theology's confession of the Triune God is not a proposition that can be intellectually accounted for. It is the frame in which all understanding of Christian faith and living moves. Within this framework Christian theology interprets the world in

which we live as God's creation. It accepts the perspective of its interpretation from the history, in which it got to know this God. Theology understands the created world as an expression (manifestation) of the same liberty by which God also engaged through his incarnation in our history. This is expressed in its shortest way in the confession, formulated by the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, whereby it declares that "through him," Jesus Christ who became man for our sake, "all things" were created.

How are we to understand this sentence? It is not difficult to demonstrate that this sentence is in agreement with many statements of the New Testament. It has a well established biblical foundation. But behind this "apologetic" proof, with which the theology of the West normally was satisfied, another question arises: How does this sentence relate to the overall testimony of Scripture, which narrates in its centre the (hi)story of man's meeting with God? How does it proceed from the believers' experience and conversely, what does it mean for the practice and worship of the Christians? Apparently we have known that, if we really want to understand this sentence, that is to say, if it is not only to reach our heads as a statement of faith, but if it is also, as an expression of our common faith, to reach our life and our heart, as a first step we need to begin by explaining its assertion.

I. THE THESIS

The Christian understanding of the creation is coined by the new experience of salvation in Christ. The confession (NC) explains the phrase that "through him" all things are created, by adding in order to make more precise: "(Jesus Christ) who for us and our salvation came from heaven and became man." The logic of the thought is as simple as it is restraining. If Christ is the foundation of the salvation of the whole creation, then he is also the reason for its existence; if Christ is the destination of the whole creation, then he is also its foundation from eternity. This far-reaching argument goes back to St. Paul. We find it in the context of his ethics. If the Christians are free to eat meat sacrificed on pagan altars — so he argues with the Corinthians — they are free, because they know that the whole earth belongs to their Lord. The universal claim of Christian liberty demands the recognition of Christ's universal dominion over the world. But this dominion can only be recognized if it is based on the very

foundations of the world. Thus the theological conclusion: We have “only one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom all things came and through whom we live” (1 Cor. 8:6, NIV). The ethical argument is built on and made evident through an ontological thesis about the origin of the world.

A further, consistent step is taken by the post-Pauline letter to the Ephesians. It combines in a programmatic way the newly gained experience of salvation with a statement about the future of the universe: (3) To accomplish the “economy” of salvation for all nations in view of the “fulfillment of the times,” which now has appeared, God purposed, still before the creation of the world to “bring all things in heaven and on earth together under one head (*Anakephaloiosis*), even Christ” (Eph. 1:9, NIV). From the very beginning the destiny of the universe is directly teleologically oriented towards the fulfillment of salvation, which appeared in Christ. But then, in reverse direction, — now considering the origin of the world — the consequence, which is explicitly drawn in the letter to the Colossians and to the Hebrews really forces itself upon us: “...all things were created by him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together” (Col. 1:16f). “Through the Son God made the universe” (Heb 1.2). Christ is proclaimed — expressed in the diction of traditional systematic theology — as the “mediator” of creation.

That is the thesis of the ecumenical confession of Nicaea and Constantinople. From its biblical roots it glances towards the future destiny of the created universe. This thesis is a theological interpretation of the destination of our world, it does not primarily ask for the wherefrom, but asks for the whither and the purpose. God has included the whole world in the path of history, which became visible and tangible in an unsurpassable manner in the incarnation of the Son, a path which will come to its conclusion in the dominion of the resurrected Christ over all “powers” (Rom. 8:38). The incarnation is — understood in this way — really the key, which opens to us the understanding of the purpose and plan, that is to say of the intention and destiny of God’s creation. Especially the Old Church has emphatically claimed the incarnation for this task of interpretation. Thus Maximus the Confessor says:

“The secret of the incarnation of the word locked itself up in the understanding of all riddles and symbols of writing, and also the knowledge of all seeing and had thought only of objects.”¹

Irenaeus drew still clearer lines in the field of anthropology:

The earthly Christ was the prototype, the God he had in mind when he created the first man. Christ was the original and complete person who was supposed to appear on earth, and the Creator...created Adam in accordance with this future prototype.²

How are we to understand these sentences? Both authors comprehend the incarnate Christ as a figure in which — as through a transparency — the sense and destiny of the universe are revealed. They comprehend him as the coping stone of creation, which not only comprises mankind itself, but, beyond that, the whole universe. In his person shines the light, which illuminates our reality to the very foundations of its existence. He is the standard (*kanon* in Irenaeus) by which the visible world, with all that is in it, was created and to which this world remains related in the free interaction of its ordinances with its potentialities and limits. That, of course, is only conceivable and possible, because Christ was already in a unique relationship to the world before his incarnation (into the scope of our earthly history). On this “prehistoric,” as it were, level, the confession develops the biblical thesis of Christ’s mediating role in creation and with that — inevitably — turns its glance almost exclusively to the world’s history of origin, which now carries all the future in itself. It is the “only-begotten Son, begotten by the Father before the beginning of time,” the preexistent Logos of our dogmatic tradition, for whom it is claimed: “through him” everything was created. Just as this Logos adopted human nature and a human form of existence and joined it to become the figure of the true man Jesus Christ, at the beginning of time he adopted the cosmic nature, called by God into existence and moulded it into the accomplished work of the “good” creation. “The Son is Logos with respect to the world,”³ through him God “mediates” himself to the world, through him he invests it with form, lasting existence and the inextinguishable ascent towards the future, anticipated in Christ. The incarnation, as a recent interpreter, circumscribed this relationship, constituting as it were, the “sphere in which the world was created and is preserved,”⁴ the sphere, in which it can unfold itself as a world corresponding with God. “Thereby the whole world process receives its structure and meaning.”⁵

What is thus the gain of this theological interpretation of the world? On the one hand salvation experienced in Christ is not only related to

the community of the believers but also to reality as a whole. The incarnate Son comes "to what was his own" (Jn. 1:11, NRSV). On the other hand, the creation accounts in Genesis are superseded by an explicitly Trinitarian understanding. But this also applies to the expectations of the prophets, which since Deutero-Isaiah are closely attached to the work of creation. Now, it is no longer sufficient to say that God created man and his world with a glance to the redeemer. He himself, the redeemer, participates in the work of its creation. Creation, preservation and administration of the world are, as it were, directed from within, that is to say, directed from the world's original, innermost intention to the path of reconciliation, which entered history with Christ. Now God's action presents itself as an act completely homogeneous in itself, comprising the whole process of the world.

The certainty of Christ's mediation in creation, however, is scarcely granted to faith as building material for a cosmological theory, but as an aid to the orientation in the world. That does not necessarily exclude a theological interpretation of the world, but such an attempt of interpretation above all else has to show God's proximity to his creatures their advantage, that is to say God's movement towards the world. Calvin undertook a remarkable advance in this direction with that formulation of Christological doctrine, which entered the history of systematic theology as "extra-Calvinisticum." The world's beginning before time, which the confession assigns to the efficacy of the Logos, is thus expanded to include the presently effective and therefore abiding actual origin of creation:

"The Son of God proved wonderful well, descended from Heaven and had not deserted it; he had proved himself wonderful well - given birth from a virgin, wandered the earth, willingly hung on the cross, and had, as in the beginning, constantly filled the whole world." (*Inst.* 11, 13, 4).

As the Logos is operative in the history of Israel's promises,⁶ which is directed towards Jesus of Nazareth, so the Logos also manifests himself in the general events of the world. Faith in the incarnation of the Word is not only place into the horizon of history, but — going far beyond that horizon — also into creation's universal horizon. Faith decodes the hidden "theological" language of the world (the beauty of the lilies of the fields, but also creation's anxious groaning) as an

expression of the God well known to us and coming to the world in Christ. The world as a work of art, so highly praised by Calvin reveals itself as an overture to the kingdom of Christ, as a preliminary manifestation of the Logos which, as it were, prepares and announces the conclusive apparition of the (incarnate) Logos "in the flesh." Thus the Johannine point is given due honor by systematic theology: The incarnation, the event that in Jesus of Nazareth, God himself comes to "what is his own," constitutes here also the given point of reference, in regard to which the course of the world obtains its unity and with regard to which each object and event of creation receives its meaning and its form. The world is creation only as long as it lives by the presence of this Logos.

This understanding of the early church, and as we have also seen reformed understanding of the creation, now presumes conversely a certain/specific understanding of the incarnation of the Son. Traditional systematic theology offered two very differed answers to the question: "*Cur deus homo?*" Anselm, the representative of Western traditions, gives the "fall" of man as a reason for the incarnation, i.e. he bases the incarnation on the "fall" of man. It is a divine (emergency) expedient to overcome the misery of sin in the world; the incarnation is the prerequisite for Christ's conciliating sacrifice on the cross. It is occasioned through the sin of mankind and directed towards redemption. But if the incarnation is only determined through its function of forgiveness of sins and conquest of the consequences of human sin, then it must become superfluous once this exigency will one day be removed. Christ's office of mediation between the gracious God and sinful man must end in making itself superfluous in sparing itself. There remains no room for the humanity of Christ in an *eschaton*, liberated from sin and death.⁷ The goal of Christ's mission is accomplished with the restoration of the original creation. In this purely soteriologically defined approach the incarnation remains merely an expression of God's conciliating will towards those outside. It concerns, as Moltmann rightly observes, "only God's relation towards the world, but not his relation within/to himself."⁸ For the thought a theological necessity that God (willfully) reveals himself towards the world, that he imparts himself through the existence and the way of creation in history, and that in both he "invests" himself, makes the incarnation without significance.

In this regard the one-sided Western understanding must be cor-

rected. For as “mediator of creation” Christ is brought to the greatest conceivable proximity with God himself. The expression conveys that the relation of the world to God culminates in him and receives its direction and clearness from his incarnation: “in him all things hold together” (Col. 1:17, NRSV). Without him God’s commitment towards the world could not have been realized and therefore also it could not have been taken up. But then, we have to understand the incarnation of the Son by following along the lines of the early church’s Christology (Epiphanius) as God’s free “act of government,” different from and preceding creation.⁹ The incarnation was God’s intention from eternity. It was by no means forced upon him by the sin of man. The incarnation belongs to God’s eternally self communicating/imparting love and is the presupposition, as it were, the model within the Godhead, that this love can flow to the outside with the creation of the world. In other words: If the creation culminates in the destination of man as “God’s image” (Gen. 1:26f.) and if Christ, having become man, appears as the “image of the invisible God,” the fulfillment of the promise of creation becomes manifest in him. He is the “true man” in a perverted, inhuman world; he is the divine archetype, to which men are (pre)destined from eternity. The Son’s incarnation prefigures creation’s (pre)disposition. Only in such a way does it become clear/intelligible that through him, the *Logos incarnandus* (the Logos to be incarnated), all things are created.

The incarnation, as we believe we are obliged to understand it in accordance with the Colossian hymn, is not an “unforeseen” event in the created world. It is part of the living history of inter-trinitarian relations between the Father and the Son. It concerns God himself. Through the incarnation the Triune God opens himself up for his world, through it he communicates himself to his world. The exclusive relationship of origin of Jesus Christ to his Father — the tradition speaks about the “divine nature” — is now matched by his inclusive relation of fellowship with his sisters and brothers (“human nature”).¹⁰ This inner-Trinitarian history begins with the sending of the Son; it reaches its goal when Christ hands over dominion to the Father (1 Cor. 15:28). In this history the course of creation is traced out; it is creation’s gauge. With the objective of this history, the created *cosmos* also reaches its destination. Within history, not beyond its boundaries, the created *cosmos* reaches its completion. It is in order to achieve this perfection that the Son has become man.

II. THE VERIFICATION OF THE THESIS: ITS IMPLICATIONS

In this first thoroughfare we discussed the correlation between creation and incarnation as a dogmatic thesis. The result is that the creation, from its very beginning onwards, is incorporated in God's own history. We took this history as a point of departure and endeavored to understand from it creation's history, purpose and course. With history's assistance we "explained" the world in a theological way. But how do we know this history? The authors of the New Testament provide no direct information whatsoever on the relations between the divine persons. Did we, at our own risk, only spread a theological coordinate system over the world, only to eventually lay hold of it in a dogmatic way? To debilitate this suspicion we have to change the perspective in a second thoroughfare. Instead of following the presumed order of being, we want to be led by the order of recognition and inquiry: Where do we ourselves appear/occur within this history? What connection is there between faith in the Trinitarian origin of the world and our life? Which experiences provide the categories for our theological interpretation? In any case it appears to be the history, in which God made himself known as our God, which is the foundation for confessing (establishing the confession of) the incarnate Christ as mediator in creation.

If we follow the Hebrew Bible, it is indeed not difficult to translate the name of God back into clearly identifiable experiences — experiences of steadfast love and faithfulness (Ps. 89:2f.; 74:12ff.), experiences of fulfilled expectation (Ps. 104:27) — which have as their immediate subject the reliable existence (and permanence) of the natural world: Wind, rain and clouds obey God's command (Job 38:24ff.). God renews the "face" of the earth (Ps. 104:30). To be sure, the place, at which the association of these experiences with JHWH has become feasible, lies within the innermost circle of a history, which begins with the call of Abraham and extends beyond the conquest of the land and the epoch of the kings to the (time of the) exile. Encounters here (have) happened which allowed for the experience of God as (the) embodiment and guarantor of life, peace (*shalom*) and joy, but also of justice and power. These familiar experiences become the key to theologically deciphering a world, not yet interpreted (in a theological way). They determine the understanding of the *cosmos*, which, from its first moment of existence onwards, is ready to receive YHWH's commands and to praise him as its creator:

Praise him, you highest heavens and you waters above the skies!...
 for he commanded and they were created.
 He set them in place forever and ever;
 he gave a decree that will never pass away.

The familiar God of Israel reveals himself as the still unknown creator of the world. It is his presence, his *shechina* to which the natural world is opened and to which the world responds with her praise. The readiness of the creation to respond, to point with its praise to an origin which is removed from our verification, is the reflection of God's readiness to speak. This speaker, the God who is creative in his speaking, can therefore only be known by somebody uniting with the praise of creation, by a person, who, as Calvin says, "exposes himself to the immense impression of his being," and thus opens himself to this *shechina*. Because to be open to this glory means to recognize the life and the movement of all creatures as a reflection of the divine life itself, as the activity of that "wisdom" which plays a highly significant role as the "beginning" of God's ways at the foundation and formation of the world (Prov. 8:22). The world, from which creation's praise proceeds also carries a theological assertion. The world follows a full score with the expressions of its beauty and its inconceivable vivacity. The world is a readable text, expressing a word which has adopted the form, the language of "original" wisdom. Then the praise of the world is not directed towards the "highest being," without nature, of our monotheistic tradition, but aimed at the God "in" the word, at God "in" the form, at the God, who is open and ready to enter into a relationship with his creatures and to renew this relationship, because he, in his own innermost being, is defined by relationships.

The New Testament deciphers this experience through confronting man, in a way never known before, once again with the righteousness and life creating power of God. In the historical encounter with Jesus of Nazareth creation is experienced as on its first day. It is a new presence of God: The incarnate enters as a representative for man and for his damaged world. The blind receive sight, the lame walk, salvation comes to the poor and the glory of the kingdom shines and appears, like a parable in the robe of terrestrial figures and scenes. Christopher Kaiser described this new experience in an impressive way: Though "his own" did not receive him (Jn. 1:3f,

10f), yet the natural elements opened themselves to his dominion and did not offer any resistance. The stormy sea came to rest, bread and fish were multiplied, leprous bodies were healed, lifeless bodies were brought back to life — and all that happened in response to the simplest words of Jesus: “Quiet! Be still!” (Mk. 4:39), “Be clean!” (Mk. 1:41), “Young man, I say to you, get up!” (Lk. 7:14) and “Lazarus, come out!” (Jn. 11:43). The elements are ready to submit to these words. “Though the *cosmos* may appear to us to be indifferent and cumbersome, there are no signs of hesitation or even persistence in the presence of its Lord.”¹¹ The incomprehensible process of God opening himself for time — and even more: the opening of speechless, mute matter toward God — through the appearance of the Son in human form becomes visible and in a theological way intelligible. There is a “inhabitation,” the dwelling of the creative word (*logos*), effective in concealment, in the world. And in Christ this word became an event. In this word the creator engages in his creation, suffers under and with his creatures, heals their infirmities and leads them to the promised goal of their perfection. As a consequence, creation entered — in an epoch-making new venture — into the last stage of God’s history which has “now” appeared. Creation is understood as creation “in Christ.”

From this new historical perspective the much debated hymn of the letter to the Colossians draws the complete conclusion. The hymn interprets the fundamental experience of the post-Eastern Church community: In Christ “it pleased all fullness to dwell in” (1:19). The unusual image assimilates the notion of the *schechina*, dwelling in Mount Sinai, on Mount Zion, later on dwelling in Israel and wandering with the people off into exile. This notion is conveyed to the exalted Christ, the “firstborn from among the dead” (1.18). In him the fullness of that “which is alive in God as the power of creation and recreation”¹² comes to light; in his presence this fullness can be experienced. The point of departure from which I argue here has once again shifted in a highly significant way: the mystery of the world’s origin “in the beginning” lacks human eye witness, the distance of two thousand years of history separates us from the signs and miracles of the synoptic tradition; but where the community of the Risen One grows to become the “body” of Christ (1.18), and is built up according to the model of this body, there we enter with our own historical experience and hope into the center of the process of creation, there

we are *in medias res* (where the rubber meets the road). It is from this place and the new future disclosed there, that the new theological perspective emerges. What can be experienced and has become visible "in Christ" as the foundation of the "new creation" (2 Cor. 5:17) determines already the very beginning. The light of the resurrection's appearance is seen together with the light of the first day of creation and leads to the first dogmatic "overall conception." The event of the resurrection from the dead, which as a manifestation of the divine creative power emanates a further and final renewal, now becomes the key to understand the mystery of the actual world, its cosmic character and order. This event discloses the first beginnings, but is distinguished as the beginning, in that it looks forward to him, the Risen One. Wisdom, effective in a hidden way, God's comrade in creation, openly came to light in Christ.

The hymn of praise of (cosmic) Wisdom (Sir 24) is transformed into a hymn of the *Logos* in John's prologue, whose revelation extends from the creation of the world to the incarnation in Jesus Christ. That is an ultimate, conclusive step. Because, if the (incarnate) Son, who became man, sums up and "fulfills" in himself the promises to Israel, then his appearance must be linked backwards with the design of the world, to which these promises were first given. This is the theological claim of John 1: Christ comes into the world, created by God, into "that which is his own." The world's elements are obedient to his voice, they respond to his voice. By pledging his earthly life, he brings about a peace and a reconciliation, which simply includes "all things," be they "things in heaven or things on earth" (Col. 1:20). Thus, the daring encroachment of the post-Pauline proclamation is reached: The sovereign authority of the Risen one over the world is acclaimed as the already now consummated redemption of the universe. From the redemption of all things now follows conclusively the inference as to the creator of all things. Only he who can bring under his dominion the heavens and the whole inhabited earth, only he who will "reconcile" and ultimately "redeem" the world, can be the creator of the world. That has already been in essence the reasoning of Deutero-Isaiah. Therefore, the first beginning can only then be theologically comprehended, if it is conceived as a beginning "through him," the Christ in human form (Hebr. 1:2; Rev. 3:14).

Translated by Dr. Christoph Stenschke

NOTES

¹ *Gnostische Sinnsprüche* I. 66; D. Staniloae, *Dogmatik* II. 20.

² D. Staniloae, *Dogmatik* II. 21.

³ My own translation, please check in: J. Moltmann, *Trinität und Reich Gottes* (München, Chr. Kaiser, 1980): 123 = *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God: The Doctrine of God* (London: SCM 1981): 97–128 “The Word of the Trinity.”

⁴ Eduard Schweizer, *Der Brief an die Kolosser*, Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 12 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976: 60 = *The Letter to the Colossians: A Commentary*, trad. A. Chester (London: SPCK, 1982): 70–71.

⁵ W. Pannenberg, *Grundzüge der Christologie* (Gütersloh 1954): 413 = *Jesus, God and Man*, trad. L.L. Wilkins, P.A. Priebe, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977): 398.

⁶ Calvin understands the history of the promises of Israel not only as some kind of “prelude,” which must be qualified exclusively by the appearance of the earthly Jesus; rather/much more this history — that is the sense/meaning of the “extra” — is integrated into the history of the Trinitarian God and accordingly understood as a phenomenon belonging to God himself (Inst. II. 9–11).

⁷ People have — without legitimation — repeatedly appealed to 1 Cor. 15:28 for this position.

⁸ J. Moltmann, *Trinität und Reich Gottes*: 130; *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God: The Doctrine of God*.

⁹ So K. Barth, *KD* I. 2: 147 = *CD* I. 2.: with reference to Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer. Panarion* 69.52; 77.29.

¹⁰ J. Moltmann, *Trinität und Reich Gottes*: 135; *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God: The Doctrine of God*. Karl Barth already understood the work/enterprise of creation along these lines as a “reflection... of the inner life of God himself” (*Church Dogmatics IV.1: The Doctrine of Reconciliation*, trad. G.W. Bromiley, eds. G.W. Bromiley, T.F. Torrance (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1956): 203.

¹¹ Chr. Kaiser, *Biblical and Patristic Doctrine of Trinity*, MS Moscow, 1990: 20f.

¹² E. Schweizer, *Der Brief an die Kolosser*: 67; *The Letter to the Colossians*: 78.

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Incarnation and Salvation: An Ecclesiological Approach

PROF. VLASSIOS I. PHIDAS

I. The Church confesses in the Creed the common Faith, that “we believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, Light from Light, true God from true God, consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father, through whom all things were made. For us all and for our salvation He came down from heaven; by the Holy Spirit He became incarnate from the Virgin Mary and was made man.” Thus, in the baptismal creeds of the early Church, faith in the only-begotten Son was confessed after faith in his Father. The Christian Faith is directed toward the Father, and extends to the divinity and the preexistence of the Son, the eternal Word of God, who was made man for us all and for our salvation. In this Faith of the early Church, the Father does not exist and is not understood apart from the Son, because God without the Logos (Λόγος) is not God. The Logos of God is the eternal Logos of the Father, who has his being eternally from the Father, and exists in him and with him as one God. In this sense the Son, like the Father, is always the same, before all ages and in all ages; he is uncreated, immutable, unlimited, unconfused; he has neither beginning nor end. The mystery of the Son is the mystery of the uncircumscribed Light, through whom all created beings come into the light of existence and through his incarnation participate in the mystery of salvation.

Nevertheless, these patristic and conciliar affirmations are exposed to many neo-Arian or neo-Nestorian challenges of modern systematic theology, especially in Western Christianity. Through these challenges, the mystery of the incarnation of the Logos of God loses

its salvific character for all of us. It has been already declared that the idea of a pre-existent being, who becomes incarnate in Jesus Christ, and that this can result in a genuine human life seems strange to the modern mind. It is considered to be mythological. Furthermore, the assertions about the relationship of the pre-existent Son to the Father are suspected of owing more to ancient Greek metaphysics than to the Biblical witness concerning Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the confession of Jesus Christ as the Son of God incarnate is often replaced by modern views of Jesus as a hero, a mystic, a religious teacher and genius, a revolutionary or a moral example, etc.

Here are some selected representative tendencies, by no means exhaustive, of modern theological reactions to the patristic and conciliar Christology: J.A.T. Robinson for instance, like Bonhoeffer, stresses that Jesus Christ is far more "the man for others" than a mythic "divine prince from a world out there visiting our earth." The book of the Jesuit Piet Schoonenberg (*The Christ*, 1970) proposed new interpretations of the Christological dogmas of the Church. He is not alone. These views were qualified 'under the rubric "secular" Christology, in the sense that "secular" is understood as focusing not the ontic-metaphysical elements of the being of Christ, but the ethical, social, and cosmic significance of his message. In Bultmann's Christology, the Christian message is drained of its traditional ontological and historical density, and reduced to the function of proclaiming a new style of life. According to P. Tillich, Jesus alone was not subject to hubris and libido, and on account of this, he became the Christ, who was not a God who became man, but a man who became God, or, better, a man in whom God becomes visible. Reacting to this "existential" view of Christology, K. Rahner retained the dogma of Chalcedon as the only legitimate starting-point, and calls the Incarnation a "*uniquely pure*" receiving of human essence from God, as occurs also, but toless "*pure*" degree, in all men. K. Rahner proposed as a new interpretation of the dogma of Chalcedon that we ought not to say that Christ is God and man and that the Incarnation requires a pre-existent Son, because those are metaphysical and essentialist terms we need to get away from. Jesus' being-God is rather his special way of being-man, and thereby of expressing God, a way which is qualitatively new, different and eschatological. O. Cullmann proposed a new interpretation of John's statement "the Word became flesh:" Christ is equal to God not in being, but in sal-

vational operation. But this distinction is a *functional* and not *ontological* qualification of the divinity of the Logos. Many other Western theologians claim that modern Christology must focus exclusively on Jesus as man, and in the light of the Resurrection can be understood as an experience of the end-time, inadequately linked to pseudo-historic terms. Christ is simply a human person and no other; yet the total and perfect presence in him of the divine reality is to be retained. His transcendence (divinity, presence of the divine in him) consists in the eschatological uniqueness of his humanity.

These new tendencies are not only some typical approaches of the Christological question. They try to propose a new theological formula differing from the Chalcedonian formula (one person in two natures) and from the patristic tradition, through a radical reconstruction of the whole Christological teaching of the Church. Even A. Grillmeier, who has shown that the Council of Chalcedon used rather swallowed Hellenizing formulas, did not claim to have given a full elucidation of the Christ-mystery, because he left soteriological approaches out of view. It is quite clear that nothing in these new Christological trends is really new; they elaborate more or less the modernistic or adoptionist methodology in the contemporary theological approaches, which exert great influence in systematic theology and become dangerous for the purity of the dogmatic teaching of the Church. If God is simply in a man, who is only a man, then the Nicene Creed is a mistaken or misleading expression of the traditional Faith of the Church. In the same way, if Christ is not true God by nature, then the Church has deceived us on the main point and doubtless, on many others as well. In this sense, the question of inner or ontological relationship between Christ and His Church is at the heart of any soteriological evaluation of the Incarnation of the Logos of God.

II. The divinity and the preexistence of the Son, who became incarnate for us all and for our salvation, are clearly affirmed in the early patristic tradition. St. Gregory of Nyssa gives his own interpretation of the specificity of the divine Sonship of the Logos of God: "In my opinion," he says, "he is called Son, because he is identical with the Father in essence; and not for this reason, but also because he is of him. And he is called only begotten, not because he is the only Son, and of the Father alone, and only a Son, but also because the manner of his Sonship is peculiar to himself and not shared by

anyone else. And he is called the Word, because he is related to the Father as word to mind; not only on account of his passionless generation, but also because of the union and his declaratory function." In the same spirit, St. Cyril of Alexandria, commenting on the Nicene Creed, says that the Fathers of the Council

"in mentioning the Son, in order to avoid the suspicion of allotting him an ordinary designation, which could also be applied equally to ourselves (for we too are 'sons of God'), they most carefully add the means of perceiving the dignity of his inherent natural splendor, a dignity transcending creation. For they affirm that he has been begotten not made, recognizing that, because of his not being made, he does not belong at the level of substance to the same class as the creation; instead they maintain that he sprang in some incomprehensible and non-temporal way from God the Father's substance since the Word *was in the beginning*. Next they finely indicated the genuineness of the birth (the fact must be stated in the available human terms) by declaring the Son to have been begotten, *God from God*. For where birth is completely real, it necessarily follows that we must think and speak of what is born as proper to, not alien from, its parents' substance, because it derives from it in accordance with the substance's suitably appropriate condition. The incorporeal will not give birth corporeally, but like light from light, so that the light emitted is perceived in the light which radiated it, both *from it* by way of inexpressibly mysterious processes and *in it* by way of union and natural identity. This is what it means to talk of the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son. The Son is His own nature and glory delineates his size..."

In the light of this comment of St. Cyril of Alexandria, the father of the whole conciliar and patristic Christology, the Son is genuine and of the same nature and substance with the Father (ὁμοφύης), and the Father is by nature Father of the Son. The Son comes forth from the Father before all eternity, incorporeally (ἄσωμάτως), without flux (ἀρρεύστως) and without passion (ἀπαθῶς). He is born from the Father undividedly (ἄδιαιρέτως) and without separation. His eternal birth in no way means the division of deity into two parts, the higher and the lower, but he is born from the essence of the Father according to the hypostasis of the Father, but not also the specific hypostatic properties of the Father. Thus, the Incarnation of the Logos is the supreme revelation of God to men, for in Jesus of Nazareth we see manhood being born by God. In taking our nature upon himself,

the divine Logos did not divest himself of his divine attributes. He still remained, as he must forever remain, the subject of those eternal relations, which constitute his life in the Holy Trinity, as the everlastingly begotten Son of the Father, and of those eternal creative relations to the universe, by which he, by whom all things were made, sustains all things in being; and he added to these all the relations within the created order, which constitute the humanity of a historic human individual. Through the Incarnation he lived under all the limitations that humanity imposes (sorrow, privation, temptation, suffering and death). These limitations were the perfect experience of manhood at its highest. Thus, the life of Christ is not a mere display of divine omnipotence cast upon the screen of manhood; it is the life of God dwelling in human flesh. The perfection of his life consists not in complete knowledge or power attained at any specified stage, but in the complete subordination (ὑπακοή) to the purposes of His father of every element of His manhood. In the Incarnation, then, God the Son took upon himself in concrete form all those relations that constitute a human life, so that the two natures, the divine and the human, exist forever united in his divine person "without confusion, without change, without division, without separation" (ἁσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως), as the Chalcedonian definition expresses it.

However, when we accept the Chalcedonian definition that we must hold the divine Logos to be the subject at once of two modes of existence, the human and the divine, without either of them entrenching on the other except through their union in the one hypostasis of the Logos, we cannot help asking ourselves the further question as to how it is possible for the human nature to inhere in the person of him, who is infinite God? We touch here on the heart of the modern Christological problem, but it would be presumptuous to expect to find a complete and logical interpretation of the mystery of the Incarnation. A theological answer could be given through the patristic affirmations on the relationship between Creation and Incarnation. The divine Logos eternally exercises in the life of the Holy Trinity his relation of Sonship to the Father, and in the Creation, he has give to us, within the created, order a participation in that Sonship towards the Father, which, outside and above the created order, he himself ever fulfills in the eternal sphere. Manhood, then, in its nature, is not contradictory to the divine nature of the Logos, but is an

integral element of the divine perfection. In this sense, the Incarnation of the Logos of God is not the taking by God of something fundamentally alien to him, but is rather the manifestation in concrete historical fact of something that is present from all eternity in the depths of the primordial being of the Logos of God. In this connection, one may recall the teaching of St. Maximos the Confessor on the eternal relationship of the “*logoi*” of beings with the *Logos* of God which is of special relevance.

St. John of Damascus, summarizing the Biblical as well as the patristic tradition, gives a plain statement with specific reference to the Incarnation of the Word of God:

“By the good pleasure of our God and Father the only-begotten Son and Word of God, and God, who is in the bosom of God and Father, the *homoousios* with the Father and the Holy Spirit, who was before the ages, who is without beginning and was in the beginning, who is in the presence of the God and Father, and is God and, being in the form of God, bent the heavens and descended to earth: that is to say, he humbled without humiliation, his lofty station which yet could not be humbled, and condescends to his servants with a condescension ineffable and incomprehensible (for that is what the descent signifies). And God, being perfect, becomes perfect man, and thus is realized the newest of all new things, the only new thing under the sun, through which the boundless might of God is manifested. For what greater thing is there than God should become man? And the Word became his without being changed, of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Holy and Ever-Virgin One, the Mother of God.”

III. The Incarnation of the Son of God is at the center of the whole mystery of Salvation. The Son of God became man that we men might become sons of God, but this divine Sonship can be given to us through the spiritual experience of the new life in the Church, which is the extension of the Incarnation and of the life of Christ in the history of the salvation. According to St. John Chrysostom, the Son of God took in the Incarnation the flesh of the Church (‘Ο Λόγος σαρκωθεὶς ἐκκλησίας σάρκα ἀνέλαβε) which is the Body of Christ (I Cor. 12:12 sqq.; Eph. 5:23 sqq., etc.). However, it is through the “giving” of the Spirit at Pentecost that the Risen Lord abides with and in his Church, who becomes the manifestation of Christ and through whom he acts in the history of salvation. Just as the overshadowing of the

Holy Spirit first formed in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary the body in which the divine humanity was manifested in the historic life of Christ on earth, so the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost brought into action the new body, the Church, which was to be, according to the patristic tradition, the new ark of that humanity and was to make it with its redemptive power accessible to all the peoples of the earth. Thus, the glorified Christ is immanent in His Church, and He is manifested to us on earth through the sacramental experience, especially through the participation in the eucharistic body.

The relations of the divine Logos to the creation on the one hand and to the Body of the Church on the other, constitute the basic aspect of the whole salvific significance of the Incarnation. Thus, the Incarnation is to be understood as a renewal and recapitulation of all things in the divine humanity of Jesus Christ on the one hand and as continuous experience in the sacramental life of the Church on the other. Through the sacraments of the Church all mankind, and through mankind all creation, is to be incorporated into the divine humanity of Christ, so that all things shall find their end in him. This traditional Christology of the early Church is closely related to the patristic ecclesiology, i.e. the patristic teaching concerning the Church as the historical Body of Christ, which is extended and is realized in the history of salvation. Thus, the apostolic tradition on the Church's nature, essence and mission through the image of the Body of Christ describes the Christocentric ontology of the Church, which was expressed in the teaching of the great Fathers and was a real and continuous common experience of the early Church both in the East and in the West.

Nevertheless, after the great schism (1054) and the Reformation of the 16th century, Christological differentiations came about, which shaped new presuppositions for approaching the delicate ecclesiological question. Any differentiation in Christology is reflected in the different understanding of the nature and the mission of the Church in the history of salvation. Thus, a positive or negative evaluation of any Christological speculation is possible on the basis of the authentic relationship of Christology to ecclesiology. Any differentiation, whatsoever, in the common patristic understanding of the relationship between Christology and ecclesiology leads also to a different understanding of the mystery of the Church as the historical Body of Christ. The variety of Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Prot-

estant ecclesiologies has to be interpreted through the specific Christological criteria of patristic, scholastic and protestant theology, especially with regard to the variety of ways in which the saving grace of God is related to the Paschal mystery and to the mystery of Pentecost.

The common patristic tradition of the early Church teaches that Christ, through his overall redeeming work, is the *source* (πηγή) of the divine grace, and the Holy Spirit is the *bestower* (χορηγός) and *the operator* (τὸ ἐνεργοῦν) of divine grace in the faithful. Scholastic theology developed a different view concerning the relationship between the Paschal and Pentecostal mysteries, and put forth Christ as both source (πηγή) and bestower (χορηγός) of the divine grace, while ascribed to the Holy Spirit the mere role of the operator (τὸ ἐνεργοῦν) of the divine grace in the faithful. Then, it is quite clear that if Jesus Christ through his overall redeeming work is not only the source, but also the bestower of the divine grace, it stands to reason that, because of the universality of his salvific work, the divine grace is automatically granted to all, irrespectively of their relationship to the Church, the Body of Christ. Nevertheless, such an understanding of the redeeming work of Christ reduces considerably the Christocentric ontology of the Church as the historical Body of Christ, who is an extension of Christ himself in the history of salvation. If the Church is, according to the words of St. Augustine, Christ himself, extended through the ages (*Christus prolongatus*), then the Church cannot be distinguished from Christ as regards the bestowing of the divine grace, since no separation between Christ and his Body, i.e. the Church, is possible. If, however, the divine grace is granted by the Church, in which the historical Body of Christ is realized, how could it be possible for the divine grace to be bestowed by Christ outside his Body, i.e. the Church.

These soteriological approaches are not common to the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches, because of their different ecclesiological presuppositions. Protestant ecclesiology, by rejecting the entire ecclesiological system of scholastic theology, stressed the absolute authority of the Word of God, the eschatological perspective of the saving act of God, the individual character of the experience of the Faith, etc., but, simultaneously, it also rejected the patristic tradition of the Church's Christocentric ontology. This differentiation can be more clearly understood through the following schema: According

to the Orthodox ecclesiology the Church pre-exists and precedes the believers; thus, we have the following schema.

CHRIST → CHURCH → BELIEVERS

According to the Protestant ecclesiology, the believers preexist and precede the Church, which they also constitute; thus, we have the following schema.

CHRIST → BELIEVERS → CHURCH

In this perspective, it is quite clear that only converging tendencies in Christology could promote a converging movement in ecclesiology on the basis of a common understanding of the Biblical and patristic tradition on the Church as the Body of Christ. This is the only way to a common understanding of the significance of the Incarnation in the history of the salvation of the world in the Church and through the Church.

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VERY REV. ARCHIMANDRITE DAMASKINOS GANAS

Your Eminence, Archbishop Spyridon, Distinguished Members of Our Faculties and BTI, Honored Parents and Guests and Esteemed Students of Our School:

This very moment *is* indeed a very significant and important one in my ministry and equally crucial for the two most sacred and beloved academic Institutions of our Holy Archdiocese; our Hellenic College and Holy Cross School of Theology!

My election to preside over these two Schools gives me an opportunity and a challenge to face and resolve past, present and future issues and concerns with patience, steadfastness, but most importantly, with a spirit of cooperation and synergy that will be directed primarily, with the love of Christ, for the good of our Orthodox Church in this country, for the benefit of our *Scholi*, for the faithful who comprise our Archdiocese and support us and ultimately for the benefit of our students and fixture priests who will labor at our blessed communities.

I envision a stronger commitment to our Orthodox Traditions and Liturgical practices as we make a more conscientious effort to rediscover our ecclesiastical life and ethos, expressed in this very chapel which has spiritually nourished myself and many generations of beloved and devoted co-celebrants and laymen. Paying attention to small details as well as general aspects of our everyday life on this Holy Hill, we shall strive to mold our inner self, never compromising or relaxing the Holy Canons nor the supreme goal and purpose of our School!

The symbol of our *Scholi* is the Holy and Precious Cross! A direct

reminder of Christ's Love and unconditional giving for our Salvation! *Should we labor any less to prepare ourselves for our sacrificial service and mission in His Vineyard??* We shall make every effort to be fully and totally prepared, both spiritually and academically; linguistically and teleliturgically, thus, offering a distinguished excellence in front of God's holy Altar and people.

My prayer, hope and strong conviction is that by the Grace and enlightenment of the only Master and Teacher, our Lord Jesus Christ, I may be found worthy of your expectations, Your Eminence, and all those who eagerly await to support or even constructively advise me as I undertake this demanding and challenging mission for the good of our Church.

I thank you, Your Eminence, for the trust, love and complete vision shown to the School and me, and I equally thank the Committees that worked toward this election.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank His Eminence Metropolitan Isaiah of Prokonisos for the peaceful and tranquil way which his dedicated presidency established, thus, preparing the way to his successor.

I shall do my utmost to continue this sacred παρακαταθήκη and Mission that all my predecessors honorably and selflessly labored upon, to build a tradition and a School that the Church and the Omogeneia is proud of and will continue to be!

By our mutual dedication, faith, love and total conviction, *we shall preserve our Scholi as the Best and most honorable Institution of our Archdiocese*, because our School shall always be a reflection of us, our faith and life in Christ! Amen!

GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE SPEECH

Σεβασμιώτατε, ἀξιότιμοι καθηγητές τῆς Σχολῆς καὶ τοῦ ΒΤΙ, σεβαστοὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἐπισκέπται, ἀγαπητοὶ μου φοιτητές:

Ἡ στιγμή αὐτὴ εἶναι γιὰ μένα πολὺ σημαντικὴ καὶ σπουδαία στὴν ἱερατικὴ μου διακονία, ἀλλὰ ἐπίσης ἐξ ἴσου σπουδαία γιὰ τὰ δύο ἀνώτατα ἐκπαιδευτικὰ ἰδρύματα τῆς Ἱερᾶς μας Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς, μὲ τὴν ἐκλογή μου ὡς Προέδρου.

Ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῆς μοῦ δίδεται ἡ εὐκαιρία ἀντιμετωπίσεως τῶν δημιουργηθέντων προβλημάτων μὲ σταθερότητα, ὑπομονή, τὴν συνεργασία ὅλων τῶν φορέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲ ἀγάπη Χριστοῦ γιὰ τὸ καλὸ τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας μας ἐδῶ στὴν χώρα αὐτῇ, τῶν ἰδρυμάτων μας, τῶν πιστῶν μας, ἀλλὰ ἰδιαίτερα τῶν φοιτητῶν μας,

τῶν μελλοντικῶν ἱερέων τῶν εὐλογημένων κοινοτήτων μας.

Ὁραματίζομαι μία δυνατώτερη προσήλωση στὶς Ὁρθόδοξες Παραδόσεις μας καὶ τὸν Λειτουργικὸ μας βίο. Μία πιὸ εὐαίσθητη προσπάθεια νὰ ἀνακαλύψουμε ἐκ νέου τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν μας ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἦθος, ὅπως ἐκφράζονται πνευματικὰ μέσα στὸ Ἱερό τοῦτο Ναῖδριο στὸ ὁποῖο γαλουχήθηκα κι ἐγὼ κι οἱ τόσες γενεές τῶν ἀγαπητῶν μας ἀποφοίτων κι εὐλαβῶν συλλειτουργῶν. Προσέχοντας γενικὰ ὅλην τὴν καθημερινή μας βιωτὴ στὸν Ἅγιο Λόφο, θὰ προσπαθήσουμε ν' ἀναπλάσσουμε τὸν ἐσωτερικὸν μας κόσμον, χωρὶς ν' ἀδιαφορήσουμε γιὰ τοὺς Ἱεροὺς Κανόνες ἢ τὸν ἀπώτερον Ἱερό σκοπὸ τῆς Σχολῆς.

Τὸ σύμβολο τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ ποὺ δεσπάζει στὴν καρδιά τῆς Σχολῆς καὶ τοῦ καθενὸς μας, μᾶς ὑπενθυμίζει τὴν ἀπεριόριστη καὶ λυτρωτικὴ ἀγάπη τοῦ Κυρίου μας. Ἀραγε ἐμεῖς θὰ ἐργασθοῦμε λιγώτερο κατὰ τὴν διάρκεια τῆς προετοιμασίας μας, γιὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ Ἀμπελώνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ;

Θὰ καταβάλλουμε κάθε δυνατὴ προσπάθεια γιὰ νὰ εἴμαστε κατὰ πάντα ἔτοιμοι, πνευματικὰ κι ἀκαδημαϊκὰ, γλωσσικὰ καὶ τελετουργικὰ, οὕτως ὥστε νὰ προσφέρουμε τὸν καλύτερον ἑαυτὸν μας ἐνώπιον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Σεβασμῶτατε καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοί, θέλω νὰ πιστεύω ὅτι μὲ τὴν βοήθεια καὶ τὴν φώτιση τοῦ Ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου Καθηγητοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου μας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, θὰ φανῶ ἀντάξιος τῶν προσδοκιῶν σας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄλων ἐκείνων πού, ὡς ἔλαφος διψῶσα, θὰ θελήσουν νὰ μὲ ἐνισχύσουν ἢ καὶ νὰ μὲ συμβουλευθῶν ἐποικοδομητικὰ εἰς τὸ πολὺπλοκον καὶ δύσκολον ἔργον ποὺ ἔχω ἐπωμισθεῖ γιὰ τὸ καλὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Σεβασμῶτατε, εὐχαριστῶ ἐσᾶς πρῶτα, ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ τὶς ὑπεύθυνες ἐπιτροπές ποὺ συνετέλεσαν στὴν ἐκλογή μου.

Τέλος, εὐχαριστῶ τὸν Ἅγιο Προικονήσου κ. Ἡσαΐαν γιὰ τὴν ἡρεμὴν καὶ ὁμαλὴ μεταβατικὴ θητεία του ὡς Προέδρου, ποὺ ἐδημιούργησε τὶς προϋποθέσεις γιὰ τὴν ἰδική μου Προεδρίαν.

Θὰ προσπαθῶ νὰ προσφέρω τὸ καλύτερον δυνατόν, συνεχίζοντας τὴν Ἱερὰ Παρακαταθήκη καὶ Ἀποστολὴ ὄλων τῶν προκατόχων μου οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐκοπίασαν κι ἐντιμὰ ἀνέδειξαν τὴν ἀξιοσέβαστη Ἱερὰ Θεολογικὴν μας Σχολήν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κολλέγιον, ποὺ ἦσαν, εἶναι καὶ θὰ παραμείνουν τὸ καμάρι κι ὁ ἔπαινος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας καὶ τῆς Ὁμογενείας μας.

Μὲ κοινὴ συναίσθηση τῶν εὐθυνῶν, μὲ ἀφοσίωση, πίστη, ἀγάπη καὶ σθένος θὰ διατηρήσουμε τὴν Σχολήν μας, ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ, τὸ πιὸ εὐκλεές Ἰδρυμα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀμερικῆς, διότι ἡ Σχολή μας, ἀγαπητοί μου, θὰ εἶναι πάντοτε τὸ ἀντικατόπτρισμα, ἡ ἀντανάκλασις τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μας, τῆς πίστεώς μας καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς μας.

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PROF. IOANNES OREST. KALOGEROU
(1916-1997)

Professor Kalogerou of the School of Theology of the University of Thessaloniki, who died in February 1997, was an erudite theologian who made an important contribution to Greek Orthodox Theology and to the work of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. Born in Ioannina in 1916 he attended the Zosimaian and the Rizareion Schools, from which he graduated with flying colors in 1934 and went on to Athens to study Theology at the National University. Receiving his Theology degree from Athens in 1939 he served in the Greek army and participated in the Italo-Greek war. After that he went to Germany in pursuit of post-graduate studies. In Germany he studied under Hartmann, Spranger and Heiler at the Universities of Berlin, Marburg and Bern and received a Ph.D., having written a dissertation on *Die Auffassung der Orthodoxen Kirche im neueren Deutschen Protestantismus: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Konfessionskunde*, Marburg/Lahn 1945. Subsequent to that, he spent three years as bursar of the WCC in Bern (1947-1950), working on the ecumenical front and especially on Orthodox Old Catholic relations and, then, returned to Greece to become Director of the Higher Ecclesiastical Seminary of Thessaloniki and serve there for three years (1951-1954). In 1951 he received a Doctorate from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, having submitted a dissertation on, *The views of contemporary Roman Catholic Theologians on the Orthodox Church*, published by "Aster" editions, Athens 1951.

In 1952 he became Lecturer in the Chair of "Dogmatics and Symbolics" in Thessaloniki and was subsequently promoted to assistant Professor (1953) and full Professor (1957) in the Chair of "The History of Dogmas and the Ecumenical Movement." Between the years 1962-63 and 1969-1970 Professor Kalogerou was Dean of the School of Theology. During his professorial career he participated as representative of the Church of Greece in many theological and Panorthodox conferences. He served for years as member of the "Permanent Synodical Committee on Canonical, Dogmatic and Moral Issues" and on the "Committee for Inter-Orthodox and Inter-Christian Relations" of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. In

Thessaloniki he served on the Administrative Council of the "Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies." He was also involved in many philanthropic and educational institutions.

Professor Kalogerou wrote more than 140 scholarly theological monographs and studies, attended some 60 theological conferences and delivered numerous lectures and sermons in Greece and abroad. He was granted the "Pascal theological Prize" (1989) of the Old Catholic Theological School of Amersfoot, Holland, and was elected corresponding member of the International Pontifical Marian Academy of Rome (1985). He was also honored with the conferral on him of many medals and distinctions, among which we may mention: The Golden Cross of the Millennium of the Holy Mountain, the Cross of the Taxiarchs of the Order of Phoenix, the Golden Medal of the Patriarchate of Russia, the Golden Medal of the 10th International Mariological Conference, the Golden Medals of the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki and the Officium of Archon Notarios of the Great Church of Christ (Ecumenical Patriarchate).

In his academic work Professor Kalogerou was distinguished above all as a specialist in the Orthodox doctrine of the Theotokos, having written a book on *Mary, the ever-Virgin Theotokos according to the Orthodox faith* (1957). He wrote significant historico-dogmatic, dogmatic and ecclesiological studies, which have two distinct characteristics, the clear presentation of the orthodox position and the distinction of this position from those of the heterodox. Among his writings we may mention the following: [in Greek] *The Orthodox Catholic Church and the contemporary Ecumenical Movement* (Thessaloniki 1951); [in Greek] *Saint Paul on Man, a contribution to Christian anthropology from an Orthodox point of view* (1952); *Die russische Orthodoxie im Urteil des Deutschen Protestantismus* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 1953). [in Greek] *The doctrine of "Synergy" in man's justification from an Orthodox point of view and the discussions on this topic among the heterodox* (Thessaloniki 1953); [in Greek] *The mission of Orthodoxy in the contemporary Christian world: a collection of articles and studies* (Thessaloniki 1953); [in Greek] *On the ecumenical Assembly of Evanston and the work of the Orthodox in it* (1954); [in Greek] *The Character of the Orthodox Catholic Church according to the fundamental soteriological principles of the New Testament* (Athens 1961); [in Greek] *Concerning a new perception of the Orthodox Church: for the 17th International*

Conference of the Old Catholics in the year 1957 (1961); [in Greek] *On the Third General Assembly of the World Council of Churches at New Delhi, India* (1962); *Die Tätigkeit der Orthodoxen Kirche bei ihrer ersten Begegnung mit der Reformation: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der neueren Auffassungen* (Thessaloniki 1962); [in Greek] *Christianity: objective and subjective verification of the axiological religious operation in the human being* (Thessaloniki 1964); [in Greek] *The three Hierarchs and their work viewed from the center of their Christian existence* (Thessaloniki 1964); [in Greek] *The General Roman Catholic Council of Vatican II and its ecumenical effort from an Orthodox viewpoint* (Thessaloniki 1965); [in Greek] *On the critical views of Bernhard Schultze of Maximus the Greek as a Theologian* (Thessaloniki 1966); [in Greek] *The Orthodox Diaspora in the era of the Ecumenical Movement* (Thessaloniki 1968); [in Greek] *The Trinitarian Dogma during the Fourth Century* (Thessaloniki 1969); [in Greek] *History of Dogmas*, vol. 1, 411p (Thessaloniki 1969); *Symbolics from the Orthodox Point of view*, editions Pournara, 320p (Thessaloniki 1969); [in Greek] *The establishment of a Greek Archbishop in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century* (Italia Sacra, 20-22, Padova 1973); [in Greek] *Christology and Soteriology in relation according to Saint Athanasius* (Thessaloniki 1974); [in Greek] *The notion of the ecumenicity of Orthodoxy in relation to the National Autocephalic Churches* (Thessaloniki 1974); *International Conferences on the Virgin Mary in Rome, May 1975* (Thessaloniki 1976); *Marienlehre und-verehrung in der orthodoxen Kirche auf dem Hintergrund der Christologie* (IKZ 68, 1978); [in Greek] *History of Dogmas*, vol. 1 Revised, 411p, and vol. 2, 459p (Thessaloniki 1980); *The spirituality of the Orthodox Patristic Tradition and its ecumenical relevance today* (Thessaloniki 1981); [in Greek] *The Sixth Ecumenical Synod* (Thessaloniki 1981); [in Greek] *The position of Basil the Great on the Christological Disputes at the appearance of Apollinarism* (Thessaloniki 1981); *Grundzüge orthodoxen theologischen Denkens und orthodoxer Kirchlichkeit* (IKZ 73, 1983); *Das grosse Schisma zwischen Ost-und Westkirche* (Byzanz, Berlin 1984); [in Greek] *Unity and Division in the Church* ("Charisteion" Seraphim Tika, Athens 1984); [in Greek] *The ecumenical character of the mission of Cyril and Methodios, specified by the spiritual life of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki 1986); [in Greek] *Honor to the Saints: the attribution of honor to Mary the Theotokos and to the Saints from*

a Christocentric Orthodox viewpoint (Athens 1988); *Die Kritik von Adolff von Harnack (1851-1930) an der Orthodoxen Kirche* ("Nomos" vol. 2 for Demetrios Konstantopoulos, Thessaloniki 1989); [in Greek] *The ecumenical Witness of Orthodoxy* "Anaphora.. for Metropolitan Maximos of Sardes, Geneva 1989); [in Greek] *The dogmatic value and ecumenical strength of the basic Christological-Soteriological insights of the Great Athanasius* ("Philia" for Konstantinos Bonis, Thessaloniki 1989); [in Greek] *The Divine Persons of the Holy Trinity on the work of Salvation accomplished in the Church* ("Prospora" for Metropolitan Panteleemon II of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 1990); *Das Mysterium des Ikonenwesens und der Ikonenverehrung in der Orthodoxen Kirche gestützt auf das Schema Urbild-Abbild-Vorbild* (Kleronomia vol. 19, Thessaloniki 1991); [in Greek] *The International Mariological Congresses and the ecumenical declarations on Mary the Theotokos which are formulated and endorsed by them* ("Epeteris" of the School of Theology: Pastoral Department: vol. 3, Thessaloniki 1993). For more details see: "ΤΙΜΗΤΙΚΟ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ" to Professor Ioannes Orestou Kalogerou, Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 13-79. Also: The Obituary on Kalogerou in *Gregorios O Palamas*, 80 (1997) 137-142 by Dr. Christophoros Kontakes.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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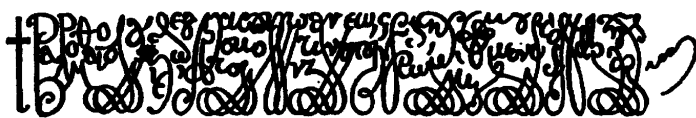
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Letter from the Ecumenical Patriarch

HIS ALL-HOLINESS
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMEW

Most Reverend Metropolitan of Tyrolöë and Serention, Panteleimon, Most Excellent Exarch of Thrace, beloved Brother in the Holy Spirit and Co-Celebrant of Our Unworthiness, Co-Chairman of the Mixed Commission on Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, grace be to your Reverence and peace from God.

On the occasion of the dawning of the new year of the beneficence of the Lord, We send greetings from the Holy Great Church of Christ and from Ourselves personally to the meeting of the Mixed Theological Dialogue Commission between Our Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Our wishes that its labours on the, truly, significant and pertinent matter of the Incarnation of the Son and Word of God will be crowned with success, so that the foundations may be laid for further efforts of Theological Dialogue in the sensitive area of Ecclesiology.

The work of the Mixed Theological Committee until the present, and especially the productive use made of the enduring criteria of the Patristic Tradition of the first Christian centuries, has proved most valuable in highlighting the theological prerequisites for rapprochement in the future agenda of the Dialogue. The far-sighted preparation of the work of the Mixed Commission under your beloved Reverence and the Co-Chairman of the Commission on the part of the Reformed Churches, the Reverend Dr. Lukas Vischer, and your associates guarantees the positive progress of the Dialogue towards its set aim and purpose, as well as the projection of common elements

of both traditions and the removal, insofar as is possible, of the existing historical differentiations.

Once again wishing a successful outcome to your labours towards the advancement of the common task of the restoration of unity among Christians and in particular of rapprochement between the two worlds, the Orthodox and the Reformed, We embrace you in our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, born in Bethlehem in Judaea and manifested to the whole world, and We invoke upon you and all members of the Commission His grace and boundless mercy.

4 January, 1994

Beloved Brother in Christ

† BARTHOLOMEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE

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therefore particularly disturbing that key terms such as *logismoi* (troublesome thoughts), *ameleia* (negligence) - even "passions" - are several times mangled beyond recognition (e.g. "Going down to the calamity [literally "the passions"] of Jericho,... I fell among the thieves of the reason" [literally "of my thoughts"] [*Lenten Liturgies* p.102].)

Misprints in these volumes are mainly harmless, although "Mercy, peace..." is omitted in both English and Greek in the *Liturgikon* (p. 84), and the entrance hymn for the Transfiguration reads "in Your life shall we see light" (*Liturgikon* p. 114). On several occasions the Greek text printed is not what has been translated; and some of the outlandish versions of names in the Synaxarion of the *Liturgikon* could also have benefitted from editorial attention.

With these publications, Narthex Press has no doubt made a contribution to liturgical life and the use of English therein, and for this they deserve our gratitude. Unfortunately, those convinced that English is not an adequate medium for Orthodox worship will find plenty here to confirm their prejudices. Further, there is a real danger that the convenience of the format will dissuade users from seeking better translations for some of the material. Whereas the Foreword to the *Liturgikon* expresses the hope that these versions will set a standard, those inclined to use them might do better to treat them as a working draft.

Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff

Andrew Walker and Costa Carras (ed.s), *Living Orthodoxy in the Modern World*. London; SPCK, 1996. Pp. x+246.

"There is a view... that Orthodox Christians spend so much time in Church services that they never face up to the great issues of the day..." (1). And observers of Orthodoxy in North America might be inclined to add that when they do address "great issues," it is not infrequently an undistinguished echo of Western Christian approaches.

If ever there was a single volume able to dispel such impressions, this is it. Originating from a symposium in London in 1992, this collection of 12 essays ranges from "The Eschata in our Daily Life" to "Orthodox Tradition and Family Life" or "The Holy Trinity, the Church and Politics in a Secular World." The authors are bishops and laypeople of assorted traditions, including both such well-known names as Bishop Kallistos (Ware) and Metropolitan Anthony (Bloom),

and others who deserve to be better known in the English-speaking world, such as Metropolitan Athanasius (Jevtic) of Herzegovina.

For all the diversity of authors and topics, these essays very definitely manifest a common approach. Firstly, it is profoundly *traditional*, and therefore profoundly open. A grounding in Tradition which is "the voice of the Holy Spirit in the Church" (3), in a dynamic whose hallmark is freedom from fear (Gillian Crow, 6), gives these contributions what Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople, in a thoughtful preface, describes as the "ecumenical spirit" of Orthodoxy, a spirit of "unity in diversity and of harmony between very different voices" (vii). This involves an openness - albeit not uncritical - to the world, to culture, to secular society, a spirit of bridge-building: thus Bishop Kallistos speaks of asceticism as "not a negation but a vindication of the innate holiness of all material things" ("Lent and the Consumer Society", 83), and Andrew Louth of art as "a kind of sign-making that seeks to read the manifoldly iconic nature of the cosmos" ("Orthodoxy and Art", 167). And Jamie Moran's "Orthodoxy and Modern Depth Psychology" is a fascinating and long overdue attempt at examining in the light of the Church's tradition aspects of the doctrine of man often taken as axiomatic in modern Western cultures.

Secondly, these articles share an *eschatological* perspective, and precisely for this reason have something important to say about current issues. It becomes clear that we can apply a Christian understanding to what we live through to the extent that we are, according to the title Bishop Basil of Sergievo's thought-provoking liturgical study, "living in the future." As well as being explicit in two remarkable papers, such an eschatological perspective underlies, for instance, Metropolitan Anthony's moving and pastorally invaluable "Death and Bereavement;" and it is this perspective that makes contributions such as H. Tristram Engelhardt's "Orthodox Approach to Bioethics" or Metropolitan John of Pergamon's "response to the ecological problem" such a far cry from the sort of moral theology that a distinguished contemporary theologian has characterised as "stating the obvious with footnotes."

The third striking feature of these essays in their profoundly *theological* character. The fact that perhaps half the contributors are not formally trained theologians underlines the authentic and churchly quality of this theological approach. Thus Englehardt remarks in the

course of a most illuminating analysis of ethical approaches that "only in a relationship through worship to the linchpin of reality - that is, God - can fragmented moral practices be made whole" (121).

Does this basic liturgical emphasis lead away once again from a real engagement with contemporary problems? On the evidence of these essays, quite the contrary. To quote Bishop Basil again, "...our own sacramental practice says that the Spirit of God is working both outside and inside the Church, to bring people into life in Christ... unless we can recognise the Spirit at work... in the culture in which we live... - we will not be in touch with reality" (36). This book is about nothing if not the "real world." But it also reveals that there is more to "reality" than meets the secular or moralistic eye.

Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff

George A. Vayanos, *Ἀνδρας-Γυναίκα*, (Translation: *Man, Woman*) Valuable Appraisal from the Early Church, [In Greek] (Gregory Palamas, Thessaloniki, 1993, pp. 90)

Dr. Vayanos is considered today in Greece, not only as a prolific writer, but also as an enlightened scholar. He has offered valuable opinions and suggestions, as far as the religious education in the elementary and secondary education in Greece. With this book, Dr. Vayanos touches upon a most important and sensitive subject, that is, man and woman, and how the early Church appraised their relations. His research is based on a historical, theological, social, and anthropological level. On the basis of his research, he establishes four basic presuppositions, upon which religious education must be taught to the youth. First, that man and woman are fundamental instruments of life itself. Secondly, that the ever-changing social circumstances have their own cultural basis. Third, that equality of the inter-gender relation is a very important fact of life and society. And, fourth, it effects society.

In any case, Dr. Vayanos successfully presents in his book, the dynamic presence of the two genders, in the framework of the historical and social development of the early Church. In other words, the dynamics of the Scripture, and the experience of the early Church, are the axis and the compass, which consist of the valuable and the viable for sound directions and a sound religious education program.

On the basis of these biblical and patristic backgrounds, Dr.

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Means of Membership According to the Reformed Tradition: Seeking Common Ground Between Orthodox and Reformed Ecclesiologies

REV. DR. CARNEGIE SAMUEL CALIAN

Let me begin autobiographically. I confess to you that I believe I have membership in both traditions (Orthodox and Reformed); these two ecclesiologies are linked eschatologically for me within the visible and invisible membership of the Body of Christ. Born in the United States to Armenian parents, I was baptized in the Armenian Apostolic Church, the ecclesiastical home of my family. Since there was not an Armenian Church near our home, my immigrant parents who owned no car sent me and my sister on a regular basis to the local Protestant church of our neighbors. For Christmas and Easter celebrations, we made a special effort to attend an Armenian Church, but for all practical purposes I was being raised as a Protestant Christian who neither felt or thought that my twice annual exposure to the Orthodox tradition of my parents was incompatible with my Protestant upbringing.

For that matter, my parents never felt the need to transfer their membership and identity from their "Orthodox tradition"¹ to Protestant membership. For my parents, the important thing was to be a Christian within the Body of Christ. In their own unsophisticated way, they were "grassroots ecumenists" who could express mutual respect and acceptance for both traditions. There is no doubt in my mind that my mother and father gave primacy to their Armenian heritage and its distinguished history of steadfastness to the faith. They delighted in the fact that Armenia was the first nation under King Tiridates to accept Christianity in 301 (or 303) A.D.

As I reflect upon my upbringing in an Armenian Christian household, I realize that I was enriched from this duality of traditions (Orthodox and Reformed) neither of which captured in their entirety the grandeur found within the wider membership of the Body of Christ, the People of God who are called to pursue the Divine will for unity and holiness without reservation. I see myself then as being both Orthodox and Reformed at the same time, and within the Body of Christ encompassing believers and biblically based ecclesiologies past, present and future. Through mutual dialogue and discovery, believers can gain a deeper appreciation and understanding of other traditions. At the same time, I believe there is sufficient truth and teachings in the Orthodox and Reformed ecclesiologies to provide sufficient guidance for my journey of faith toward the mystery of the Triune God.

I see no need to pursue a perfect ecclesiology nor to advocate proselytism from one tradition to another; rather it seems to me that we (meaning all Christians of whatever tradition) are blessed and enriched by one another's presence without the need to establish any single infallible ecclesiology as being the most faithful to God. Church history has shown us that every church tradition has been fallible and unfaithful, but as we confess our shortcomings and experience God's forgiving love, the mystery of Divine grace will continue to guide us through uncharted waters under the power of the Holy Spirit. The final orthodoxy of our faith is seen in the quality of our commitment as testified by the martyrs, heroes and heroines of our respective traditions. To be followers of John, Peter or Paul in our theologies is not sufficient; we are also instructed by the Epistle of James and others to be doers of the faith. Our actions as well as our beliefs are accountable before God; our faith commitment and personal character need to be integrated in our Divine pilgrimage leading to *theosis* (a sanctifying process) which is the believer's call to pursue the will of God in our lives. This Divine Will ultimately points us to a life of holiness with God. For the Reformed (and Orthodox) the means of membership is based then on the teachings of God's word, and the church interprets and communicates these teachings through the catechesis, creeds and confessions as well as through the sacraments of initiation, primarily baptism and the Lord's Supper (the Eucharist).

When speaking of the means of membership, the church is viewed

as an institution. There are actually nine institutional elements to the church according to Reformed theologian Hendrikus Berkhof. These are instruction (or initiation), baptism, sermon, discussion, Lord's Supper, diaconate, worship service, office and church order. All of these institutional elements have their roots in Scripture. We may illustrate this institutional meaning of membership by looking specifically at the documents of the Presbyterian Church (USA), which is one of the member churches of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC). These documents are found in the church's *Constitution (1997-1998)*; we will cite from Part II, *The Book of Order, Chapter V, The Church and Its Members*.

1. The Meaning of Membership

- a. The incarnation of God in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ gives to the church not only its mission but also its understanding of membership. One becomes an active member of the church through faith in Jesus Christ as Savior and acceptance of his Lordship in all of life. Baptism and a public profession of faith in Jesus as Lord are the visible signs of entrance into the active membership of the church.
- b. Persons may enter into active church membership in the following ways: by profession of faith, reaffirmation of faith in Jesus Christ, or transfer of certificate from some other church.
- c. When persons baptized as infants reach an age when they are ready to make public their profession of faith and accept their responsibility in the life of the church, the session should invite, encourage, and help them prepare for their responsibility as active church members. The age at which young persons should make such public profession is not precisely fixed. It is left to the prudence of the session to judge, after careful examination, the readiness of those who apply for active membership.
- d. When persons who have not been baptized desire to profess their faith in Christ and be incorporated in the life of the church as believers, they shall do so by making public their profession of faith and receiving Baptism after appropriate instruction and examination by the session.
- e. Persons who have made a profession of faith and have been received into membership in a particular church may be received by the session upon receipt of a certificate of transfer from the church in which they have been most recently a member.
- f. It is sometimes the case that persons who previously made a profession of faith and became active members in a particular church are

unable to secure a certificate of transfer or other evidence of church membership. After instruction and examination by the session, these persons shall reaffirm publicly their profession of faith and their acceptance of responsibility in the life of the church.

A faithful member accepts Christ's call to be involved responsibly in the ministry of his Church. Such involvement includes

- a. proclaiming the good news,
- b. taking part in the common life and worship of a particular church,
- c. praying and studying Scripture and, the faith of the Christian Church,
- d. supporting the work of the church through the giving of money, time, and talents,
- e. participating in the governing responsibilities of the church,
- f. demonstrating a new quality of life within and through the church,
- g. responding to God's activity in the world through service to others,
- h. living responsibly in the personal, family, vocational, political, cultural, and social relationships of life,
- i. working in the world for peace, justice, freedom, and human fulfillment.

The congregation shall welcome all persons who respond in trust and obedience to God's grace in Jesus Christ and desire to become part of the membership and ministry of his Church. No persons shall be denied membership because of race, ethnic origin, worldly condition, or any other reason not related to profession of faith. Each member must seek the grace of openness in extending the fellowship of Christ to all persons. (G-9.0104) Failure to do so constitutes a rejection of Christ himself and causes a scandal to the gospel.

2. Categories of Membership

The membership of a particular church of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) includes baptized members, active members, inactive members, and affiliate members.

A baptized member of a particular church is a person who has received the Sacrament of Baptism and who has been enrolled as a baptized member by the session but who has not made a profession of faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior. Such baptized members are entitled to the pastoral care and instruction of the church, and to participation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

An active member of a particular church is a person who has made a profession of faith in Christ, has been baptized, has been received into membership of the church, has voluntarily submitted to the government of this church, and participates in the church's work and worship. An active member is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the church, including the right to participate in the Sacrament of

the Lord's Supper, to present children for baptism, to take part in meetings of the congregation, and to vote and hold office. Other conditions of active membership that meet the needs of the particular church and are consistent with the order and confessions of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) may be adopted by the session after careful study and discussion with the congregation.

An inactive member of a particular church is one who does not participate in the church's work and worship. An inactive member is entitled to all the rights and privileges of an active member except the right to speak in the meetings of the congregation and to vote and hold office.

An affiliate member of a particular church is an active member of another church of this denomination or of another denomination or Christian body, who has temporarily moved from the community where the church of active membership is situated, has presented a certificate of good standing from the appropriate governing body of that church, and has been received by the session as an affiliate member. An affiliate member is entitled to all the rights and privileges of an active member except the right to vote and hold office.

3. Nonmember Privileges

Persons not members of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) are entitled to the following privileges:

- a. All persons are welcome to participate in the life and worship of this church.
- b. All baptized persons, whether children or adults, even though they have made no profession of their faith in Christ, are entitled to participation in the Lord's Supper, to pastoral care and instruction of the church.
- c. Confessing members of other Christian churches may participate in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and may present children for baptism.

4. Preparation for Membership

The session shall have responsibility for preparing those who would become members of the congregation.

- a. While the preparation is a part of the continuing nurture of the congregation, particular care shall be taken to prepare children of members for public profession of faith in Jesus Christ. Instruction shall be given in the meaning of this profession, the responsibilities of membership, and the faith and order of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).
- b. Similar instruction shall be given to others who make a profession

of faith. The session shall determine whether this instruction shall be given before or after the public profession.

Appropriate instruction shall be offered to those who unite with a particular congregation by reaffirmation of faith or by transfer of certificate of church membership.

Membership in the Presbyterian Church (USA) calls for a constant nurturing in the Word of God through preaching and teaching based on Scripture; our biblical orientation as a church is also witnessed through church music, and through the prayers, creeds and confessions of the church as well as through the catechesis and celebration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. *The Director for Worship of the Presbyterian Church* describes these nurturing means as "Elements of Christian Worship." See W-2.0000-2.6001, the sections of which are entitled as follows:

1. Prayer
2. Scripture Read and Proclaimed
3. Baptism
4. The Lord's Supper
5. Self-Offering
6. Relating to Each Other and the World

Church members within the Reformed tradition view their churches as a reforming *ecclesia* ("the church reformed, but always being reformed"). In other words, we believe the church should not be satisfied with the status quo. Within the core of beliefs required of its members, there is also an ecclesiastical willingness within the Reformed tradition to be a reforming church according to the Word of God and as guided by the Holy Spirit. As stated in Chapter II, "The Church and Its Confessions," its reforming and confessional characteristics are described for us. This is then followed by "Chapter III, The Church and Its Mission:" (See G.-2.000-2.0500 and G-3.000-3.0401.)

The Reforming Spirit Illustrated in Moltmann's Suggestions:

Reformed theologian Jurgen Moltmann has written in his book, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*, that a rethinking within the Reformed tradition of baptism and the Lord's Supper will be necessary as we regard church membership in the future. "Since baptism is acceptance into an 'eternal covenant,' it can only be performed once. That is why repetitions of baptism are inadmissible."² For Moltmann, Christian baptism is eschatology put into practice. Thus, he views baptism as Christian hope in action. "It is a creative event, but it creates nothing without faith. In so far as faith is a call, baptism

is necessary. But we cannot say that its necessary for salvation."³ Hence he believes that the way to a new, more authentic baptismal practice will be the way from infant to adult baptism. Moltmann would replace infant baptism "by the blessing of the children in the congregation's service of worship and by the 'ordination'—the public and explicit commissioning of parents and congregation—for their messianic service to the children. The baptism of parents is a call covering their family, social and political relationships as well. Parenthood is a charisma, and becomes a living charisma in faith. The calling of the community is then realized as missionary service to the children and in their instruction. 'Confirmation' classes can then be directed toward baptism, which people approach when they feel able to confess their faith before the congregation and desire the assurance of their calling."⁴ As individuals transfer over to confessional baptism from infant baptism, the church Moltmann believes might cease being a church of ministers functioning on behalf of lay persons and become a charismatic fellowship in which everyone recognizes one's ministry and lays hold on his or her charisma.⁵

In regard to the Lord's Supper, Moltmann believes that like baptism it is an eschatological sign of being on the way. "If baptism is called the unique sign of grace, then the Lord's Supper must be understood as the respectable sign of hope. Baptism and the Lord's Supper belong essentially together and are linked with one another in the messianic community."⁶ For Moltmann, the Lord's Supper is not viewed as a mystery cult or as an ecclesiastical rite for members within the community of the faithful, but rather "it is a public and open meal of fellowship for the peace and the righteousness of God in the world."⁷ Therefore, Moltmann does not view the Lord's Supper as a meal exclusively reserved for Christians, nor is it a place to practice ecumenical church discipline, but rather "it is first of all the place where the liberating presence of the crucified Lord is celebrated."⁸ The Lord's Supper is not the place to test the "orthodoxy" of one's faith, instead it is the place where the church envisions the outstretched arms of Christ on the cross. "Because he died for the reconciliation of 'the world,' the world is invited to reconciliation in the Supper... Consequently we understand Christ's invitation as being open, not merely to the church but to the whole world."⁹ It is Moltmann's intent that the church ought to show an openness of hospitality toward the Lord's Supper irrespective of one's faith

commitment, something that neither the Orthodox nor the Reformed churches officially practice in their churches today. The Reformed, like the Orthodox, practice an exclusivity toward the Eucharist, limiting it to confessing Christians.

While the Reformed churches share their celebration of the Lord's Supper with all professing Christians, the Orthodox (and Catholics) limit theirs even further to only those believers within their tradition. Of course, there are extraordinary circumstances, as in certain emergencies or war times, where exceptions are made by the Orthodox.

Moltmann takes seriously the reforming dimension (*ecclesia reformata, sed semper reformanda*) of the Reformed tradition and therefore wishes to maintain an open invitation toward the Lord's Supper for all believers and non-believers alike. On the other hand, Moltmann does limit the sacrament of baptism only to believers who have confessed their faith in Christ and reviewed their vocation in light of God's claim on their lives. For Moltmann, the Lord's Supper and baptism are both eschatological signs of the coming kingdom; table of fellowship (the Lord's Supper) is an invitational sign of hope that welcomes all persons; baptism is the sign of grace that ushers persons into a vocational commitment and a lifetime of discipleship.

Unity via Celebration

No doubt Reformed and Orthodox officially are not willing nor perhaps ready to follow Professor Moltmann toward pre-eschatological unity based upon his interpretation of the sacraments and its implications for the means of membership within the Body of Christ.

What about us who are in dialogue with one another? Our propensity it seems is to uphold the continuity of our traditions while encouraging a reforming spirit within our respective traditions. Therefore, we need to chart a theological strategy for unity while enroute to tomorrow's theology of the kingdom and the final fulfillment of the *eschaton* in unity with one another. In this transition period, we will need a working spirituality of affirmation or celebration, lest we die in the desert caused by our divisions. The marks of mutual affirmation widely acknowledged by us and biblically rooted are the celebrated events of baptism, Easter, and Pentecost.¹⁰

The sacrament of baptism enjoys mutual acceptance among the churches. There is an ecclesiastical unity already in baptism. The

methods and practices of baptism differ in the churches, but the outcome of baptism is shared by all the churches. Baptism is the message of repentance, renewal and union with Jesus Christ. Whether proclaimed in a sermon or in the liturgy, baptism is the celebration of new life in Christ and inclusion within the community. The validity of each tradition's baptism is widely acknowledged by other churches today. The basic vow taken by the adult, or by the parent in behalf of the infant, is an identification of the believer's life with Jesus Christ and one's basic ordination into the royal priesthood—into the *laos*, the People of God. Baptism gives the individual not only identity but initiates the believer into a lifetime mission to proclaim the new life in Christ whatever one's secular vocation.

Perhaps the future might require a common practice of baptism, as well as regular services of baptismal reaffirmation. Services of confirmation (chrismation in Orthodoxy) already seek this end, but baptism is a universally more acceptable sign among Christians; its strong biblical precedent makes it an important means by which tomorrow's Christians may make a common affirmation. Perhaps a mutually acknowledged baptism, rather than the Eucharist, will emphasize our common mission to the world.

The second event of celebration is that of Easter. Easter signifies the resurrection and the fulfillment of new life begun in baptism. Orthodoxy in its long history of martyrdom can lead the procession of tomorrow's Christians in an "Easter parade," not down fashionable Fifth Avenue in New York City, but within the cemeteries and neighborhoods of poverty throughout the world praising in unison with Protestants and Roman Catholics the Christ who is risen, indeed! Easter enables our worship to be one of doxology.

Doxology—thanksgiving—is in the final analysis the basic motivation behind authentic worship. Tomorrow's Christians will hopefully gather in their churches primarily for doxology, instead of the secondary psychological and sociological considerations which preoccupy them unduly today. Easter is a sign for Christians to celebrate; their burdens are never so great that there does not loom the possibility of a new dawn. The Light of the world does reign; the children of darkness will not have the last word; therefore rejoice, for our witness is not in vain. As dialogue participants we ought to support and communicate to our respective church traditions the urgency for a common date for Easter.¹¹

A third event to celebrate together is that of Pentecost. Pentecost points to the *eschaton*, an *eschaton* that has happily occurred in the Christ event, but is not yet consummated. Pentecost is the promise that we will be given power in our theologizing to discover new creeds and confessions as the Christians of tomorrow. Without Pentecost we are powerless, and our liturgies and sermons are meaningless verbiage. Because we do celebrate the Spirit of Pentecost together, there is hope that in the near future we will realize another Pentecost embodied in a truly Pan-Christian Council representing the *koinonia of churches* where significant theological agreements and understandings may be reached to enable the Eucharist and the *agape* to be celebrated as a banquet of unity presided over by the Lord of history.

At the same time, Pentecost reminds us that our expectations for tomorrow may be completely other than our findings. Pentecost prevents human manipulation, warns us against theological forecasting that expresses more of the human spirit than the Holy Spirit. Pentecost is a sign of surprise and testifies that the last word belongs to God, not ourselves. Through the celebration and power of Pentecost, men and women have become saints and missionary statesmen within the churches. It should not surprise us to hear that the communion of saints already enjoys an ecumenicity beyond our comprehension. Pentecost along with Baptism and Easter is an ecumenical event which can be shared by all Christians, as a sign of hope in our pilgrimage toward mission and unity.

Our pilgrimage in fact has already traveled some distance: Christians have moved from the dialectics of the past to the dialogues of the present. It is my hope that tomorrow's believers may enter into an era of *cooperative didactics*—listening, learning, theologizing, and working together as we seek to meet the pressing needs of a world whose greatest dilemma is the rapid acceleration of problems. Such a world is in need of a spirit of openness, a spiritual theology without boundaries. To this end, Christians need to experience a greater sense of their relatedness as we learn to celebrate our essential oneness as the People of God, as members together in the Body of Christ.

NOTES

¹ I will not discuss in this presentation the historic differences between the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian churches which happily have been now largely

reconciled based on the Christology of Cyril. For our purposes, I will refer to the Byzantine and Oriental Orthodox Churches as the "Orthodox tradition."

² *op. cit.*, p. 228.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁴ *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41.

⁵ *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁹ *op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹⁰ For the following analysis in its entirety see my book, *Theology Without Boundaries: Encounters of Eastern Orthodoxy and Western Tradition* (Westminster/John Knox Press). See also *One Baptism, One Eucharist, and a Mutually Recognized Ministry* known as the BEM booklet published by the World Council of Churches which contains a number of reservations for me.

¹¹ Both East and West will celebrate Easter together in 2001. Let us transcend our present differences and celebrate Easter together every year. It would be a wonderful sign of our unity to the world.

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Membership of the Body of Christ: Sacraments of Initiation¹

HIEROMONK HILARION ALFEYEV

In the Orthodox Church three sacraments are regarded essential for becoming a member of the Church: Baptism, Chrismation and Eucharist. Baptism and Chrismation together constitute what one might call the rite of initiation, while participation in the Eucharist is the foundation of the Christian life for all those who were initiated into the Church.

In this paper I shall touch upon the understanding of sacraments in the Orthodox Tradition, after which I shall speak of the meaning of Baptism and Chrismation. The question of the catechesis and confession of faith will not be discussed separately but will be considered within the framework of the baptismal rite.

Orthodox theology regards the sacraments as sacred actions through which an encounter between God and the human person takes place. In them our union with God, in so far as it is possible in this earthly life, is realized; the grace of God comes down upon us and sanctifies our entire nature, both soul and body. The sacraments bring us into communion with the Divine nature, animating, deifying and restoring us to life eternal. In the sacraments we experience heaven and a foretaste of the Kingdom of God, that Kingdom which we can only ever become fully a part of, enter into and live in, after our death.

The Greek word *mysterion* ("sacrament" or "mystery") comes from the verb *myo* ("to cover," "to conceal"). This word was invested with a broader meaning by the church Fathers: the incarnation of Christ was called a "sacrament," his salvific ministry, his birth, death, Resurrection and other events of his life, the Christian faith itself, doctrine,

dogma, worship, prayer, church feast days, the sacred symbols, and so on. Of the sacred actions, Baptism and the Eucharist were preeminently named sacraments. Dionysius the Areopagite spoke of three sacraments: Baptism, Chrismation and the Eucharist, while the rites of clerical consecration, tonsuring a monk and burial were also listed among the sacraments.² Following the same order, St. Theodore the Studite (ninth century) referred to six sacraments: Illumination (Baptism), the Synaxis (Eucharist), Chrismation, Priesthood, monastic tonsuring and the burial rite.³ St. Gregory Palamas (fourteenth century) emphasized the central place of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, while St. Nicholas Cabasilas (fifteenth century) in his book *The Life in Christ* provides commentaries on the three sacraments: Baptism, Chrismation and the Eucharist.⁴

At present the Orthodox Church regards Baptism, the Eucharist, Chrismation, Penance, Holy Unction, Marriage and Priesthood as sacraments; all the other sacred actions are listed as rituals. However, it ought to be borne in mind that the practice of numbering the sacraments has been borrowed from Latin scholasticism; hence also the distinction made between "sacraments" and "rituals." Eastern patristic thought in the first millennium was unconcerned about the number of sacraments and never felt the need to enumerate them.

In each sacrament there are both visible and invisible aspects. The former consists of the rite, that is, the words and actions of the participants, and the "material substance" of the sacrament (water in Baptism, bread and wine in the Eucharist). The latter is in fact the spiritual transfiguration and rebirth of the person for whose sake the rite is accomplished. It is primarily this invisible aspect, hidden from sight and hearing, beyond the mind and beyond sensible perception, that is the "mystery." In the sacrament, however, the human person's body is also transfigured and revived along with the soul. The sacrament is not only a spiritual, but also a bodily Communion with the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The human person enters the divine mystery with his whole being, his soul and body become immersed in God, for the body too is destined for salvation and deification. It is in this sense that we understand immersion in water, anointing with holy oil and myrrh in Baptism, the tasting of bread and wine in the Eucharist. In the age to come the material "substance" of the sacrament will no longer be necessary, and the human person will not partake of the Body and Blood of Christ in the form of bread and wine. Rather, he

will communicate with Christ directly. "Grant that we may more truly have communion with Thee in the day of Thy Kingdom which knoweth no eventide,"⁵ prays the Church, which believes that it is in the heavenly homeland, *in patria*, that we look for a fuller, closer union with Christ. At present we are only on the way, *in via*, on earth, and we need the visible signs of God's presence. Hence we communicate with the Divine nature through water satiated with God and through bread and wine suffused with him.

The author of all the sacraments is God himself. Before the beginning of the Liturgy the deacon says to the priest, "It is time for the Lord to act."⁶ This means that the time has come, the moment has arrived, when it is God who will act, while the priest and the deacon are but his instruments. When the Holy Gifts change, the priest does not act by himself, but only prays: "make this Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, and that which is in this Cup, the precious Blood of Thy Christ." In the rite of Baptism the priest says, "The servant of God... is baptized." It is not therefore the priest, but God Himself Who performs the sacrament. As St. Ambrose of Milan says, "It is not Damasus, or Peter, or Ambrose or Gregory who baptizes. We are fulfilling our ministry as servants, but the validity of the sacraments depends upon You. It is not within human power to communicate the divine benefits — it is Your gift, O Lord."⁷

The sacrament of Baptism is understood as the door into the Church, the Kingdom of grace. It is with Baptism that Christian life begins. Baptism is the frontier that separates the members of Christ's Body from those who are outside it. In Baptism the human person is arrayed in Christ, following the words of St. Paul which are sung as the newly-baptized is led around the baptismal font: "For as many of you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."⁸ In Baptism the human person dies to his sinful life and rises again to new spiritual life.⁹

The sacrament of Baptism was instituted by Christ Himself: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."¹⁰ Christ's commandment already contains the basic elements of the baptismal rite: preliminary teaching ("catechization"), without which the adoption of faith cannot be conscious; immersion in water (Greek *baptismos*, literally "immersion"); and the formula "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." In the early Church

Baptism was accomplished through complete immersion in water,¹¹ more precisely, in "living water,"¹² that is, in the running water of a river, not the stagnant water of a lake. However, at an early date special pools (baptisteries) were built and into these the candidates for baptism were plunged. The practice of pouring water over the person or sprinkling him with water existed in the early Church, though not quite as a norm.¹³

At the time of Constantine (fourth century) adult baptism was more common than the baptism of infants, the emphasis being laid on the conscious acceptance of the sacrament. However, the practice of baptizing infants is no less ancient — the apostles baptized whole families which might well have included children.¹⁴ St. Irenaeus of Lyons (second century) says: "Christ came to save those who through Him are reborn into God: infants, children, adolescents and the elderly."¹⁵ The local Council of Carthage (third century) pronounced an anathema upon those who rejected the necessity of baptizing infants and newly-born children.¹⁶

The sacrament of Baptism, like all other sacraments, must be received consciously. Christian faith is the prerequisite for the validity of the sacrament.¹⁷ If an infant is baptized, the confession of faith (the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed) is solemnly pronounced by his godparents, who thereby are obliged to bring the child up in the faith and make his Baptism conscious. An infant who receives the sacrament cannot rationally understand what is happening to him, yet his soul is fully capable of receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit. "I believe," writes St. Symeon the New Theologian, "that baptized infants are sanctified and are preserved under the wing of the All-Holy Spirit and that they are lambs of the spiritual flock of Christ and chosen lambs, for they have been imprinted with the sign of the life-giving Cross and freed completely from the tyranny of the devil."¹⁸ The grace of God is given to infants as a pledge of their future belief, as a seed cast into the earth: for the seed to grow into a tree and bring forth fruit, the efforts both of the godparents and of the one baptized as he grows are needed.

In the early Church Baptism was not carried out daily to satisfy the needs of the candidates, but only on special feast days, notably at Christmas, Epiphany and Easter. Baptism was preceded by a long period (several months or years) of catechization. During this period those preparing for the sacrament would come to church and be in-

structed by a bishop or priest. The catechumens (those preparing for Baptism) comprised a special class in the early Church: they were allowed to be present at services, yet they had to leave during the Liturgy after the Gospel reading and sermon. Only the faithful could remain in the church after the Gospel reading, and not even all of them, but those who were to receive Holy Communion.

Although no extensive instruction in the faith is normally given today, its need, especially for adults who are to be baptized, is obvious: before Baptism, one has to be instructed. In fact, the Orthodox rite of Baptism has preserved within it some elements of catechization. Upon its completion, the exorcisms take place, and a candidate makes a solemn proclamation of the faith. There follows the blessing of the water, the anointing with holy oil and the three-fold immersion with the words, "The servant of God (name) is baptized in the Name of the Father, amen; and of the Son, amen; and of the Holy Spirit. Amen."

The sacrament of Chrismation follows the immersion. A few words might be said about the meaning and history of this sacrament. It was instituted in apostolic times. In the early Church every newly-baptized Christian received a blessing and the gift of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands by an apostle or a bishop. The *Book of Acts* relates how Peter and John laid hands on women from Samaria so that they could receive the Holy Spirit, "for it had not yet fallen on any of them, but they had only been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus."¹⁹ In apostolic times, the descent of the Holy Spirit was occasionally accompanied by visible and tangible manifestations of grace: like the apostles at Pentecost, people would begin to speak in unfamiliar tongues, to prophesy and work miracles.

The laying on of hands was a continuation of Pentecost in that it communicated the gifts of the Holy Spirit. In later times, by virtue of the increased number of Christians, it was impossible for everyone to meet a bishop; so the laying on of hands was substituted by Chrismation. In the Orthodox Church, Chrismation is administered by a priest, yet the myrrh is prepared by a bishop. Myrrh is boiled from various elements.²⁰ In contemporary practice only the head of an autocephalous Church (the Patriarch, Metropolitan or Archbishop) has the right to consecrate myrrh, thus conveying the episcopal blessing to all those who become members of the Church.

In the Epistles the gift of the Holy Spirit is sometimes called "anointing."²¹ Old Testament kings were appointed to their realm

through anointing.²² Ordination to the priestly ministry was also performed through chrismation.²³ However, in the New Testament there is no division between the “consecrated” and the “others:” in Christ’s Kingdom all are “kings and priests;”²⁴ a “chosen race;” “God’s own people;”²⁵ therefore anointing is given to every Christian. According to St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrismation is the final stage in one’s way towards becoming Christian:

...Beware of supposing this to be plain ointment. For as the bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit is no longer mere bread, but the Body of Christ, so also this holy ointment is no more simple ointment... after invocation, but it is Christ’s gift of grace. By the coming of the Holy Spirit it is made fit to impart Christ’s divine nature. This ointment is symbolically applied to your forehead and to your other members. And while your body is anointed with the visible ointment, your soul is sanctified by the Holy and life-giving Spirit... Having been counted worthy of this Holy Chrism, you are called Christians, verifying the name also by your new birth. For before you were deemed worthy of this grace, you had properly no right to this title, but were advancing on your way towards being Christians.²⁶

Through anointing we receive the “seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit.” As Fr Alexander Schmemmann explains, this is not the same as the various “gifts” of the Holy Spirit, but the Holy Spirit Himself, Who is communicated to the person as a gift.²⁷ Christ spoke of this gift to the disciples at the Last Supper: “And I will pray to the Father, and He will give you another Counselor, to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth.”²⁸ He also said about the Spirit: “It is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Counselor will not come to you; but if I go, I will send Him to you.”²⁹ Christ’s death on the Cross made possible the granting to us of the Holy Spirit. And it is in Christ that we become kings, priests and “christs” (anointed ones), receiving neither the Old Testament priesthood of Aaron, nor the kingdom of Saul, nor the anointing of David, but the New Testament priesthood and the kingdom of Christ. Through Chrismation we become sons of God, for the Holy Spirit is the “grace of adoption as sons.”³⁰

As with the grace of Baptism, the gift of the Holy Spirit, received in Chrismation, is not to be passively accepted, but actively assimilated. It was in this sense that St. Seraphim of Sarov said that the goal

of a Christian's life is the "acquisition of the Holy Spirit." The Divine Spirit is given to us a pledge, yet we still have to acquire Him, make Him our own. The Holy Spirit is to bring forth fruit in us. "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control... If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit."³¹ All of the sacraments have meaning and are for our salvation only when the life of the Christian is in harmony with the gift he has received.

As soon as the sacrament of Chrismation is completed, there is a procession around the baptismal font with the singing of "For as many of you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."³² The rite of Baptism is completed with readings from the Epistle and the Gospel, the symbolic cutting of the hair and the churching.

Immediately after Baptism and Chrismation or in the days that follow, the newly-baptized, irrespective of age, receives Holy Communion. In the Roman Catholic Church Chrismation (Confirmation) and First Communion take place after the child has reached the age of seven, but the Orthodox Church admits children to these sacraments as early as possible. The understanding behind this practice is that children ought not to be deprived of a living, even if not a fully conscious, contact with Christ.

NOTES

¹ This paper is largely based on my book "The Mystery of Faith. An Introduction to the Orthodox Dogma and Spirituality" (forthcoming).

² *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2, 1-7, 3.

³ *Epistle* 165 (PG 99, 1524 B).

⁴ See Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, p. 192.

⁵ Cited in *The Orthodox Liturgy* (Oxford, 1982), p. 94.

⁶ Ps. 118/119:126.

⁷ *On the Holy Spirit* 1, 18.

⁸ Gal. 3:27.

⁹ Rom. 6:3-11.

¹⁰ Matt. 28:19.

¹¹ Cf. Acts 8:38 ("they both went down into the water").

¹² Cf. *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles (Didache)* 7.

¹³ Cf. *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* 7: "If you have neither (running cold or warm water), pour water three times on the head..."

¹⁴ Cf. Acts 10:48 (the baptism of Cornelius and his entire household).

¹⁵ *Against the heresies* 2, 39.

¹⁶ Council of Carthage, canon 124.

¹⁷ Cf. Mark 16:1 ("He who believes and is baptized will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned").

¹⁸ *Epistle 4* (unpublished).

¹⁹ Acts 8:16.

²⁰ More than sixty elements are present, including oil, balsam, tar and sweet-smelling substances.

²¹ 1 John 2:20; 2 Cor. 1:21.

²² 1 Sam. 10:1.

²³ Ex. 30:23-26, 32.

²⁴ Rev. 1:6.

²⁵ 1 Peter 2:9.

²⁶ *Mystagogical Oration* 3, 3-5.

²⁷ *Vodoyu i Duchom* [By the Water and the Spirit] (Paris, 1986), p. 103.

²⁸ John 14:16-17.

²⁹ John 16:7.

³⁰ *The Orthodox Liturgy* (Oxford, 1982), p. 120. Cf. Gal. 4:5.

³¹ Gal. 5:22, 25.

³² Gal. 3:27.

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Membership of the Body of Christ

REV. DR. IAIN R. TORRANCE

PRESUPPOSITIONS: THE BODY OF CHRIST
AND BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE BODY OF CHRIST

This Dialogue has already discussed the Trinity, and the doctrines of the incarnation and creation. The Reformed Churches, following the Bible and the teaching of the ancient church, believe that while God is always Father, he was not always creator. Although God is eternally Triune, the eternal Son was not always incarnate. Thus we understand creation and incarnation as two *new* acts on the part of God. Both new acts are rooted in the mystery of God's being. God of his own nature willed to create; God of his own compassion and generosity willed to redeem and restore through the incarnation of his Son. Ultimately, then, to the Reformed tradition, the church is as old as creation. It is not eternal, or necessary, but it is rooted in God's generous desire to bring created people into communion with himself. The church is thus founded in the initiative of God. It is a gift from above, not a human association from below. The Reformed churches recognise only one covenant in God's consistent reaching out to his people, although that one covenant is seen in a different *economy* or *administration* in the Old and New Testaments.

While the covenant contains the same substance, under the old administration it was given under the form of promise, and under the new it is fulfilled in Christ. That the covenant is now fulfilled has the effect that we may share in its *substance*, rather than simply look forward to it. Although the promise of the covenant is the same, the *unity with God* which it proclaims is now made more substantial. In the new administration, as in the old, God has provided us with a

covenanted way of responding to his will, and so of being in communion with him. This way of response to God is the obedience and sacrificial life of Jesus Christ [that is, the *objective* response of Christ], who in himself fulfilled the old form of the covenant. Following Calvin, the Reformed churches thus understand Christ as being the substance of both forms of the one covenant. Under the old covenant he was foretold in a promise which was to be fulfilled in the future. Under the new covenant he is offered as the one in whom all the promises have already been realised.

Because the covenant is fulfilled in Christ, covenant-union with God is no longer to be defined in terms of keeping the law, but is fulfilled in union with Christ through the Spirit, which is to say, *in the church*, which is the Body of Christ. So, *because* Christ fulfilled the old form of the covenant, *union with Christ* is now the center of the new form of the covenant. This is the heart of the Reformed perspective, in which ecclesiology is fundamentally linked to Christology. The Holy Spirit was sent upon the disciples after the crucifixion, resurrection and ascension of Jesus. Thus, through the Creator Spirit, the saving work of Christ is made actual in the Church *as redemption* (Eph 1:7,14; 4:30); it reaches out towards the *parousia*; it yearns and calls for the redemption of the body (Rom 8:23) and the whole of creation. For the purposes of this Dialogue, we may address this under three headings: (1) What do we mean by speaking of the Church as the Body of Christ? (2) What is the fundamental character and activity of the Body of Christ? (3) What is the fundamental relation between Christ, the Church as the Body of Christ and membership or incorporation into that Body? We will take these in turn.

What do we mean by speaking of the Church as the Body of Christ?

The New Testament uses many terms with which to speak of the Church. These include "people," "family," "temple," "flock," "vine," and "bride." Although these may be used to correct and modify each other, the word "body" is the primary image both in the New Testament and in the Reformed tradition, as it marks that the Church is *rooted in the love of God*, which has overflowed into the world, and *embodied* itself in our humanity. In common with the ancient church, the Reformed tradition affirms that at the birth of Jesus, the Eternal Word was uttered by the power of the Spirit in the form of the Child

of Bethlehem; that the universal Creator Word was incarnated in the child Jesus; that the whole Godhead dwelt *bodily* in Jesus (Col 2:9). When we speak of the Church as Christ's Body we are using analogical language, but it is language which points to an ontological reality, for there is a relation of *being* between the Church and Christ. When we speak of the Church as the Body of Christ, we are saying that it is given *such union* with Christ that it becomes a communion filled with God's love. This love is not simply a matter of quality, but an ontological reality. "God is love. And he who abides in love, abides in God, and God abides in him" (1 Jn 4:16). There is the prayer of St Paul, 'that you, being rooted and grounded in love ... may be filled with all the fullness of God' (Eph 3: 17, 19). Thus, through faith, the Church is brought into a relationship of *being* with Christ. The same epistle understands the Church as being grounded in God's eternal purpose of love (Eph 1.4), which has become actual in Jesus Christ, and from whom it then moves out into history and is progressively actualised through *incorporation* into Jesus Christ as the concrete embodiment of the divine love. Love in the Church is its sharing in the humanity of Jesus Christ, who is the love of God poured out for us and for our salvation. Thus, *the being of the Church as love* is its new being in Christ, and the Church is given this new being as it is grafted into him. This *being as love* is no static reality, for it is love in action, love in fulfilment of God's eternal purpose. Here we see the interpenetration of being and mission, what it is and what it does, which constitutes the nature of the Church, so that the Church is Church as it shares in the active working of the divine love. This forms the theological basis for the Reformed Church's characteristic commitment to social justice and the cause of the oppressed.

What is the fundamental relation between Christ and his Body, and how may the activity of the Church be characterised?

Now that the eternal Word has become flesh, God's Word of his own will and self-giving has become indissolubly bound to a human and historical form with such finality that there is no Word of God for us apart from a physical event. There is no access to God behind the back of Jesus, and it follows that, on the Reformed perspective, there is no understanding of the Church as a timeless entity or body, analogous to the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son in

Christology. Following the actual incarnation of the eternal Word, the Church must involve in her structure and act the very same time relations that are undergone by the Word in the birth of Jesus, and in his physical death on the cross. To cut the link between the Church and historical particularity would not only be to transubstantiate the Church into a docetic mystical body, but would also be to sever her from any saving act of God in our actual existence. Therefore, we maintain that just as the Word assumed human form in history, though without ceasing to be eternal, so that same Word also assumed temporal form in the Church, analogous on that level to the incarnational form in Christ. Just as the Word of God became irrevocably involved with a physical event, so in the Church that same Word is involved with our temporal and physical structures.

Putting this differently, the Church extends the corporeality of the Word and mediates it to a corporeal world, through such physical events as the Bible, preaching, the sacraments, an ordained ministry and the physical society of those who belong to the Church. At the same time, these physical events and things have meaning for the Church *only* in their sacramental character, that is, *only* as and in through them it is the living Christ who speaks, who communicates his body and blood and bestows his Spirit. They have no final authority or life in them independently on their own, but are transparent, pointing beyond themselves to Christ. Analogically, the Chalcedonian adverbs *inconfuse* and *inseparabiliter* apply to the relation between Christ and the Church as his Body. *Inconfuse* negates a Eutychian understanding of the Church, which abstracts it from its involvement in history; *inseparabiliter* negates a Nestorian understanding of the Church which divorces it from ontological union with Christ himself. Generally, the Reformed perspective is that the Church as Body must have regard to its Head. Karl Barth speaks of the *limitation* of the Church involved in the concept of the "body" in a way which corresponds to the *anhypostasis* of Christ's human nature. The analogy of the historical existence of the Church to the incarnation of the Word of God excludes any possible autonomy in that existence. The Church lives with Christ as the Body with its Head. Thus, the Church is not Christ continued. She does not prolong him, but she expresses him, and makes him visible, demonstrates him without being confused with him.

The fundamental relation between Christ, the Church as the Body of Christ and membership or incorporation into that Body.

The use already made of the analogy of Christ may be taken further. By *anhypostasia* classical Christology taught that in the *assumptio carnis* the human nature of Christ had no independent existence outside of the hypostatic union. By *enhypostasia* it taught that in the *assumptio carnis* the human nature of Christ was given a real and concrete subsistence within the hypostatic union. The human nature was enhypostatic in the Word. In the classical theology of John of Damascus, *anhypostasia* and *enhypostasia* are inseparable. In the incarnation, the eternal Son assumed human nature into oneness with himself, but in that assumption, Jesus Christ is not only real humanity, but a man. He is both the *One* and the *Many* – the incorporating representative reaching out to all people.

This approach may be taken further, to apply to the work of Christ, and not only to his person. In birth and baptism he, though sinless, incorporated himself into our sinful flesh, so that through *substitutionary atonement* we, who are sinners, might be incorporated into him as his body. Now, if *incorporation* and *substitutionary atonement* are bound together in this way, then the only way the Church can arise and become the Body of Christ is to be *engrafted into his death* and *incorporated into his resurrection*. The only way the Church can follow him is by way of *anhypostasia* – by way of self-denial and crucifixion, by allowing Christ to take *its* place and to displace its self-assertion), and by way of *enhypostasia* – by way of incorporation and resurrection, by receiving from Christ the life which he has in himself, and which he gives to his own.

If we are willing to think in the broadest terms, these distinctions may allow us to reach behind and reconcile our historic differences in perspective.

The doctrine of *anhypostasia* teaches that the Church as Body of Christ has no independent existence, and tends to point to the Church as discontinuous eschatological community, a foretaste of the fullness to come. This might be caricatured as a characteristically Reformed perspective. The doctrine of *enhypostasia* teaches that the Church as Body of Christ has a continued existence and relation of being to Christ. This might be caricatured as a characteristically Orthodox perspective. And so we have a historic divergence between a

Reformed "eschatological" view of the Church, and an Orthodox "ontological" view. How may these perspectives be reconciled?

If we think of the Church only anhypostatically (in the caricature of the Reformed perspective), only in terms of the eschatological event, then we rob the Church of its ground in the person of Christ, and destroy the understanding of it as *his* Body. If we think of the Church only enhypostatically (in the caricature of the Orthodox perspective), only in terms of the incarnation and incorporation, then we tend to maintain an exaggerated understanding of the Church as *Christus prolongatus* or an extension of the incarnation.

However, if we think of the Church as founded on the *atoning* and *incorporating* work of Christ, then the *ontology* of the Church [Orthodox] has to be thought out in terms of the *substitutionary death* of Christ for the Church, and the eschatology of the Church [Reformed] must be thought out in terms of incorporation into the risen and ascended humanity of Christ. It is only when *ontology* is interpreted in separation from *anhypostasia* and *eschatology* is interpreted in separation from *enhypostasia* that our historic divergences arise.

Thus, if we can agree to think of the Church consistently in terms of Christ who died and rose again, and then to apply that analogically to the Church, so that we understand it *not only* as constituted by the substitutionary work of Christ [*anhypostasia*], *but* as so incorporated into him [*enhypostasia*] that it bears in its body the dying and rising of Jesus Christ, then we cannot have an "eschatological" view of the Church which is not also "ontological," nor an "ontological" view of the Church which is not also "eschatological."

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Mysterium Christi and Mysterium Ecclesiae: An Orthodox Approach

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

Preamble: The mystery of the Church

In the Orthodox theological tradition the term “mystery” refers to a reality that can be experienced and, consequently, confessed and described but not fully defined. “Christ” and the “Church” are indeed such realities. This has been repeatedly emphasized by Orthodox theologians and especially patristic experts who have analyzed or elaborated the doctrines of the Fathers.

The patristic dogmas concerning Christ, especially those articulated in the creeds and the statements of the Ecumenical Councils, are not definitions, which explain, but confessional statements which acknowledge and indicate what is revealed. Revelation has an inexhaustible depth and the signposts or limits which are drawn by the patristic dogmatic formulae in no way circumscribe the reality of revelation to which they refer. The positive (*kataphatic*) statements are always coupled, either explicitly or implicitly, with negative (*apophatic*) ones to the extent that the end result often gives the impression of a paradox. The classic example is the case of Christ in the dogmatic statement (*Horos*) of Chalcedon which describes the mystery of Christ as the real hypostatic and personal point of union and communion of the two realities, the divine and the human. The paradox here consists in the presence of two realities, which are united without mixture (without confusion, change, division, separation) but constitute an indivisible and perfect unity. Many modern academic theologians have criticized the Chalcedonian dogma on the basis of

formal logical and philosophical arguments. To church theologians, however, this dogma secures the saving power of Christ which is appropriated by the believers. What appears to be a paradox to human logic is in fact an unfathomable mystery of revelation that is imbued with ultimate truth and saving power. This is almost gnomically or epigrammatically expressed in the well-known hymnic construction of I Tim. 3:16: ... *and confessedly great is the mystery of true piety; God appeared in the flesh, was justified in the Spirit, appeared to angels, was proclaimed to nations, was believed in the world, ascended into glory!*

The same should be affirmed concerning the mystery of the Church, namely, that it refers to a reality which cannot be defined but indicated and described to the extent that it is experienced. It is important to note that the Fathers of the Church did not produce any definitions of the Church.¹ They did not even include a special chapter on the Church in their systematic treatises. This was not due to an oversight, as some western scholars supposed, but, as Florovsky put it,² to a realization that the Church is the indispensable foundation, or existential basis, of all dogmas and as such escapes all definition. On the other hand, one can indeed find scattered in the writings of the Fathers much more material on the Church than is obvious at first sight; material which relates to its nature, vocation, characteristics, differentiation from other communities, etc., and which indicates that the Church is presented to the Fathers with overwhelming clarity as a great mystery, a triumphant reality which is seen and venerated rather than an object which is analyzed and studied. Typical of this is the short but comprehensive statement of the Nicaenum-Constantinopolitanum on the Church. "...*In One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.*" The Church is here included in the dogmas which are confessed and believed as foundational without any detailed explanations. What is stressed is not the essence of the Church, but four of its essential characteristics which constitute a *sine qua non*. These are the Church's unity, holiness, catholicity (= universality and integrity) and apostolicity.

Methodological considerations

It is equally important to note here that the attempts of a number of modern Orthodox dogmaticians to define the Church and thereby dispense, explicitly or implicitly, with its mystery, have been, by and

large, criticized and abandoned. Florovsky was one of the firsts to initiate this criticism and to point out that such attempts on the part of Orthodox dogmaticians were due to Western influences. The presence of such attempts in Western theology was due to the demands of a particular and very troubled age, rather than to the demand for expressing spontaneously the whole spiritual experience of the truly catholic Church. Particularly eloquent in this connection is the criticism of Professor Nikos Matsoukas of the University of Thessaloniki of the Ecclesiology of Scholastic Dogmatics,³ as he calls it, which is dominated by two particular ecclesiological notions, the institutional and the social. Matsoukas rightly argues that the patristic tradition is very different from this view. For him patristic methodology is dual at this point: first and foremost there is a charismatic knowledge and its elaboration, and second, there is any application or scientific and hermeneutical research. This methodology is incompatible with the scholastic systems.

Nowhere, then, in the Fathers does one find any definition of the Church. It is like life, which is not defined but simply described, as in the modern science of biology. The patristic descriptions of the Church by means of images and other auxiliary terms constitute the Ecclesiology, which is disseminated throughout the biblical and patristic texts. The task of the dogmatician is to collect and systematize all the elements, which specify the dogmatic teaching on the Church. It is not at all necessary, then, to try and locate Ecclesiology in logically articulated and closed systems of any tradition. This means that to approach the mystery of the Church one needs to return to the tradition of the Fathers according to which the Church can be pictured and described rather than comprehensively defined.

Both Matsoukas and Florovsky rightly argue that the mystery of the Church is organically connected with the totality of the Christian revelation and it could not be treated as a separate chapter in isolation from the rest. Matsoukas says that Ecclesiology is inseparable from Theology and Christology, as well as from all the other dogmatic truths of revelation.⁴ Florovsky stresses the unity and indivisibility of the Christian truth and warns against any attempt to isolate its constitutive parts. Both make a plea for an integrating method, which finds its roots in the Fathers of the Church.

As far as the connection between Christology and Ecclesiology is concerned—the particular theme of our consultation—Matsoukas de-

velops it in an implicit manner. He chooses to articulate his patristic Ecclesiology using a wider theological perspective and proceeding with the doctrine of creation, the images of the Church found in St. Maximus the Confessor's *Mystagogy*,⁵ the phases of the Church,⁶ etc. Florovsky, on the other hand, stresses more explicitly the inner connection between the mystery of Christ and the mystery of the Church without ignoring the wider theological perspective.

Florovsky's Christocentric Ecclesiology

In Florovsky's exposition the mystery of the Church is subsumed under the mystery of Christ. As he puts it in a crucial statement, *The theology of the Church is only a chapter, but a fundamental chapter of Christology. Without this chapter Christology itself would not be complete.*⁷ The way in which Florovsky develops this statement provides an excellent answer to our present theme, and since his exposition, which exists only in the original French and in Greek translation,⁸ is quite extensive, I propose to summarize it here and make it the basis of my contribution to our dialogue. Although I am aware that certain Orthodox theologians have criticized the Christocentrism of Florovsky's ecclesiology, I believe that he is much closer to the patristic mind especially when the details of his exposition are taken into consideration.

Programmatically at first, Florovsky locates the mystery of the Church in the mystery of Christ on the basis of the New Testament and the teaching of the Fathers. He particularly refers to St. Athanasius' statement "*The Word became man so that we may be deified*"⁹ and stresses that "the Church of Christ is precisely this mysterious place where this "deification" of the whole of mankind is accomplished and perpetuated by the working of the Holy Spirit. By its very existence, then, the Church is the permanent witness to Christ, the token and the revelation of his victory and glory. One could even say that it is the recapitulation of his whole work. *Christianity is the Church*. It is not only a true doctrine, a particular rule of life, but new life, life in Christ, a completely new existence, the reunion of man with God, real and intimate communion with him, by grace and by faith."¹⁰

Florovsky goes on to argue that this reference to Christ does not deprive the Church of its historical earthly and visible, as it were, identity. As in Christology the mystery of God is finally and fully revealed in the historical, earthly and visible confines of the human

nature, so in the mystery of the Church the mystery of Christ is revealed in a human tangible way. To explain this Florovsky turns to the history of salvation as this is described in the Bible and thus provides a concrete and historical image of the Church.

The Church of the Old and the New Testament

Christ is the one who, in the perspective of messianic preparation and fulfillment, brings about a new alliance between the Church of the OT and the Church of the NT. In fact, these are not two churches but one, since the newborn Christian Church (in the NT) identified itself openly with the true Israel of God. As Florovsky puts it, "The new Testament, inaugurated by Jesus Christ, who died, rose again, and was glorified, and which was sealed by the Holy Spirit in the sublime mystery of Pentecost was only the same Testament which had existed previously, restored and fulfilled, summed up and renewed. The newly born Christian Church identified itself openly with the true Israel of God. The Christians were true Israelites, according to the Spirit, heirs of all the messianic promises of the past."¹¹ Or, rather, they were the "faithful remnant set apart from the older rebellious people, who had once been elected, but were now rejected because of their infidelity. The name 'little flock' given by Jesus to the messianic community which he had gathered around him (Luke 12:32) seems to designate precisely this 'remnant of Israel' - those who had recognized the Messiah, who had received the message of the kingdom of God in their hearts. And probably, in the beginning, the solemn name *Ekklesia* was reserved for the first Judaeo-Christian community in Jerusalem, who represented precisely this 'Remnant'. Later others too, Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians, had to be incorporated into it by a new call from God. And finally the two separate races, Jews and Gentiles, were incorporated into a completely new race, a spiritual race, a *tertium genus*."¹² Florovsky turns to Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Galatians and Ephesians in order to support his point. Indeed, he stresses that the name 'Israel' has always been a theological or even a priestly term rather than a purely ethnic name, inasmuch as it expressed the fact of divine calling and election. The identity of the old and the new Israel, which is brought about by Christ, is for Florovsky a clear doctrine in the Fathers. This is why in their exegetical works of the OT books the Fathers speak of the same

Christ, but in veiled terms, and even of his Church, but openly and without any veil.¹³

The Church's community and communion

Apart from the organic continuity of the Church in OT and NT times, which is brought about by Christ, Florovsky also stresses the 'social' character of the Church, the fact that the Church is a 'social reality,' a community and communion. But as Christology has a concrete historical locus in Jesus of Nazareth, so the Church as community prepared in the OT and fulfilled in NT has a historical locus in the Apostles. The Apostles were deliberately chosen by Christ and were given authority to maintain this community or this communion. In Florovsky's own words, "The Twelve are the bond which unites the successive phases in the life of this community which is both old and new, for it is still Israel, the chosen people, but now reconstituted and reestablished, granted a new perfection. One could say that the Twelve also ensure this continuity of the two Testaments, the living unity of a continuing Israel. The faithful are integrated into this unity by a divine scheme and decree, by the will and the power of God. Their unity comes from on high, is completely spiritual, is given to them by God in Jesus Christ, the Lord. They are one only in Jesus Christ and by the Holy Spirit, as those who are born again in him, 'rooted and built up in him' (Col. 2:7) and who 'by the Spirit were baptized into one Body' (I Cor. 12:13)."¹⁴

Florovsky underlines the Christological and Pneumatological bonds that prevail in the community of the Church in order to stress the charismatic constitution of the Church which is rooted in God's grace and to differentiate it from any other type of community which has a purely humanistic/ideological basis. Here he finds the occasion to emphasize the NT image of Christ as the Head and the Church as *his* body, and to interpret this in sacramental terms, referring to the two 'social sacraments' of Baptism and Eucharist. He says that it is "in them that the true power of Christian cohesiveness is manifested and confirmed."¹⁵ Or, putting it even more strongly, he says "that *the sacraments make up the Church*, and that it is precisely in the sacraments that the Christian community goes beyond its purely human dimensions and becomes the Church."¹⁶ This is why, he says, "the correct administration of the sacraments belongs to the essence of the Church and therefore the sacraments must be received in a de-

vout manner and, consequently, cannot be separated from the spiritual effort or the inward attitude of the faithful.”¹⁷

The Church's Pneumatological and sacramental dimensions

It is in this context of speaking of the sacraments as constitutive of the Church, namely of the bond between Christ and the community of faith, that Florovsky introduces the grace of the Spirit which began at Pentecost. The event of Pentecost is the starting point for the fulfillment of the Church. Indeed “the sacramental life of the Church is the continuation of Pentecost, or rather *the life of the Church is based upon two related mysteries: the mystery of the Lord's Supper and the mystery of Pentecost*. This duality will be found everywhere in the existence of the Church.”¹⁸ There is no need to repeat here the many NT references to the Spirit, which Florovsky recalls in order to stress this Pneumatological dimension of the Church. In all of these references, however, the prevailing notion is Christocentric. The work of the Spirit is to lead humanity to Christ and assimilate it with him. A reference from St. Athanasius sums it all up: “Quenching our thirst with the Spirit, we drink of Christ”¹⁹ for the rock was Christ.

The most important point in this exposition of the Pneumatological dimension of the Church is the constitution of the Church as the body of Christ, which Florovsky links with the Eucharist. Taking his lead from St. John Chrysostom, Florovsky interprets the Pauline teaching of the Church as the body of Christ in eucharistic terms. He says, “It is very likely that the term itself was suggested by the experience of the Eucharist (cf. I Cor. 10:17) and was deliberately used to accentuate this sacramental connotation. The Church of Christ is one in the Eucharist, for the Eucharist is Christ himself, the New Adam, and the Savior of the Body, who dwells sacramentally in the Church; and the Church is the body of this leader. The Church is really an organism rather than a group or corporation.”²⁰

Finally, Florovsky's exposition of the Church as the body of Christ includes the notion of *pleroma*, fullness, which, as he says, is closely connected with it. *Pleroma*, he says, in the light of Paul's statement in Eph. 1:23, means *complement* and this is precisely what St. John Chrysostom confirms: “*The Church is the complement of Christ*, in the same way that the Head completes the body, and that the body is completed by the head. This means that Christ is not at all alone. He has prepared the whole race to follow him, to cling to him, to join his

retinue. Notice the way in which he [i.e. Paul] presents him as needing all members. That means that the head will be content only when the body is made perfect, when we will all be together, united and bound together."²¹

On the above basis Florovsky remarks, that "*the Church is the extension of the Incarnation.*"²² Or rather, that the Church has to do with "the incarnate life of the Son with all that was carried out for our salvation, the Cross and the Tomb, the Resurrection on the third day, the Ascension into heaven, the Sitting at the right hand of the Father."²³ The Incarnation, then, is carried on and completed in the Church. In some sense the Church is Christ himself, in his fullness which embraces all things (I Cor. 12:12). This identification is elsewhere implied by the whole of the conception of the Incarnation which is taught by the Fathers of the Church: namely, that the whole of human nature was taken up by it into union with God.

Florovsky ends this part of his exposition of the Church as the Body of the Living Christ by making a plea. He pleads that this notion, which has clear apostolic and patristic roots, should never be neglected, or abandoned by theologians because it is always present in the Church and remains in it as the existential basis of the whole of its sacramental and spiritual life throughout the ages.²⁴ He also includes a warning against pushing this image too far, by stressing the idea of a living organism, which is embedded in it to the exclusion of personal communion which is equally basic to patristic ecclesiology. This point is developed further on in Florovsky's discussion of the catholicity of the Church, but here again it is subsumed under the Eucharist and the operation of the Spirit in it.²⁵

Concluding remarks

Florovsky's exposition of the *mysterium Ecclesiae* on the basis of *mysterium Christi* is one that finds its roots both in the NT and in the Fathers.²⁶ The notion of the Church as the Body of Christ is fundamental to Pauline Ecclesiology and is repeated and elaborated by all the Fathers, especially by Athanasius,²⁷ Gregory of Nyssa,²⁸ John Chrysostom²⁹ and Cyril of Alexandria.³⁰ The strength of this image over the many others, which one comes across in the writings of the Fathers,³¹ lies in its stress on the Incarnation. Undoubtedly the Incarnate Lord of Glory is the basis of all Patristic Theology. His identity

opens up the whole mystery of the One God in the Holy Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (*theologia*) and the whole mystery of humanity, created, fallen and restored (*economia*). The particular strength of Florovsky's exposition of this image lies in his ability to place it in the wider context of the history of salvation and thereby to relate it to the general biblical notion of the Church as the people of God. Equally significant is the way in which Florovsky weds to this the historical, the sacramental and above all the Pneumatological dimensions which are also central to the Orthodox understanding of the Church.

There are two points that I would like to add to Florovsky's exposition by way of supplementing his account, which in no way diminish the inner connection between the *mysterium Christi* and the *mysterium Ecclesiae*. The first one is the image of *the Church as the Bride of Christ* that finds its roots in St. Paul and is taken up by the Fathers in the ascetical theology. This image, which is frequently mentioned in the Fathers, reveals the mystery of the personal union of Christ with his members. It has to do on the one hand with the human soul, which has been made in the image and likeness of the Son—the very Image of God—and on the other hand, with the grace of the Spirit (of the Son) whereby divine adoption is effected.

The other point that I believe is important to take under consideration in presenting a fuller account of the relation of the mystery of Christ to the mystery of the Church is to explore the teaching of the Fathers on *the phases of the Church*. These phases, which are generally expounded by the Greek theologians John Karmiris and Nikos Matsoukas,³² reappear in a number of Greek monographs on the ecclesiology of individual Fathers. They are again connected with the role of the Son in the creation of the spiritual world of the angels and of the visible world, which includes the human beings, as well in the economies of the Old and the New Testaments. These phases provide a wider Christological perspective and reveal the breadth of the patristic understanding of the mystery of the Church.

EXCURSUS

In the OT the term "Church" (*Ekklesia* or *Synagoge* and the Hebrew equivalents *qhl* and *tsdhh*) is both anthropological and theological in meaning. It is associated with the notions of the people of God, or the gatherings of the people of God, as the bearers of

God's Covenant or as God's instrument for the implementation of the plan of the divine economy.

In the NT, the term "Church," which is used over a hundred times, both in the Gospels and in the Epistles, is equally associated with the notions of the people of God and their gatherings, but there is clearly a new and distinctive element which is added to these, the people's belief in or relation to Christ.

Besides this, there are two other associations which seem to be also distinctive and to be the basis for two further nuances; one is the particular place/places where the Church is manifested, which could be a city or a region (e.g. the Church in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Corinth, or in Macedonia, in Judaea, etc.); and the other is the general or universal reality which includes all particular notions based on localities or regions or whatever else (e.g. the Church, Matthew 16:18 I Cor. 12:28 and Eph. 1:22, 5:23).

It is in the context of this general or universal nuance of the Church in the NT that we find the most explicit statement concerning the connection between Christ and the Church and the fact that this connection is a mystery, a *mysterium*. Christ is the head and the Church is his body, or He is the Bridegroom and she is his Bride. These two anthropomorphic imageries, like all other images used in the divine scriptures and in the writings of the Fathers to describe the various aspects of the NT understanding of the Church, do not exhaust or explain the meaning of the term "Church."

The Church is by nature a mystery, a reality, that is, which is greater than what the human mind can conceive. It can be described in many ways, especially through icons or images, but it can never be defined. The mysterial nature of the Church is primarily due to the fact that, although it is associated with human beings, it has God as its beginning, epicentre and end. This is rooted not only in the event of creation and providence, but also in the event of salvation. In both instances the mystery of Christ, the Logos and Son of God, first discarnate and then incarnate, is that which elucidates how God, who is in Trinity, is related to humanity and generally to the created order of reality. Christ as the incarnate Logos and Son of God is the supreme mystery, *the great mystery of orthodox piety* (I Tim. 3:15f), or *the mystery which was hidden before the ages and the generations ... namely Christ in us* (Col. 1:26f). St. John Damascene speaks of it as *a mystery, a great mystery, a mystery of piety, which is confessed and not besought to be such; for it permits no doubt*.³³

The writings of the Fathers are full of reference to the twin mys-

tery of Christ and the Church. This is particularly true of St. Ignatius of Antioch and St. Melito of Sardis, of St. Irenaeus, of Origen, of St. Athanasius, of St. John Chrysostom, of the Three Cappadocians and especially of St. Gregory of Nyssa, of St. Maximus and of St. John Damascene.³⁴

NOTES

¹ Cf. Christos Krykones, *Τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Πατερικαὶ ἀπόψεις, Ἀνάπτυξιν ἐκ τῆς Κληρονομίας* τομ. 18 τευχ. α', 1986, σσ38-39. Krykones says that there is no definition of the Church in a scholastic and syllogistic (conceptional) sense, neither in the Bible nor in the Fathers of the Church. Yet the Fathers and the practice of Orthodoxy offer an expression and presentation of the Church which is greater than any definitions about it ... As extension of the Godhead the Church cannot be defined rationally; it is neither a thing, nor an object, nor a concept and as such it does not need a definition and inscription.

² See his essay "Le Corps du Christ vivant," in *La Sainte Eglise Universelle*, ed. by Florovsky, Leenhardt, Prenter, Richardson, Spicq (Cahiers Theologiques de l'Actualite protestante, Hors-serie 4), Neuchatel 1948 = *Τὸ Σῶμα τοῦ ζώντος Χριστοῦ, Μία ὁρθόδοξη ἐρμηνεία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, μετάφρ. Ι. Κ. Παπαδοπούλου*, (Θεολογικά Δοκίμια 3), Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, Θεσσαλονίκη 1972.

³ See his *Δογματικὴ καὶ Συμβολικὴ Θεολογία, Β' (Φιλοσοφικὴ καὶ Θεολογικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἀρ. 3)* ἐκδ. Πουρναρά, Θεσσαλονίκη 1985, κεφ. γ' σσ. 315ff.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 355.

⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 356ff. Also see my essay, "The Church in Saint Maximus' 'Mystagogy,'" *Irish Theological Quarterly* 53:2 (1987) 113-129 and *Theologia* 56:2 (1985) 385-403.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 367ff. Here Matsoukas speaks of 1) The Church of the "firstborn," i.e. of the first noetic world of the ages. 2) The Church of the sensible and noetic communion in paradise, i.e. of a mixed condition. 3) The election of God's chosen people. 4) The Church of the Paraclete, and 5) The anthropological perfection of the Church. See also, I.N. Karmires, *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησιολογία (Δογματικὸν τμήμα ε')*, Athens 1973, and especially ch. 1 ("On the beginning and revelation of the Church") which speaks of three phases of the Church. For the Patristic basis of this view see also I. Karmires, "The Ecclesiology of the Three Hierarchs," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, vi:2 (1960-61) 135-185.

⁷ See *op. cit.*, p. 20 (the Greek version).

⁸ See footnote 2.

⁹ *De Incarnatione* 54 (PG 25:192B).

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 23f.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 24

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 24f

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 24f.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 32 (*Ad Serapionem* I, PG 26:576A).

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 34.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 37f

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 39ff "The Catholic Mystery."

²⁶ Cf. Krykones *op. cit.* Also E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, Louvain 1936 (E.T. *The Whole Christ*, Dennis Dobson, London 1938) and H. Rhaner, *Symbole der Kirche, Die Ekklesiologie der Väter*, Salzburg 1964.

²⁷ See, L. Bouyer, *L'Incarnation et l'Église Corps du Christ dans la théologie de Saint Athanase*, Paris 1943. Also, B. Salleron, *Matière et corps du Christ chez S. Athanase d'Alexandrie*, Roma 1967 and K. X. Καράκολης, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησιολογία τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1968.

²⁸ See K. Σκουτέρη, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησιολογία τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Νύσσης*, Ἀθήνα 1969.

²⁹ See the following works: Γενναδίου Ἡλιουπόλεως, "Ἡ περὶ Ἐκκλησίας διδασκαλία τοῦ ἱεροῦ Χρυσοστόμου," *Ὁρθοδοξία*, 29 (1954) 241-259. K. Mouratides (K. Μουρατίδης), *Ἡ οὐσία καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, Ἀθήνα 1960. Seb. Tromp, "De Corpore Christi mystico et actione catholica ad mentem S. Ioannis Chrysostomi," *Gregorianum*, 13 (1932) 177-219. And, A. M. Yevtic (A. M. Γιέβτιτς), *Ἡ Ἐκκλησιολογία τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου κατὰ τὸν ἱερόν Χρυσόστομον*, Ἀθήνα 1967.

³⁰ See the following: H. du Manoir, "L'Église Corps du Christ chez saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie," *Gregorianum*, 19 (1938) 537-603, 20 (1939) 82-100, 161-188, 481-506. Also in his *Dogme et spiritualité chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1944, pp. 287-366. L. Malevez, "L'Église dans le Christ. Étude de théologie historique et théorique," *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 25 (1935) 257-291, 418-440. Cf. also E. Mersch, *op. cit.*

³¹ In his Durham Ph. D. thesis on *The Church's Identity Established Through Images According To St. John Chrysostom* (1990) my ex-student Fr. Gus Christo has outlined the various icons or images which the holy Father used in his writings to describe the mystery of the Church. These include human images, (the Church as body, bride, rational flock, human soul, mother, ecclesial community), social images (the Church as kingdom, city, house, army camp, tent of witness, school, artist's studio, dyer's vat, robe), and natural images (the Church as ocean, sea, harbor, ark, anchor, cultivated land, field or meadow, tree or plant, vine or vineyard, threshing-floor). See also J. Karmiris, *Orthodox Ecclesiology*, Athens 1973, pp. 16f, 173 (in Greek).

³² Cf. footnote 6.

³³ Cf. John Damascene, *Comm. On I Tim.* 3:16 (Migne PG 95: 1008).

³⁴ See M. J. Le Guillou, *Christ and Church, A Theology of Mystery*, transl. by C. E. Schaldenbrand, Desclee Company, New York 1966 and Ch. Krykones, *op. cit.*

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Mysterium Christi and Mysterium Ecclesiae: **The Christological ecclesiology** **of John Calvin**

REV. DR. IAIN R. TORRANCE

This Dialogue began by spending much time examining and learning from the doctrine of the Trinity. The Dialogue subsequently progressed to a Trinitarian understanding of creation and incarnation. The aim of this presentation is take further the Trinitarian vision with which we have been working and to re-examine our understanding of the Church in a Trinitarian way. As a vehicle for doing this, I want to set out, in a simple way, the rigorously Christological ecclesiology of John Calvin, which has formed the basis of the Reformed understanding of the Church.

Calvin was confronted with, and worried by, the charge of schism. In defence he turned back to the witness of the Word of God. From the *whole* Word of God, the Old and New Testaments, *he developed a doctrine of God's purpose and action in allying himself with his creation*. It is in the unfolding of this doctrine that we may see how, in an unpolemical context, Calvin saw the beginnings of the church and sacraments, and how, in the New Covenant in Christ, the concepts of church and sacraments become almost correlative.

From the basic ideas here, of word and sacrament, Calvin developed a sharper, though consistent, concept of the Church, to enable him to answer critical questions concerning the true and false church, the unity of the church, its doctrine and order, and the continuity of the church.

I want to begin by sketching Calvin's doctrine of the Covenant of God in the Old and New Testaments. By the Covenant, Calvin meant

God's promise to his creation to commit himself to them and to take them into communion with himself. The *form* of the Covenant is expressed in the words: "I will be your God, and you shall be my people." This Covenant is as old as creation, but the *church* came into definite being as the sphere appointed by God for his redeeming and revealing action when God said to Abraham: "I will be a God to you and to your seed after you." This *separation* of the church from the nations made it the sphere of union with God through his Word, his promises and his signs.

Within the Covenant, God stated his will for the covenant-people: "I am holy, therefore be ye holy." The covenant was sealed with two major signs or sacraments. Circumcision, in which the promise of God's blessing was cut into the flesh of his people; and the passover, in which God renewed his covenant, promising the people their deliverance, so that they might come into fellowship with himself. This covenant was essentially a covenant of grace. God knew the people would be unable to fulfil it, so, in addition to revealing himself in his Word and sacraments, he set out, within the covenant, the path of obedient response to himself, in the Law, and instituted a way of restoration of the fellowship with himself which the people would break, in the terms of the sacrifice and worship of the Cult.

This was the covenant of the Old Testament, which was the same as that of the New Testament. While there is only one covenant, the Old and New Testaments show a difference in *economy* or *administration*. While the covenant contains the same substance, under the old administration it was given under the form of promise, and under the new it is fulfilled in Christ. That the covenant is now fulfilled has the effect that we participate in its *substance*, rather than simply look forward to it. Although the promise of the covenant is the same, the *unity with God* which it proclaims is now made more substantial. In the new administration, as in the old, God has provided us with a covenanted way of responding to his will, and so of being in communion with him. This way of response to God is the obedience and the sacrificial life of Jesus Christ [that is, the *objective* response of Christ], who in himself fulfilled the old form of the covenant. Calvin understood Christ, then, as being the substance of both forms of the one covenant. Under the old covenant he was foretold in a promise which was to be fulfilled in the future. Under the new covenant he is offered as the one in whom all the promises have already been realised.

Because the covenant is fulfilled in Christ, covenant-union with God is no longer to be defined in terms of keeping the law, but is fulfilled in union with Christ through the Spirit, which is to say, *in the church*, which is the Body of Christ. So, *because* Christ fulfilled the old form of the covenant, *union* with Christ is the centre of the new form of the covenant. This in turn has implications for the understanding of the sacraments under the new form of the covenant. The sacraments of the old covenant pointed to a promise which was not yet fulfilled. The new covenant's sacraments are *signs* of the fulfilment of the covenant in Christ, that in him God's promises are realised, and they act as witnesses to his actual presence. We will come back to this later.

The initiative in revelation belongs to God. Under the old covenant, God revealed himself through his Word via the prophets, and in signs and symbols. Then in the new covenant he abased himself by becoming man. Calvin writes: "How wide the difference between God and man! And yet in Christ we behold the infinite glory of God united to our polluted flesh in such a manner that they become one."¹ Without any question, Calvin gives the primacy of revelation to the Word. Of the old covenant he says: "... believers have no greater help than public worship, for by it God raises his own folk upward step by step. We must observe that God always revealed himself thus to the holy patriarchs in the mirror of his teaching in order to be known spiritually."² Of the new covenant he says: "God breathes faith into us only by the instrument of his gospel, as Paul points out, that 'faith comes from hearing' (Rom 10:17). Likewise the power to save rests with God ... He displays and unfolds it in the preaching of the gospel."³

If the primacy is given to the Word, we need to ask what is the status given to the sacraments. Calvin defines a sacrament as "an outward sign by which the Lord seals on our consciences the promises of his good will toward us in order to sustain the weakness of our flesh." He then continues, very significantly, as we are concerned with the doctrine of the church, "and we in turn attest our piety toward him in the presence of the Lord and of his angels and before men."⁴ He shows the *subordinate* nature of a sacrament by saying: "a sacrament is *never* without a preceding promise, but is joined to it as a sort of appendix, with the purpose of confirming and sealing the promise itself."⁵ But if the sacrament is subordinate, it completes the

Word. When God spoke to Abraham, his faith was strong, through the promise of the Lord, but Calvin says: "it was increased by the sight of the stars. For the Lord, in order more deeply to affect his own people, and more efficaciously to affect their minds, after he has reached their ears by the Word, also arrests their eyes by external symbols, that eyes and ears may consent together. Therefore the sight of the stars is not superfluous."⁶

So far, we have been seeing how Word and sacraments go together as instruments of revelation. As Calvin says: "The term 'sacrament,' as we have previously discussed its nature so far, embraces generally all those signs which God has ever enjoined upon men to render them more certain and confident of the truth of his promises. He sometimes willed to present these in natural things, at other times set them forth in miracles."⁷ But Calvin then moves "to discuss those sacraments which the Lord willed to be ordinary in the church in order to nourish his worshippers and servants in one faith and the confession of one faith."⁸

He elaborates on those specific sacraments which are ordained for the building up and unification in one faith of the church. "They consist ... *not in simple signs*, such as the rainbow and the tree, *but in ceremonies*," also, "... they are testimonies of grace and salvation from the Lord, so from us in turn they are marks of profession, by which we openly swear allegiance to God, binding ourselves in fealty to him." As a result, Calvin concludes, "... you can rightfully say that such sacraments are ceremonies by which God wills to exercise his people, first, to foster, arouse and confirm faith within; then, to attest religion before men."⁹

While this is the *form* of the sacraments ordained for the upbuilding of the church, their *nature* differs, according to the different administration of the promise in the Old and New Covenants. Calvin says: "The sacraments themselves are also diverse, in keeping with the times, according to the dispensation with which the Lord was pleased to reveal himself in various ways to men."¹⁰ In the Old Testament the Jews were given the sacrament of circumcision, as "a token and reminder to confirm them in the promise given to Abraham of the blessed seed in which all nations of the earth were to be blessed."¹¹ In contrast, in the New Testament, God has been *fully revealed* to us in Christ, and so the sacraments witness to a promise now fulfilled. Calvin writes: "As for our sacraments, the more fully Christ has been

revealed to men, the more clearly do the sacraments present him to us". And, "For baptism attests to us that we have been cleansed and washed; the Eucharistic Supper, that we have been redeemed. In water, washing is represented; in blood, satisfaction. These two are found in Christ."¹²

Having now distinguished *revelation, sacraments, and those sacraments ordained for the building up of the church*, we need to ask the significance of the *changed meaning* of sacraments for the building up of the church, as instituted in the New Covenant. Remembering Calvin's emphasis on the primacy of the Word, and that sacraments are instituted to make it more concrete, *the aspect* of the gospel which the sacraments of the New Covenant emphasise is *the promise given in the Word* of our union *in the body of Christ*. Calvin sees union with Christ as central to the right understanding of the Christian faith, the Christian life, and the Christian ordinances.

This union is through the Spirit, and beyond the capacity of the human mind. So Calvin writes: "As this mystery of the secret union of Christ with believers is incomprehensible by nature, he exhibits its figure and image in visible signs adapted to our capacity."¹³ We might ask: *What is the need for this concrete understanding of our union with Christ?* Here, we need to refer back to what was said about the dispensation of the Old Covenant. *There* God provided the people with the Law which set out his will, and the worship and sacrifice of the cult. That was the *means* of union with God. But this New Covenant *was fulfilled* in Christ, *so therefore* the covenant-union of people with God is fulfilled *in communion with Christ through the Spirit*. Calvin stresses that Christ achieved our salvation *in the flesh* of our human nature, *and so* we may *only* share in his benefits through participating *in his "flesh."* Thus, in his sermon on Acts 2, Calvin stresses the necessity of this union: "*No grace* of the Holy Spirit can be communicated to us *unless* we are members of our Lord Jesus Christ. *How* can we become so unless he gives himself to us, and shares our life, *so that* we are truly united to Him?"¹⁴ You see the influence of Cyprian here, and Calvin quotes Cyprian directly on a number of occasions in the *Institutes*.

If that is the *necessity* of the union, the *purpose* of both sacraments is to be *signs* of our ingrafting into the body of Christ. Calvin sees the two sacraments as being complementary, but as having the same basic purpose of assisting to bring about our union with the

body of Christ. Although Calvin does draw the distinction, in many passages he uses the phrase of our "being engrafted into the body of Christ" simply to refer to our admission to the church. He stresses, though, that the *sacraments themselves* are essential *neither* to salvation, *nor* to membership in the body of Christ. Ultimately, they are merely signs of a salvation which *has already* been obtained. They have been instituted for the extension and upbuilding of the church. They make the union concrete for us, which is something we saw Calvin stress before.

From all of this, we may draw two more general ideas.

First: there is the basically simple understanding Calvin offers of the church. Our union with Christ, the fulfiller of the Covenant, brings us into real communion with God. Here, Christ is the center, the mediator and the priest. *So it is a very Christocentric ecclesiology.*

Second: the sacraments have a relation of *integration* and *subordination* to the union we have with Christ, which is the basis of the church. The point is that they do not have an *independent* existence or authority. They are *integrated*, in that they make this union more concrete for us. They are *subordinate* in that they have no meaning or authority in themselves, but act as witnesses to what Christ *has done*, and how we are incorporated into him

I want to turn now to consider Calvin's more critical doctrine of the church, where he uses these presuppositions polemically. In the *Institutes*¹⁵ Calvin draws a theoretical distinction between the church visible and the church invisible. The church *invisible* is "that which is actually in God's presence, into which no persons are received but those who are God's children by grace of adoption and true members of Christ by sanctification of the Holy Spirit." The church *visible* "designates the whole multitude of men spread over the world who profess to worship one God and Christ." Calvin is here concerned with practicalities. In his discussion of the Old and New Covenants, we could see his presuppositions for the invisible church: the church as it is theoretically. He is then faced with the question of whether or not the church we see is in fact this invisible church. He answers that God has given us certain *marks* by which we may recognise the existence of a true church: "Wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists."¹⁶

We need to note the importance of Calvin's fixing on *these* signs, and his wording. We have seen the *primacy* he gave to the Word of God and to the activity of God in this Word. At the same time, we saw the subordinate but integrated role which the sacraments played. The promise *from* the Word is given through the sacraments, but the sacraments are only the seal and making concrete of the promise.

As a result, for the promise to be fully effective, for the people fully to participate in the salvation achieved for them, the Word must be purely preached and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution. Calvin insists upon this emphasis and repeats it frequently. "The pure ministry of the Word, and pure mode of celebrating the sacraments are, as we say, sufficient pledge and guarantee that we may safely embrace *as church* any society in which both these marks exist."¹⁷

Here we see the *subordinate* role of the sacraments and human preaching, that they have no authority in themselves, but also their *integration*, that they are instituted *to enable* the Word to be fully effective in the human situation. They make no sense outside the Church.

From here, we can turn to where Calvin distinguishes between the true and false church.¹⁸ A false church is one where the Word no longer has the primacy, and the subordinate role of the sacraments is destroyed. Thus, Calvin condemns the Roman church in the severest terms: "Instead of the ministry of the Word, a perverse government compounded of lies rules there, which partly extinguishes the pure light, partly chokes it. The foulest sacrilege has been introduced in place of the Lord's Supper ... Doctrine (apart from which Christianity cannot stand) has been entirely buried and driven out."¹⁹ From his criticism here, we can see more clearly what his doctrine of the true church is.

A first thing to remember is that Calvin does not understand the church as being a community existing "only in the Spirit." The church is composed of physical women and men, who, through the Spirit, are made one Body in Christ. Because of this, Calvin is concerned to *hold together doctrine and order*. He writes: "... I would say that rule in the church, the pastoral office, and all other matters of order, resemble the body, whereas the doctrine which regulates the due worship of God ... is the soul which animates the body, renders it lively and active, and, in sort, makes it not to be a dead and useless carcase."²⁰

We see here the primary, invigorating role Calvin gives to doctrine: the body, not to be merely a carcase, needs to be invigorated by the soul.

If here again we see Calvin's presuppositions, what status exactly did he give to order in the church? He writes: "I come now to those things which I have likened to the body, viz. government and the dispensation of the sacraments, of which, when the doctrine is subverted, the power and utility are gone, even if the external form should be faultless."²¹ If here we see the dependence of order on doctrine, we see the necessary place of order when he describes the right administration of the sacraments. He writes: "Do we not see that the promise is on either side enclosed by limits within which we must confine ourselves if we would secure what it offers? Those, then, are deceived who imagine that apart from the legitimate use of the sacrament they have anything but common and unconsecrated bread."²²

Calvin's point that the institutions of the church have been ordained by Christ *so that* they may refer back to him, the real centre of the church, is even clearer as he turns to discuss church government. He writes: "... His [Christ's] object in appointing Bishops and Pastors, or whatever the name be by which they are called, certainly was, as Paul declares, that they might edify the church with sound doctrine ... The spiritual government which Christ recommended has totally disappeared, and a new and mongrel species of government has been introduced."²³

Calvin was accused by Rome of schism. This forced him to state very clearly where he saw the nature and source of the church's unity. How was the oneness of the Church to be understood? How was a true Church to be recognised? We have already seen the *mark* in terms of which the Reformers identified the church. With regard to the unity of this church, Calvin quotes the principle from which Paul derives unity, that there is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all" (Eph 4:4,5). Calvin concludes from this: "Therefore, *we are one body and spirit*, ... if we adhere to God alone ... Let it therefore, be a fixed point, that a holy unity exists among us when, consenting in pure doctrine, *we are united in Christ alone*."²⁴ That *Christ alone* is our source of unity and salvation is Calvin's central doctrine.

The Roman error was the *separation* of the Body of Christ, and the setting of it up *independently* of its Head. Calvin argues that ev-

everything in church order must be subject to, and directed to Christ. He writes: "Pastors are mistaken if they imagine that they are invested with the government of the church on any other terms than that of being ministers and witnesses of the truth of God."²⁵

Yet Calvin was in no way opposed to church government itself. He advocated it himself, in a scripturally based form. His one concern was that "the Head should be regarded". He writes: "Let them show us a hierarchy in which the bishops are distinguished, but not for refusing to be subject to Christ, in which they depend upon him as the only head, and act solely with reference to him, in which they cultivate brotherly fellowship with each other, bound together by no other tie; then, indeed, I will confess that there is no anathema too strong for those who do not regard them with reverence"

NOTES

¹ (*Comm on 1 Tim 3:16*).

² *Institutes*, IV, 1, 5.

³ *Institutes*, IV, 1, 5.

⁴ *Institutes*, IV, 14, 1.

⁵ *Institutes*, IV, 14, 3.

⁶ *Comm on Gen. 15:4*.

⁷ *Institutes*, IV, 14, 18.

⁸ *Institutes*, IV, 14, 19.

⁹ *Institutes*, IV, 14, 19.

¹⁰ *Institutes*, IV, 14, 20.

¹¹ *Institutes*, IV, 14, 21.

¹² *Institutes*, IV, 14, 22.

¹³ *Institutes*, IV, 17, 1.

¹⁴ *Sermon on Acts 2:1-4*.

¹⁵ *Institutes*, IV, 1, 7.

¹⁶ *Institutes*, IV, 1, 9.

¹⁷ *Institutes*, IV, 1, 12.

¹⁸ *Institutes*, IV, 2f

¹⁹ *Institutes*, IV, 2, 2.

²⁰ "The Necessity of Reforming the Church," *Tracts and Treatises*, 1, 126-7.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 137.

²² *Ibid*, p. 139.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 140.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 215.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 216.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 217.

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Opening Address

DR. MILAN OPOCENSKY

I wish to greet you on behalf of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. I bring you warm regards from our President, Dr. Jane Dempsey Douglass of Princeton. We are proud that another round of this dialogue between the Reformed and Orthodox traditions is being conducted. I am sorry that I could not be with you all the time but I am very pleased to hear that you had many enlightening and fruitful discussions. I would like to remember those who were instrumental in starting this dialogue—His All Holiness the late Patriarch Dimitrios and the former President of WARC, the late James McCord of Princeton. Our thanks go to Professor Torrance for his unceasing interest in the dialogue, for his profound knowledge of the problems involved and for editing the book, which is a lasting monument of this encounter. I wish also to express my thanks to Professor Lukas Vischer who in the time of transition has helped us to go on and who has provided leadership in organizational and financial matters. And I thank all of you for your interest, dedication and support.

I am convinced that such meetings are of great importance and render an unique contribution to the ecumenical fellowship, especially today where such rapid developments are taking us by surprise. We are confronted with the upsurge of many tensions—nationalist, ethnic, social, cultural—often in countries where the Reformed and Orthodox churches live side by side. This dialogue provides a solid basis for approaching some of these problems on a deeper spiritual and theological level—which in my view can give us a relevant and significant perspective. There are new signs of estrangement and misunderstanding in the ecumenical family which can be clarified if we go to the very roots of our faith. This movement *ad fontes*—back to the Scriptures and to our respective traditions—to the Church Fa-

thers and Reformers—is what I expect from such a dialogue. It is a great gift of this period in Church history that we meet, that we exchange our views, that we share our insights, put questions to each other—that we stay together and witness together to Jesus Christ. How can the doctrine of the Holy Trinity help us to ground and orientate our faith in the midst of the present turbulence? What is the ultimate meaning of the Incarnation—that the LOGOS SARX EGENETO?

In a few weeks in Princeton we shall try to evaluate several international dialogues. I hope we will be in a position to produce a paper, which will be useful for our member Churches. We come from different cultural and socio-political situations. Two-thirds of our constituency live in the Third World. Many people ask about the meaning of being Reformed in a diverse situation. What is our self-understanding as Reformed people? What are vital foci of the Reformed knowledge? I am profoundly grateful to all of you coming from the Orthodox tradition who have helped us to discover our common ground—to understand our foundations more fully and adequately.

Apart from doctrinal issues there are many problems of daily life in which we have to help each other. In many countries of the East (Romania, Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, Greece, Lebanon, Egypt, etc.) we need to come together to discuss and to solve some of the pressing questions of ethnic tensions, migration, displacement and racial discrimination. I hope that we may find ways to address such issues.

I have no doubt that this dialogue has to continue. A core of participants should be involved in the future. But we need some new people—especially women and people from the Third World. While respecting continuity we have to take into consideration new suggestions. I am convinced that it will mean a strengthening of this effort. We have to look for a new formula to guarantee this dialogue organizationally and financially.

I am convinced that we need a solid theological reflection more than at any time before. Bad theology can have fatal consequences. Karl Barth said that it was wrong Protestant theology, which was responsible for the development of German history after 1933. I hope that we shall help our member Churches and the ecumenical fellowship at large to renew their theological work and to be grounded in the tradition of the Scriptures, Church Fathers, Reformers and great theological teachers of the last two centuries.

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Opening Address

PROF. DR. PANTELEIMON RODOPOULOS
METROPOLITAN OF TYROLOË AND SERENTION

It is with great pleasure and in glory to God The Trinity that we begin the fourth meeting of the Mixed Commission of the official Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. We are grateful to His Eminence Metropolitan of Limassol Chrysanthos for his hospitality during the course of this meeting and to His Beatitude the Archbishop of Cyprus Msgr. Chrysostomos for blessing this meeting to be held in this magnificent island. We pray that peace and justice will prevail in it finally.

As it is stated in the programme of this meeting we shall go on, on the clarification of certain aspects of the Incarnation of the Logos, in connection also with the Holy Trinity.

We are delighted to note that until now the Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Reformed is proceeding satisfactorily in the study and exploration of our common theological tradition of the Ancient Undivided Church, according to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, the Scriptures and the Fathers. Of course, the final aim is complete unity. The Orthodox hope and pray fervently and without ceasing "for the unity of all."

However, in recent years, after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, we notice an aggressiveness on the part of some of our Western brothers against the Orthodox, "they go about land and sea to get one disciple, and having him" (Matt. 23:15).

This is a great temptation which creates doubts about the sincerity of certain people concerning the great hope and the endeavors for unity up until now.

But, despite all these we must persevere.

It is a demand of the times and a heavy responsibility of Christians in the face of the great dangers threatening Christianity from without, as also from within. We Orthodox have lived for centuries, as we do today, on the most forward front-line positions, geographically and religiously, having to withstand suffocating pressure and hostility. The target is not only the Orthodox Church, but the whole of the Christian world. The external menace is well known to all. The internal dangers are: religious indifference, secularization, a materialistic attitude to life.

It is, therefore, the duty of us all to work together in love and truth for the unity of Christians.

I pray that "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God the Father and the Fellowship of the Holy Spirit" may be with us throughout this our fourth meeting.

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Opening Address

PROF. DR. PANTELEIMON RODOPOULOS
METROPOLITAN OF TYROLOË AND SERENTION

It is with great pleasure and in glory to God the Trinity that we begin the 5th meeting of the Mixed Commission of the official Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches.

His All holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomaios sends His greetings and blessing to this meeting and He wishes that the labours on the ecclesiological theme; "The Identity and Unity of the Church" will be crowned with success.

The previous international dialogues in Leuenberg, Switzerland (1988), in Minsk, Bielorrussia (1990), and in Kapel-am-Albis, Switzerland (1992), focused on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as expressed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, according to the interpretation of the Fathers of the Church, especially of St. Athanasios, St. Basil, St. Gregory the Theologian and St. Gregory of Nyssa. In the fourth meeting in Limassol, Cyprus (January 1994), we discussed the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Creation, building again upon and extending our earlier conversations based upon the Creed.

In those four previous meetings, the importance of the conversations in enhancing trust and understanding between the two traditions became clear and also the deepening in the exploration of our common theological tradition of the Ancient Undivided Church.

We both confessed (Agreed Statement on Christology, Limasol, Cyprus 12 January 1994) with the Nicene Creed the basic interconnection between the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of Christ.

We confessed that our common belief in One God, the Holy Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is tied up with our belief in Jesus Christ who reveals the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

Nevertheless, we realised that Orthodox and Reformed seem to follow two different kinds of approach as regards the connection between the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of Incarnation, which, however are not incompatible. The Orthodox approach has its center in the Mystery of the Incarnation as it is proclaimed in the Bible, confessed in the Patristic Tradition and experienced in the Divine Liturgy. The Reformed approach discerns the obligation leading to Trinitarian theses in Jesus' cross and resurrection.

We both agreed that our teaching about Trinity and Incarnation reflects experiences that make accessible to us the reality of God as revealed in Christ. We stem from worshipping God who in Jesus Christ chooses, accompanies and perfects His Church.

In this 5th session of the Mixed Commission, we shall continue along the lines of the original decision to follow the sequence of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, according to the interpretation of the Church Fathers. After Trinity and Christology, we proceed to Ecclesiology. We shall discuss on the clause; "I believe in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church" focusing on the Identity and Unity of the Church.

I wish a successful outcome to our labors and I hope that the conclusions will be a contribution towards the advancement of the common task of the restoration of unity among Christians and in particular of rapprochement between the two worlds, the Orthodox and the Reformed.

We are grateful to Dr Iain Torrance for organising this meeting and to the Church of Scotland for its hospitality.

We are sorry that Professor Thomas Torrance, the protagonist of the Dialogue between Orthodox and Reformed, is not with us at this meeting. We wish him all the best and we assure him of our esteem and love for him.

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Opening Address

PROF. DR. PANTELEIMON RODOPOULOS
METROPOLITAN OF TYROLOË AND SERENTION

It is with great joy and to the glory of God the Holy Trinity that we begin the 6th meeting of the Mixed Commission of the Official Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches.

His All-Holiness Bartholomew, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople greets and blesses this meeting and wishes that the exploration of the theme "Membership of the Body of Christ" along the lines of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and in light of the Patristic Tradition of the ancient Church, (see Communiqué of the Sub-Committee of the Joint Commission, Geneva, April 12, 1997), will be crowned with success.

Let me remind you of the previous international dialogues of our Joint Commission. In Leuenberg, Switzerland (1988), in Minsk, Bielorrussia (1990), and in Kapel-am-Albis, Switzerland (1992), we focused on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as expressed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, according to the interpretation of the Fathers of the Church, especially of St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory the Theologian and St. Gregory of Nyssa. In the fourth meeting in Limassol, Cyprus (January 1994), we discussed the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Creation building upon and extending our earlier conversations.

In those four previous meetings, the importance of the conversation in enhancing trust and understanding between the two traditions became clear and also the deepening in the exploration of our common theological tradition of the ancient undivided Church.

We both confessed (Agreed Statement on Christology, Limassol - Cyprus, 12 January 1994) with the Nicene Creed the basic interconnection between the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of Christ. We confessed that our common belief in One God, the Holy Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is tied up with our belief in Jesus Christ, who reveals the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Nevertheless, we realised that Orthodox and Reformed seem to follow two different kinds of approach as regards the connection between the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the doctrine of Incarnation, which, however are not incompatible. The Orthodox approach has its center in the Mystery of the Incarnation as it is proclaimed in the Holy Scripture, confessed in the Patristic Tradition and experienced in the Divine Liturgy. The Reformed approach discerns the obligation leading to Trinitarian theses in Jesus' cross and resurrection.

We both agreed that our teaching about Trinity and Incarnation reflects experiences that make accessible to us the reality of God as revealed in Christ. We stem from worshipping God who in Jesus Christ chooses, accompanies and perfects his Church.

In the 5th Session of the Mixed Commission (Aberdeen, June 1996) we continued along the lines of the original decision to follow the sequence of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, according to the interpretation of the Church Fathers. After Trinity and Christology, we proceeded to Ecclesiology. Our discussions on the clause, "I believe... in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church" focused on the Identity and Unity of the Church. The discussion on Ecclesiology, begun at the Session in Aberdeen, Scotland, in June 1996, will be continued at this Session with the view to producing a Common Statement. We shall explore the theme "Membership of the Body of Christ" along the lines, again, of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and in the light of the Patristic Tradition of the ancient undivided Church, in accordance with the original decision of our joint Commission.

I wish a successful outcome to our labors and I hope that our conclusions will be a contribution towards the advancement of the common task of the restoration of unity among Christians and in particular of rapprochement between Orthodox and Reformed.

We are grateful to His Eminence the Metropolitan of Zakynthos Msgr. Chrysostomos for his kindness and generosity to offer hospitality to our Commission in this beautiful island.

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Opening Address

PROF. DR. PANTELEIMON RODOPOULOS
METROPOLITAN OF TYROLOË AND SERENTION

It is with great pleasure and to the glory of God the Holy Trinity that we begin the third meeting of the Mixed Cosmmission of the official Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. We are grateful to the Evangelical-Reformed Church of the Canton of Zürich for its hospitality during the course of this meeting.

As Dr. Lukas Vischer wrote in his letter to the members of the Reformed Delegation and I also did in my letter to the Orthodox members, we shall first deal in this meeting with the latter part of the text on the dogma of the Holy Trinity, which was drawn up in Minsk, and secondly with the topic of the Incarnation of the Son and Word of God, as this was formulated in article II of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, i.e. Incarnation and creation and Incarnation and salvation.

We are delighted to note that the dialogue between the Orthodox and the Reformed is proceeding satisfactorily in the study and exploration of our common theological tradition of the Ancient Undivided Church with the final aim of complete unity.

We Orthodox hope and pray fervently and without ceasing "for the unity of all." This is a commandment of the Lord: "that they may all be one... that they may be one even as we are one..." (John 17: 21-22). It is also, however, a demand of the times and a heavy responsibility of Christians in the face of the great dangers threatening Christianity from without as also from within. We Orthodox have lived for centuries - as we do today - on the most forward front-line

positions, geographically and religiously, having to withstand suffocating pressure and hostility. The target is not only the Orthodox Church, but the whole of the Christian world. Also, in this century, the main burden imposed by organised atheism and propaganda, aimed at the de-Christianisation of Christian societies, has been borne by Orthodox countries and societies.

The internal dangers are religious indifference, secularisation, a materialistic attitude to life and designs on the flock of one Church by another.

It is therefore the duty of us all to work together in love and truth for the unity of Christians.

I pray that "The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God the Father and the Fellowship of the Holy Spirit" may be with us throughout this our third meeting.

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DR. NEKTARIOS PAPADOPOULOS

(Visiting Lecturer in New Testament at Holy Cross
during the 1997-1998 academic year)

The late Nektarios Papadopoulos was a fine young scholar in spite of his health problems which were hereditary and caused his untimely death just on Christmas 1998. He could hold his own in scholarly circles very easily, as his record of academic achievements (listed below) clearly indicates. It was not his scholarly credentials which distinguished him, however, as there are many accomplished scholars with lists of achievements which equal or exceed his. What distinguished him among his colleagues was that he was both a great teacher and a wonderful person.

I had the privilege of serving Dr. Papadopoulos as his teaching assistant at Holy Cross during the academic year 1997-98. I helped him prepare his lectures 2-3 nights a week, often for 3-4 hours at a time, so I had the opportunity to watch him work, to observe his methods closely firsthand. He prepared a fresh lecture for every class. It was quite common for him to consider at least three sources, and often up to six, as he was gathering the information he wanted to present to his students the next day. More than half of the sources he used were books written by scholars from Universities in Greece although he also used relevant material from other scholars.

Dr. Papadopoulos' lectures were special. He always wore a smile on his face, and he encouraged class participation. His teaching style, though professional, appeared casual and relaxed. This put the students right at ease literally from the first day of class. He enjoyed class discussions very much, and it was not uncommon for him to permit discussions among the students to continue for 10-15 minutes. Class attendance was consistently high with very few absences each semester.

Dr. Papadopoulos always made himself available to all his students whenever they wanted to meet with him outside of class. He lived on campus in the main dormitory, so he was very accessible to his students, and though he did not allow his students to get too friendly with him, his easy-going nature allowed him to create a fraternal bond with them. Virtually all his students thought highly and spoke

fondly of him. His presence at Holy Cross made a difference and though it was only one academic year, it was a very special year because he set a wonderful example for his students, all of whom he genuinely liked.

Dr. Papadopoulos demonstrated that it was possible for one person to be a professional scholar, a good teacher and a warm human being at the same time. His untimely passing is proof that only the good die young. By those who were granted of spending time with him, in or out of class, he will be sorely missed.

Evan Lambrou

Dr. Papadopoulos was born at Kyparissia Messinias in Oct. 18 1964, being the fourth child of the priest Demetrios and Presbytera Emilia Papadopoulos. In 1983 he entered the Theological School of the National and Cappodistrian University of Athens, from which he graduated in 1987. As a young graduate theologian he engaged in conference and teaching projects at the Patriarchal Center in Geneva and at the Balamand Orthodox Seminary of the Patriarchate of Antioch in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Having received a scholarship from the WCC, he pursued post-graduate Studies in the New Testament at the Friderico-Alexandrino Universität in Erlangen-Nürnberg (1991-1992) and at the Wilhelms Universität in Münster, specializing in New Testament Palaeography and Textual Criticism at the famous and unique Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung under the guidance of Professors Kurt and Barbara Aland. While studying at Münster, he completed a doctoral dissertation on "The Beginnings of Christianity in Crete," which he defended successfully at his University in Athens where he became a Doctor in 1986. In the 1990s he had attended several international Seminars reading scholarly papers and had emerged as a most promising New Testament scholar, receiving an appointment in 1994 as Scholarly Assistant in the Biblical Department of the Theological School of Athens headed by the Dean of the School, Prof. Christos Voulgaris. Since then he taught courses on the Introduction and Exegesis of the New Testament. At Holy Cross, he taught: "Introduction to the New Testament," "The Gospel according to St. John," "Scripture and Patristic Spirituality" and "Galatians/Romans."

May God rest his soul. Eternal memory!

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

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American people, stressed the exceptional leadership of this Prelate of the Orthodox Church which exemplified the sense of responsibility for the close ties that exist between the Orthodox Church and the Greek People and have played an essential role in the preservation of the Greek civilization and the Greek language... and the Greek struggle for independence. "Archbishop Seraphim," he wrote, upheld with pride this heritage and this is why the Greek people and the friends of Greece everywhere are grateful."

His All-Holiness, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew put it succinctly: Archbishop Seraphim's "ministry and contribution as Head of the Church of Greece during the 27 years of his Archiepiscopal term was to restore the canonical order in his Church ... to settle successfully many and difficult problems in the relations between Church and State, to remain unflinching and unshrinking whenever the holy and sacred deposit of Orthodoxy was put at risk and to establish the authority and prestige of the Church of Greece."

May his memory be eternal!

[Acknowledgement: Most of the above is based on what was gleaned from *EKKLESIA: the Official Bulletin of the Church of Greece*, year 75th, 1st May 1998, No 9. For further details, see *CHARISTEION SERAPHIM TIKΑ: ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS AND ALL GREECE*, Thessaloniki 1984. I. M. Hadjiphotes, *Archbishop Seraphim* (in Greek), 2nd ed. Athens 1991. Photios G. Oikonomou, *The Archbishop of Athens and All Greece Seraphim: His ecclesiastical career and activity*, second edition, Athens 1993 (in Greek)].

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

DR. MICHAEL PAPAYANNIS

PROFESSOR OF ASTRONOMY

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

On July 1998 Dr. Michael Papayannis, Professor of Astronomy at Boston University died in Florida, after a long illness. His burial took place in Athens, Greece, where his parents were, had lived and been buried.

Professor Papayannis, besides being an excellent scholar and a productive researcher and writer in his field, was also an active member of the Greek Orthodox Community of Boston. He was, no doubt, a "cultural" Greek, so to speak, and a man of the world, who cared about his family, his children and his church. He was an active member of the Greek Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas, in Lexington, Mass. and also a member of the Board of Trustees of Hellenic College Holy Cross. Actually, he served for many years, as an active and important member of its Executive Committee. I still remember his lively participation in the discussions and debates at the meetings of the Board of Trustees (I was also a member of the Board of Trustees in the seventies and eighties) and I can testify to his love and interest for our School. He studied, carefully, the subjects under discussion, with much precision and with a spirit of reconciliation, humility and love. As a member of the Academic Committee he made tremendous efforts to raise the standards of the School, to maintain stability, the prestige and the academic excellence of our beloved School. He, alone, founded the "Archbishop Iakovos Academic Award of Excellence" which is awarded at the Commencement Exercises every year to a Professor, preferably of our School, who excelled in Academic endeavors, in teaching and in writing. I had the honor of being a recipient of this award. And I know, from personal experience, that Prof. Papayannis continued this splendid contribution with much personal sacrifice and effort. Professor Papayannis was elected "Archon-Hartoularios" of the Ecumenical Patriarch, for his unflinching love and dedication to the Church and the Ecumenical Throne. His illness, cut down his intense activism and his participation in ecclesiastical and cultural activities in Boston. His death, grieved his numerous colleagues and friends especially in this country and abroad, because he traveled a lot and lectured most successfully in prestigious Universities, including the University of Athens.

Indeed, Professor Papayannis was a first rate scholar and scientist, a productive writer and a much loved and respected teacher. He was a man of great creative intellect, of wit and style, a man of charm and humor, a faithful and trusted friend. I had the chance to meet him at his home or to have dinner out in a Greek Restaurant, where we shared together our love and affection for the Church and the School. I am missing his friendship, his pleasant companionship, his judgement, his love, his compassion.

May the memory of Professor Michael Papayannis be eternal.

Dr. George S. Bebis

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Possible Vestiges of the *Afikoman* in the Elevation of the *Panagia*

ARVID NYBROTEN

I first heard of the *afikoman* and its possible connection to the Christian Eucharist in a lecture by one of my undergraduate professors.¹ About five years ago, I was struck by the structural similarity of this ritual to that of the Byzantine rite of the Elevation of the *Panagia*. My ability to develop a hypothesis to explain this similarity or to support it was fundamentally hampered on one hand by the fact that I did not know who first originated the hypothesis of the original messianic significance of the *afikoman* ritual and on the other by my lack of any knowledge of the manuscript evidence for the history of the ritual of the Elevation of the *Panagia*. Only by sheer coincidence did I discover a year ago the essay by Deborah Bleicher Carmichael, who credited the origins of the hypothesis about the origins and original significance of the *afikoman* on which my own hypothesis is based to Robert Eisler and David Daube, whose essays I have finally been able to trace down and read. More recently, I have also been informed of the essay by John J. Yiannias in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, which documents textual evidence for the history of the ritual of the Elevation of the *Panagia*.² It is with these sources finally in hand that I present my own hypothesis as to the origin of Elevation of the *Panagia* in this essay.

THE *AFIKOMAN* OF THE PASSOVER *SEDER*

At the beginning of the Passover *seder* the presider breaks the middle of the three *mazzot* into two pieces, the larger of which is hidden away under a cloth or cushion and is known as the *afikoman*.³

At the end of the meal, this *afikoman* is brought forward again and a portion is eaten by everyone present as the final morsel of food to be consumed in the Passover meal.⁴ In the Ashkenazi ritual, the children of the family are encouraged to attempt to steal the *afikoman* in order to receive a gift as its ransom. In the Mishnah it states: "One may not add *afikoman* after the Passover meal" because, as the Gemara states, the Passover lamb itself must be the last food one tastes on the night of the *seder*.⁵ This implies that after the destruction of the Temple and cessation of the Passover sacrifice, the *afikoman* came to replace the Passover lamb as the last morsel of food to be eaten at the Passover *seder*. Indeed, in the Sephardic ritual the *afikoman* is expressly identified with the Passover lamb.⁶

The derivation of the word *afikoman* is unknown. The Talmudic passage just quoted assumes that the word derives from the Greek word *epikoman*,⁷ meaning a 'dessert' or an 'act of revelry' and this is the usual interpretation advanced by Jewish commentators on the *seder* ritual. However, in 1925-26, Robert Eisler published a controversial two-part article, "Das Letzte Abendmahl," in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*,⁸ which led to a permanent rift between him and Hans Lietzmann. Eisler's views were then largely forgotten until David Daube reasserted Eisler's essential argument in 1966 in a lecture, *He That Cometh*, given at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Daube stressed that Eisler was right in noting that the most obvious and philologically easiest derivation of *Afikoman* would be the Greek *aphikomenos*⁹ or *epikomenos*, 'The Coming One,' 'He That Cometh,' in Hebrew *habba* and in Aramaic *'athe*.¹⁰

Daube argues that the term refers to an awaited redeemer who symbolically united with his people, makes them whole as they contemplate their past, and future, redemption. He comments that, 'But for the theological and historical consequences that follow, it is hard to believe that this obvious, philologically easiest, *naheliegendste* derivation would have been overlooked in favour of the most far-fetched, tortuous ones.'¹¹

Eisler and Daube hypothesize that originally at some point in the Second Temple period and among certain Jewish groups the unleavened bread stood for the Jewish people as a whole and that the broken-off piece of bread known as the *afikoman* represented a yet-to-come Messiah figure, still hidden with God in the kingdom-to-come, whose future coming and union with the Jewish

people was symbolically anticipated and represented by the bringing forth and eating of the *afikoman*.¹²

Eisler and Daube argue that in a future-oriented, messianic sense, the unleavened bread stood for the whole of the Jewish people. A broken-off piece of bread represented a longed-for redeemer who had not yet appeared. During the Passover celebration of redemption, this messianic figure was symbolically brought into the midst of the company and united with the Jewish people through a ritual involving the *afikoman*.¹³

Daube argues that without the presupposition of a ritual or of something very similar to it, we cannot grasp the original significance of Christ's action in identifying himself with the unleavened Passover bread when he said "This is my body."¹⁴ In other words, Daube believes that when Jesus originally said these words he intended to identify himself as "The Coming One," the Messiah figure whose future coming was evoked in this *afikoman* ritual.¹⁵ Thus, originally only Jesus' words over the third cup of wine of the *seder* meal made reference to his sacrificial death and the new covenant in his blood.¹⁶ Only after the original significance of the *afikoman* was forgotten in Christian communities did Jesus' words over the bread begin to be understood as paralleling his words over the cup.

AFIKOMENOS IN MELITO OF SARDIS

Recently, Deborah Bleicher Carmichael, in expanding on Daube's hypothesis, notes that "most interesting for the purposes of Daube's argument is a striking linguistic parallel. Melito of Sardis in his *Peri Pascha* (a Quartodeciman work which F.L. Cross identified as "nothing less than a Christian Passover Haggadah."¹⁷) "uses the word *afikomenos* twice, in both instances to refer to Jesus as the messiah who has come."¹⁸ She then quotes S.G. Hall's observation that "*afikomenos* may allude to the Passover *afikomen*."¹⁹ Carmichael notes that "In [Joachim] Jeremias's description of the Quartodeciman rite we might note how close he comes to describing a ritual reminiscent of the one suggested by Daube."²⁰ She then quotes Jeremias:

The unusual time of this celebration itself shows what the emphasis was at this early Christian Passover: the primary concern was neither with the remembrance of the passion or with the remembrance of the resurrection, but with the expectation of the Parousia! That the mes-

siah would come on the night of Passover was both a Jewish and a Christian hope. Each year, therefore, during the Passover night the primitive community awaited until midnight, in prayer and fasting, for the return of the Lord. They prolonged the waiting into the hours after midnight. If he had not come bodily by cock-crow, then they united themselves with him in the celebration of table fellowship.²¹

In this connection, we should note the close linguistic ties between the Aramaic equivalent of the Greek word *afikoman*, 'athe and the early Christian acclamation/invocation *maranatha*, "The Lord has come" or "Lord, come." In reference to the latter, Oscar Cullmann has written:

...in the *Maranatha* we have a specifically Christian element of the primitive liturgical prayers, a very close link with the Resurrection of Christ that was celebrated every Sunday; since it was on this day that Jesus appeared to the disciples while they were at their meal, he was asked to reappear during the Supper...; and as this spiritual presence of Christ in his Church is the pledge of his glorious return and at the end of time, this ancient prayer is both a recalling of his appearance on the day of the Resurrection, and an appeal for its renewal at the moment of the holy Supper, and an announcement of his final Parousia, which is also to take place in the setting of the Messianic feast.²²

THE EUCHARISTIC RITUAL OF THE *DIDACHE*

Daube himself cautioned that in the first century Jewish Passover traditions would have been in too great a state of fluidity for us to expect to find parallels between first century Passover ritual observances and those presently observed and states that the attempt to find just such parallels was the mistake Eisler made in first presenting this hypothesis. Thus, for example, Daube notes the New Testament accounts depict Jesus was identifying himself with the bread blessed, broken, distributed and eaten at the beginning of the meal, whereas the *afikoman* in the present *seder* ritual is always the bread broken, distributed and eaten at the very end of the meal. We might note also that the *afikoman* is broken and set aside before the formal benediction over the bread is said, which inaugurates the Passover meal proper, whereas the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper are unanimous in stating that Jesus first blessed the bread that he identified as his body. Daube, however, in noting that in regards to

the *afikoman* neither the initial breaking and setting aside of the *afikoman* before the Passover meal proper nor its bringing forth, being broken, distributed and eaten at the end of the Passover meal is accompanied by a formal benediction (as are most important Jewish ritual observances),²³ states that this lack of an accompanying formal benediction is characteristic of Passover observances, which have sectarian origins and is not unique to the ritual observances of the *afikoman*. The issue is further complicated by the fact that, as Daube demonstrates, while originally in the *seder* ritual the Haggadah was recited at the conclusion of the Passover meal proper, now the Haggadah precedes this meal. Thus, in the present ritual, the breaking of the bread and concealing of the *afikoman* together with the words "This is the bread of affliction which our ancestors ate in the land of Egypt; ..." ²⁴ now take place before the Haggadah, while after the Haggadah comes the Passover meal proper, which begins with the blessing said over the bread and concludes with the eating of the *afikoman*. It is difficult to determine what order and what relationship to each other these actions would have had when the Haggadah came at the end of the Passover meal.

It is from the perspective of Oscar Cullman's observations on the significance of *maranatha* exclamation and from that of Daube's understanding of the *afikoman* that we should view the Eucharistic texts of the *Didache*, since here we may have an example of a Eucharistic text from an early Christian community, whose Eucharistic ritual may parallel the *afikoman* ritual in the present Jewish Passover *seder*. Here the initial thanksgiving over the bread concludes with a prayer for the gathering of the Church into the Kingdom of God, which accords with the Jewish table ritual in which the initial benediction over the bread and sharing of this bread by all present for the meal formally opens the meal and defines the community present for this meal since only those who share in this opening breaking of the bread may participate in the rest of the meal as well. Although the *Didache* does not actually state this, we are on the basis of the Jewish meal ritual, I believe, quite justified in assuming that the longer, three-part thanksgiving at the end of the Eucharistic meal was said over a cup of wine, which would be the actual Eucharistic chalice in accordance with the Last Supper narrative in Luke 22:20 and I Corinthians 11:25. If so, then the acclamations and invocations, which follow ("May grace [the Lord]²⁵ come, and this world pass away. Amen. Hosanna

to the God [house]²⁶ of David. If any be holy, let him come; if any be not, let him repent. *Maranatha*. Amen.”), would accompany the breaking, distribution and eating of the *afikoman* (the uneaten half of the bread blessed and broken earlier and especially identified with the risen Lord Jesus) and the drinking of the Eucharistic chalice. If the actual bread and cup identified with Christ’s Body and Blood are only partaken of at the end of this thanksgiving, this would explain why the admonition “If any be hold, let him come; if any be not, let him repent” occurs at the end of the thanksgiving rather than at the start of the meal proper.²⁷ We should note here that in the institution narratives, Matthew 26:26-28 and Mark 14:22-25, Jesus’ actions with the bread appear to immediately precede his actions with the cup and thus might reflect the liturgical traditions of churches with a Eucharistic ritual similar to that which we have just suggested for the *Didache* community.

Although the *Didache* prayers show no signs of being paschal Eucharistic texts proper, the paschal setting and content of the Last Supper and the meals of the risen Lord with his disciples gave each subsequent Eucharist a certain paschal content and, if Daube’s hypothesis about the origins of the *afikoman* is correct, then it would have been natural for our Lord’s actions with the *afikoman* at the Last Supper to be repeated at each subsequent Eucharist, at least for as long and in those Christian communities where this action would have been readily understood.²⁸

In reference to the relation between the Eucharistic action and the Eucharistic meal proper, Joachim Jeremias noted:

At the Last Supper itself the action with the bread and wine surrounded the meal proper; the clearest evidence for this are the words ‘in the same way also the cup after supper’ (I Cor. 11:25). A quite different picture is, however, to be found in the middle of the second century: the two Eucharistic actions have now come together and stand independently besides the meal proper, now called the *Agape* (earliest witness: Jude 12). The actual position of the Eucharist now varies... That the Eucharist was at first held following the meal can be seen from the three-part dialogue, which from the early period introduced the celebration of the Eucharist..., which is transmitted in the same words in the ancient liturgies of the East and West, and so must have been early established and therefore very old. This call of the minister is nothing other than the exhortation formula which introduced

the Jewish grace after the meal... and the following Eucharistic prayer is simply a Christian version of the grace after the meal... We see therefore that the celebration of the Eucharist begins with the grace after the meal and therefore follows the meal proper. When, in some places, the Eucharist was later celebrated before the Agape this was done from a desire to receive it in a state of fasting. The same desire is determinative when in Rome (Justin) the Eucharist is linked with the morning worship.²⁹

Once the Eucharistic actions were separated from the Eucharistic meal, the blessing, breaking, distributing and eating of the Eucharistic bread at the beginning of the meal proper would naturally merge with the breaking, distributing and eating of this same bread as the *afikoman* at the end of the meal, and the blessing of the bread would itself just as naturally merge with the longer prayer of thanksgiving said over the Eucharistic cup at the end of the meal to become the present form of the Eucharistic prayer in which both the Eucharistic bread and wine are consecrated and then eaten and drunk together after this single prayer. In this merging of the two ritual breakings, distribution and eating of the Eucharistic bread and the merging of the thanksgiving prayers said over the Eucharistic bread and cup, the *afikoman* as a distinct ritual action with its own messianic and eschatological significance would simply cease to exist and the common consecration of both the Eucharistic bread and wine by the same prayer of thanksgiving would hasten the process by which the Eucharistic bread eventually took on a sacrificial significance paralleling that of the Eucharistic wine.³⁰

THE ELEVATION OF THE *PANAGIA*

In the Byzantine monastic tradition, there is a ritual performed as part of the devotions accompanying the supper of a monastic community known as the Elevation of the *Panagia*, which, I believe, bears a certain overt structural resemblance to the ritual of the *afikoman* in the Passover *seder*.³¹ In his study "The Elevation of the Panaghia," John J. Yiannias states:

By "Elevation of the Panaghia" is meant, here as in the original sources, the elevation, on the fingertips, of a loaf of bread or a piece thereof, called in both cases either a Panaghia (παναγία) or – although the term is ambiguous – ὕψωμα. Two or three exclamations ordinarily

accompany this act, the first extolling the Trinity, the second imploring the Virgin for aid, and the third calling for God's help through the Virgin's intercession. The first usually consists of the words, "Great is the name of the Holy Trinity",³² although in one source, as we shall see, it is given as, "Great is the name of the consubstantial and undivided Trinity".³³ The invocation of the Virgin customarily takes the form of "O most holy Theotokos, come to our aid",³⁴ although one source prescribes, "O most holy, Lady, Theotokos, come to the aid of your needy servant".³⁵ To this invocation is sometimes added the third, "Through her intercessions, O God, have mercy and save us".³⁶ There is some indication in the sources that this ritual – the elevation of the bread and the two or three exclamations – can stand alone, but in common practice it is part of a ceremonial augmented by additional prayers. These prayers vary with the occasions upon which the Elevation is performed.³⁷

Before we consider what these occasions are, some observations are in order about the word "Panaghia" and the piece of bread to which it refers. This epithet of the Virgin is applied to one of the particles cut from a loaf of oblation during the office of the Prothesis. The practice today is to cut a piece which is pyramidal, with a triangular base. Also, as the Elevation of the *Panagia* is performed today, the loaf from which the *Panagia* is cut is sometimes the same as that from which the Lamb (ἀμνός) is excised, while at other times, it is a separate loaf. In either case, it is this *Panagia*, or the loaf from which the Panaghia is cut, that is used in the Elevation of the *Panagia*, except when no *prospophora* is available.³⁸

Yiannias notes that an account of the origins of the Elevation of the *Panagia* is found in the Florentine *Horologion* of 1520 under the title, "Concerning the Elevation of the Panaghia: How it Occurred and Why"³⁹ and that it also appears in later *Horologia*, sometimes under a different title or with no title at all.⁴⁰ I here quote Yiannias' own translation of this chapter of the Florentine *Horologion* of 1520:

After the awesome resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit, and until the time when the holy apostles dispersed to preach the gospel, all of the apostles were of one accord. And in reclining after the blessing at the αἰσιτον, they would have a place vacant, and put there a cushion, and on the cushion a piece of bread, from which they would eat in memory of Christ. After the αἰσιτον they would stand, say the blessings and prayers, take the piece of bread dedicated to Christ's memory, lift it up, and say "Glory

to you, O God, glory to you. Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit..."⁴¹ And instead of "Great is the name..."⁴² they would say [from Easter] until the Ascension, "Christ is risen",⁴³ and after the Ascension had passed, "Great is the name of the Holy Trinity. O Lord Jesus Christ, come to our aid."⁴⁴ And that is how it was done. And each apostle, wherever he happened to be [after the dispersion], performed this act until the Dormition of the Theotokos, at which time the apostles assembled from all over the world, transported on clouds, for the Assumption of Our Lady the Theotokos. And they performed the aforementioned after her entombment—on the third day, to be precise—and when the αἴσιον was ended they stood, and, as was customary, elevated the bread set aside the Christ, and began uttering "Great is the name...", when—O, wondrous miracle!—the deceased appeared, as if alive, high in the air, among the clouds, and flanked by luminous angels; and she said, "Rejoice, for I am with you all days",⁴⁵ thus conveying to them the gladsome tidings she had received the Son. The disciples, dumbfounded by the miracle, instead of saying "Lord Jesus Christ [come to our aid]", cried "O most holy Theotokos, come to our aid!"⁴⁶ Going next to the tomb and, not finding there her all-holy body, they became truly convinced that, having risen bodily from the dead after three days, in the manner of her Son, she had been taken up into the heavens, to reign with Christ unto the ages of ages. Amen.⁴⁷

It will be noticed that, at least in its external form, the rite of the Elevation of the *Panagia* bears a general resemblance to the rite of the *afikoman*. In both, a portion of bread is especially set aside at the beginning of a meal and is consumed at the end of the meal by all the participants of that meal. Furthermore, in their explanation of the origins of this ritual, the authors of the account in the 1520 Florentine *Horologion* show an awareness that originally this portion of bread was identified in some way with our Lord himself, rather than with the Theotokos, as at present, and they attribute its origin to the apostolic community itself. If this attribution actually represented an ancient tradition, it would correspond to Daube's premise that the origin and original significance of the *afikoman* is to be found in first century Judaism for, as Jean Danielou has pointed out, in early Christian sources the attribution of a tradition to the apostolic community usually identifies it as a tradition originating in the primitive Palestinian Jewish Christian community.⁴⁸ In addition, as Yiannias notes, the loaf of bread used in the Elevation of the *Panagia* is normally a

prospora, namely one of the loaves from which the portion of bread to be consecrated into the Sacrament is cut out in the Byzantine rite and, in fact, the *prospora* that is used in the Elevation of the *Panagia* is that *prospora* from which is cut that pyramid-shaped portion of bread placed on the *diskos* (paten) during the *Proskomide* rite (the ritual preparation of the Eucharistic elements before the Divine Liturgy proper) and offered on behalf of the Theotokos in the Divine Liturgy. There is thus a close association between the bread used in the Elevation of the *Panagia* and the Eucharistic bread proper, and we recall that according to Daube's hypothesis the *afikoman* was originally that portion of unleavened bread in the Jewish *seder* which after the Last Supper became the Eucharistic bread of the primitive Jewish Christian community. Furthermore, Yiannias notes that the mention in the thirteenth century Cod. E.M. 6 of monks drinking immediately after receiving the elevated bread bears witness to the inclusion of wine at this point in the ritual⁴⁹ and indeed in the ritual of the Elevation of the *Panagia* as celebrated in the Monastery of Saint Sabas in Palestine the community's eating of the *Panagia* is accompanied by the community's sharing of a common cup of wine.⁵⁰ Here we recall that in the Jewish Passover *seder* the eating of the *afikoman* at the end of the meal proper is almost immediately followed⁵¹ by the grace after the meal said over the third ceremonial cup of wine of the *seder* rite, the cup which liturgical scholars generally identify as the precursor of the Christian Eucharistic chalice. Again, assuming that the grace after the meal in the *Didache* is said over a cup of wine (and would, therefore, be the Eucharistic chalice), we recall that one of the liturgical acclamations which are found at the end of this prayer is *maranatha*, an Aramaic phrase which has the same essential meaning as Daube's translation of the word *afikoman*, namely "the Lord has come" or more probably, "Lord, come." The *maranatha* may originally have been a liturgical acclamation or evocation accompanying the eating of the *afikoman*/Eucharistic bread, and we should note that, according to the account in the 1520 Florentine *Horologion*, the Elevation of the *Panagia* was originally accompanied by the evocation "O Lord Jesus Christ, come to our aid," a prayer which could conceivably embody a distant memory of the ancient, eschatological evocation *maranatha*. Is it possible, therefore, that in the Byzantine rite of the Elevation of the *Panagia*, we can see a vestige of the ancient Jewish Christian Passover/Eucharistic ritual of the *Afikoman*,

which Daube believed played an important role in the primitive Jewish Christian Passover/Eucharistic rite?

Yiannias notes that although the earliest extant account of the origin of the Elevation of the *Panagia* dates from the sixteenth century 1520 Florentine *Horologion* Eduard von der Goltz in his study of this ritual at the beginning of this century already noticed how the parallels between placing of the bread on a cushion indicating Christ's place at the table of the apostles' communal supper in the account of this *Horologion* and the hiding of the *afikoman* under a cushion in the Passover *seder* ritual gave this account a certain sense of authenticity. He also noted how this reserving a place for Christ also parallels the setting aside of a cup of wine for Elijah at the end of the *seder* meal.⁵²

Yiannias also noted that in sixteenth-century "Jerusalem" liturgical *Typikon* represented by the sixteenth-century *Katholikon* 81 of the Great Lavra⁵³ on Easter Sunday after the Divine Liturgy in the ritual in the refectory with the *artos* (the bread usually identified with the *Panagia*), this bread is brought forward and elevated to the exclamation, "Christ is risen from the dead,"⁵⁴ pronounced together with its response, "Truly he is risen,"⁵⁵ three times, and followed by the words "We worship his arising on the third day"⁵⁶ and the signing of the three troparia of the eighth ode of the paschal canon of St. John of Damascus.⁵⁷ Yiannias further notes that the *Typikon* consulted by J. Goar in his *Εὐχολόγιον sive rituale graecorum*⁵⁸ also prescribes this form for paschaltide, but does not mention the troparia. Furthermore, according to this *Typikon*, the bread is not broken, distributed and eaten on Easter Sunday, but this ritual is repeated in the refectory after the Divine Liturgy celebrated on each day of the paschal octave until Bright Saturday, the final day of the paschal octave in Byzantine tradition (since St. Thomas Sunday is liturgically a distinct feast of our Lord in its own right), when after the Divine Liturgy the *artos* is elevated as before and then cut up, distributed and eaten.⁵⁹ Thus, the bread usually identified with the *Panagia*, the Theotokos is preserved during the paschal octave and ritually elevated to paschal exclamations and chants from the end of the Divine Liturgy of the paschal octave until after the last Divine Liturgy of the octave and only then eaten at the conclusion of the paschal octave. Here all the Divine Liturgies of the paschal octave appear to be treated as a single Eucharistic celebration, whose conclusion and the conclusion of the

paschal octave is marked by the eating of the paschal bread, which outside of this paschal octave is identified with the *Panagia*. Here a ritual observance, which bears a formal similarity to my reading of the *Didache* Eucharistic ritual, has been expanded to embrace the Eucharistic celebrations of the entire paschal octave and represents its ritual conclusion.

Since the portion of bread which is the *afikoman* is defined as such by its being the last morsel of bread eaten at the Passover/Eucharistic meal, once the Eucharist ceased to form part of an actual meal, the *afikoman* ritual would simply cease to exist. We know, however, that once separated from the Eucharist, the Christian communal meal continued to exist independently as the *agape* meal. It is not possible, therefore, (especially if the ritual of the *afikoman* was not exclusive to the paschal Eucharistic meal)⁶⁰ that the *afikoman* continued to be observed in some form in the *agape* meals of some Christian communities with strong Semitic roots and taking with it vague recollections of its origins and original significance eventually found a place in the supper devotions of certain early ascetic communities, such as the Syrian *bnay qyama*, the sons and daughters of the Covenant, and was adopted by some early monastic communities (most probably in Palestine), finally evolving into the present Byzantine rite of the Elevation of the *Panagia*? The question then arises as to how and why this rite originally identified with the Theotokos and her Dormition, her precursory sharing in the Resurrection/Parousia of our Lord. In the absence of any direct evidence, we can only speculate. Once the Christian communal meal was separated from the Eucharist, the bread used in the *afikoman* ritual at the end of the meal would no longer be the Eucharistic bread itself, yet would continue to have strong Eucharistic associations. Is it possible that just as the humanity of the Incarnate Word had its origin in the humanity of the Theotokos, so an unconsecrated *prosphora* could be seen as representing the Theotokos? Yiannias noted that in the late seventh century or early eighth century *Ecclesiastical History* of Saint Germanos of Constantinople we find the idea that *prosphora*, from which the Lamb is taken, symbolizes the virginal body of the Theotokos⁶¹ and such a view would be in harmony with the Eucharistic doctrine of Germanos' contemporary Saint John of Damascus:

...if by His will God the Word Himself became man and without seed

cause the pure and undefiled blood of the blessed Ever-Virgin to form a body for Himself... then can He not make the bread His body and the wine and water His blood?⁶²

We might note here Yiannias' observation that the ritual parallels between the Eucharistic bread and the bread of the Panagia are great enough in popular piety "that some monks have been known to believe that the elevated *Panagia* is actually transformed into the body of the Virgin."⁶³

It is at least a very curious coincidence that the authors of the account in the 1520 Florentine *Horologion* attribute the origins of the Elevation of the *Panagia* to an appearance of the Theotokos to the apostolic community at the end of their communal supper to announce to them her resurrection from the dead, since the *maranatha* prayer/*afikoman* ritual appear to have originally commemorated the appearance of the risen Christ to his apostles during their evening meal on the first Easter Sunday in a way very similar to that portrayed in the passage quoted from Oscar Cullmann earlier. Whatever the reason may have been for changing the subject represented by the bread used in this ceremony from our Lord to his Mother, in the process the origins of this ceremony became identified with an event in the life of our Lady that corresponds to and is evidently modeled on the same appearance of the risen Lord to his disciples that the *maranatha* prayer/*afikoman* ritual commemorates. This strongly suggests that the rite of the Elevation of the *Panagia* originated as a commemoration of the appearance of our Lord to his disciples during their supper on the first Easter Sunday and thus is originally similar in both form and content to the *afikoman* ritual of the earliest Christian communities as understood by Daube, with which we believe it was at first identical and to which the ritual implied in the *Didache* Eucharistic texts bear witness. Both the account of the origin of this ritual in the 1520 Florentine *Horologion* and the special form of this ritual takes during the paschal octave in the sixteenth century *Katholikon* 81 and still prescribed in the modern *Pentecostaria* point to this ritual as having originally commemorated the appearance of the risen Christ to his disciples during their communal meals/Eucharistic celebrations. In addition, Yiannias cites Von der Goltz's observation that "the Σὺ εἶ ὁ ὁμολογηθεῖς"⁶⁴ which follows the invocation of the Virgin in Symeon's [of Thessalonica] account of the

Elevation of the *Panagia* would more logically follow the Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ βοήθει ἡμῖν mentioned by the [Florentine] *Horologion* as constituting the original invocation."⁶⁵ In this sense, Symeon of Thessalonica's account may be seen as providing us with a third and earlier witness to the originally Christological significance of this ritual.

Yiannias states that to his knowledge the earliest explicit reference to the elevation of the *Panagia* is a tenth century *Euchologion*, the Cod. Cryptoferratensis Γ. B. VII, quoted by Goar in his *Euchologion* of 1647,⁶⁶ and we have seen that the earliest known explicit identification of an unconsecrated *prosphora* with the Theotokos is found in the writings of Patriarch Germanos. Nevertheless, this does not preclude the possibility that there was an earlier tradition of using a loaf of bread offered for the Eucharistic celebration, but not actually consecrated in a ritual such as the Elevation of the *Panagia* before the development of the *Proskomide* ritual proper. After all, the *antidoron*, the blessed bread still given out at the end of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy, is known to have originally been such bread offered for the Eucharistic celebration, but not actually consecrated. Even today the loaf used in the Elevation of the *Panagia* is often larger than the other *prosphora* used in the *Proskomide* ritual and is often stamped with an image of the Theotokos rather than with the seal used on the *prosphora* which are actually consecrated. Is there any evidence for any ritual identification of the Theotokos with bread which would predate its use in the *Proskomide* ritual?

ST. EPIPHANIUS AND THE COLLYRIDIANs

We may note that in the *Panarion* or *Refutation of all the Heresies* of Saint Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis on Cyprus, (written 374-377) in his chapter (chap. 79) against the Collyridians, he refers to certain women in Thrace, Scythia and Arabia, who "...decorate a chair or square tool, spread out upon it a cloth and on a certain day of the year put out bread and offer it in Mary's name. All the women partake of the bread..."⁶⁷ Epiphanius first criticizes these women for taking upon themselves the priestly office in presuming to make such offerings and then goes on to stress that it is ridiculous, "an old folk's tale"⁶⁸ and impious to worship any human being, however exalted. He warns "Let them not say, 'We honor the Queen of heaven',"⁶⁹ in which he

quotes Jeremiah 44:18 and 25, and ends by asserting "...Whether these idle women offer the small loaf (*kollyris*) to Mary herself in worship of her, or whether they make this worthless offering on her behalf, the whole thing is ridiculous..."⁷⁰ Epiphanius' account suggests that the practice he is criticizing was evidently a domestic ritual of some sort and that it was made only once a year. His quotation of the words "We honor the Queen of heaven" suggests that he is both quoting the explanation used to justify their ritual by these women themselves and simultaneously recalling the passage from Jeremiah where the prophet condemns such offerings as idolatry, in effect making these women condemn themselves by their own words. His concluding words expresses some doubt on his part as to whether this offering of bread is made directly to the Theotokos herself as if she were a divine being or if it is offered to God on her behalf, but he ends on a final note that he finds any ritual offering by women ridiculous and impious. Epiphanius is undoubtedly right in seeing a survival of a pre-Christian practice in this offering of a small loaf of bread to the Mother of God as Queen of heaven,⁷¹ and he mentions that this ritual is only done once a year. However, it is also clear from Saint Epiphanius' account that like the Elevation of the *Panagia* the Collyridian bread offering is a domestic ritual. It is also curious to note there that, in the rite of the Elevation of the *Panagia*, the bread is first elevated "in the name of the Holy Trinity" before it is elevated in honor of the *Panagia*, the Theotokos. This initial elevation of the bread in the name of the Holy Trinity is found in most versions⁷² of the ritual I have seen and, according to John Yiannias' study, appears to be an integral part of the ritual, despite the fact that there seems to be no intrinsic connection between these two ritual acts.⁷³ One is tempted to speculate that the offering of the bread identified with the *Panagia* first to the Holy Trinity before its offering to the Theotokos herself may have been instituted precisely as a reaction to a criticism of the ritual essentially identical to that made by Saint Epiphanius.⁷⁴ We are, of course, indulging in pure speculation to postulate any direct or even indirect connection between the Collyridian ritual and the later Byzantine monastic Elevation of the *Panagia*. My principal reason for drawing attention to Epiphanius' account is that it is evidence that the practice of offering a loaf of bread or a cake (a sweet bread?) to the Virgin Mary is to be found in the Christian world at least as early as the end of the fourth century. Again, indulging at this

point in pure speculation, we might postulate that the domestic character of these Marian bread rituals and of the *afikoman* ritual once separated from the Eucharist proper might help to explain how the bread used in this ritual came to be identified with the Theotokos, a development which would be further accelerated by the increasing tendency of popular piety to find parallels in the circumstances of Mary's death with those very events of Christ's own resurrection that this ritual originally commemorated.

CONCLUSION

Robert Eisler and David Daube postulated that the New Testament accounts of Christ's words over and actions with the bread in the Last Supper are best understood from a perspective of the present Jewish *seder* ritual involving the *afikoman* understood as an anticipation of the Messiah, The Coming One. Deborah Bleicher Carmichael stresses that Melito of Sardis in his Christian Passover Haggadah refers to Christ as this Coming One, which implies familiarity with this ritual and its Messianic and eschatological significance in the Quartodeciman Christian community. We then noted how a ritual observance would clarify the exact nature of the ritual implied in the Eucharistic texts of the *Didache* and in particular the significance of the *maranatha* acclamation/invocation which concludes it. Then we observed that the Byzantine monastic supper devotion known as the Elevation of the *Panagia* bears a structural similarity to the *afikoman* ritual of the Passover *seder* and to our reconstruction of the *Didache* ritual and that both the 1520 Florentine *Horologion* and the paschal form of this ritual in various *Typika* and *Pentecostaria* point to it originally having commemorated the appearances of Christ to His disciples during their communal meals/Eucharistic celebrations. We noted that this ritual still preserves close ties to the Eucharist but would have lost its original significance once the Eucharist ceased to be celebrated in connection with an actual meal. We postulated that it might have served as part of the *agape* meal, but are unable to account for how it came to be associated with the Theotokos and her Dormition, an account of her appearance to the disciples after her death, which is evidently modeled on the appearances of the risen Christ to these disciples which this ritual originally commemorated. Finally, we noted that Epiphanius of Salamis bears witness to bread

rituals associated with the Virgin Mary as early as the end of the fourth century, and we suggested that the domestic character of both these bread rituals and the tendency of popular piety to find parallels between the Dormition of the Theotokos and the Resurrection of Christ might have led to the final identification of this early Jewish Christian Passover/Eucharistic bread ritual with the Theotokos and her Dormition.

We have seen from Yiannias' study that the earliest direct evidence for the existence of the ritual of the Elevation of the *Panagia* dates only from the tenth century and that the earliest indications of an identification of the Theotokos with an unconsecrated *prosphora* dates from the late seventh century at the earliest. Like Yiannias, we are unable to provide any original sources as to the origin or the character of the ritual before this time. However, if Daube's and my hypotheses are correct, then the antiquity of the Elevation of the *Panagia* is indeed as great as that claimed for it in the 1520 Florentine *Horologion* and its original significance was much more profound.

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NOTES

¹ Father John Quinn of St. Joseph's Seminary in New York.

² I was made aware of this essay by Father Robert Taft, SJ.

³ This action is the fourth of the traditional list of the fifteen orders of the *Seder* and is called *yahas*, 'let him divide.'

⁴ This action is the twelfth order of the *Seder* and is called *tsafun*, 'that which is hidden.'

⁵ Pesahim 119b.

⁶ In both the Sephardic and the Ashkenazi Passover rituals *afikoman* is the last morsel of food eaten at the *seder*, but in the Sephardic ritual after each participant has taken a piece of the *afikoman* and immediately before eating it he says: "In commemoration of the Pessach Sacrifice eaten to satiety." (English translation by Nachman Ran of the Hebrew text of the Altona-Hamburg Haggadah; Ms. 1751 [Cod. Levy 22], Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg). David Daube suggests that this identification of the unleavened bread with the Passover lamb might actually have preceded the destruction of the Temple and have originated in those *seder* meals celebrated outside Jerusalem in which the Passover lamb would not have been eaten as it was not universally after the destruction of the Temple. *He That Cometh* (London: Diocesan Council, 1966) 10.

⁷ *A Greek-English Lexicon* compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott and revised and augmented by Sir Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie, New (ninth) ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940) translates ἐπιχωμονος as "revelling."

⁸ ZNW 24 (1925), 161-92 and ZNW 25 (1926) 1-5, 249-58.

⁹ *A Greek-English Lexicon* translates ἀπικνούμενος as "the stranger, newcomer."

¹⁰ *He That Cometh*, 8.

¹¹ Deborah Bleicher Carmichael, "David Daube on the Eucharist and the Passover Seder," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 42 (1991) 53-54; *He That Cometh*, p. 8.

¹² We might note here that in among the Jews in Djerba "the person conducting the *seder* used to give the *afikoman* to one of the family, who tied it on his shoulder and went to visit relatives and friends to forecast the coming of the Messiah," a local custom

which might well have been originally inspired by the otherwise forgotten messianic significance of the *afikoman* as understood by Daube. "Afikoman," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, Ltd., 1971) 330.

¹³ Carmichael, 49. Carmichael notes that "Paul uses the symbol of the people as bread when he writes, 'Cleanse out the old leaven that you may be a fresh dough' (1 Cor. 5:7)."

¹⁴ Daube notes that in Aramaic these words mean the same as "This is me." *He That Cometh*, 13. Carmichael also postulates that a similar identification with the *afikoman*, the "Coming One," underlies the disciples' recognition of Jesus' identity in the breaking of the bread in the Emmaus account in Luke 24:30-31.

¹⁵ Daube notes that the philological derivation of the *epiousion* (usually translated "daily") in the Lord's Prayer is most likely from *epeimi*, which is best translated as "coming" and interprets the petition to mean "Give us this day our coming bread" or even at an earlier Semitic stage "Give us this day the bread of The Coming One." *He That Cometh*, 14.

¹⁶ Here Daube differs from Eisler, who believed that originally the wine had a messianic significance as well.

¹⁷ Cross, F.L. *Early Christian Fathers* (London: Duckworth, 1960) 107.

¹⁸ Carmichael, 60.

¹⁹ Hall, S.G., *Melito of Sardis on Pascha and Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) p. 35, n. 32.

²⁰ Carmichael, 59.

²¹ Jeremias, Joachim. *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960) trans. Norman Perrin, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966) 123.

²² Cullmann, Oscar. *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst*. 2nd ed., trans. A. Stewart Todd and James B. Torrance. *Early Christian Worship* (London: SCM Press, 1953) 13-14.

²³ Despite the fact that two of the twelve orders of Passover (see endnotes 1 and 2 above) concern the *Afikomen*.

²⁴ Daube especially gives importance to these words of the Passover ritual, because in the Aramaic of the Jerusalemite Targum, this passage is translated as "the poor, afflicted bread," which Daube sees as representing a type of personification of the Passover bread similar to Christ's identification of the Passover bread with himself.

²⁵ Alternative reading in the Coptic text.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Admittedly, the beginning of the Eucharistic meal proper is accompanied by the admonition, "But let not one eat or drink of your Eucharist, but those who have been baptized in the name of the Lord. For about this also the Lord has said, 'Do not give what is holy to the dogs.'" However, we should recall that it is the initial blessing, breaking and sharing of the bread of the meal which defines who constitutes the Eucharistic community, the same community which is united to Christ at the end of the meal by their common sharing in this same bread as the *afikoman*. Furthermore, in the supper ritual in the *de Virginitate*, 12, 13, traditionally attributed to St. Athanasius (but probably originating in early fourth century Egypt, in any case) and which indicates some familiarity with the Eucharistic texts in the ninth and tenth chapters of the *Didache* (although Dix denies any direct textual influence of the *Didache* [Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1945) 94-], a similar prohibition

of Christians sharing their evening meals with the unbaptized, should caution us against immediately identifying the Eucharistic meal referred to at the end of the ninth chapter of the *Didache* with the actual sharing of the Eucharistic bread and wine proper. As Dix stressed, both the Eucharist and the Agape were forbidden to the unbaptized. In short, even if our reconstruction of the Eucharistic ritual implied in the *Didache* with a breaking and sharing of bread at both the beginning of the meal and accompanying the *maranatha* acclamation after the thanksgiving prayer at the end of the meal is accurate, it is impossible to determine from the text of the *Didache* itself whether both the bread blessed, broken and shared at the beginning of the meal and the bread broken and shared at the *maranatha* acclamation at the end of the meal or only the latter was identified with the Body of Christ.

²⁸ It is very probable that the *afikoman* never existed in Gentile Eucharistic celebrations, given its Jewish and paschal origins.

²⁹ Jeremias, 116-117.

³⁰ Of course, in those Christian communities where the bread blessed, broken, distributed and eaten at the beginning of the Eucharistic meal is immediately identified with the Body of Christ and there is no parallel ritual at the end of the meal, there would have been a similar merging of the original blessing and eating of the Eucharistic bread at the beginning of the meal with the longer thanksgiving over the Eucharistic cup at the end of the meal once that meal became separated from the Eucharistic ritual actions proper.

³¹ John J. Yiannias also noted this similarity in his "The Elevation of the Panaghia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 26 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1972). 227-236.

³² Μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος.

³³ Μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ἀδιαίρετου τριάδος.

³⁴ Παναγία θεοτόκε βοήθει ἡμῖν.

³⁵ Παναγία, δέσποινα, θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου τῷ δεῖνι.

³⁶ Ταῖς αὐτῆς πρεσβείαις ὁ Θεὸς ἐλέησον καὶ σώσον ἡμᾶς.

³⁷ Yiannias notes, 228, that according to Symeon of Thessalonica the Elevation of the *Panagia* could be performed whenever one felt the need to invoke divine aid (Migne, PG, CLV, 661, 664), but that the specific occasions given in the sources were during the Divine Liturgy (according to Symeon of Thessalonica either during the *proskomide* or at the priest's commemoration of the Theotokos in the Anaphora) or after three different types of meals, namely, the meal preceding a journey, a meal in the imperial dining hall or the meal in a monastic refectory. Yiannias, 231, gives the order of the prayers, which precede and follow the Elevation of the *Panagia* for the first and the last of these meals as given in the various *Horologia* and in Symeon of Thessalonica.

³⁸ Yiannias, 227-228. The translations of these exclamations in this quotation are my own. Yiannias gives these exclamations in the original Greek, which I have given here in the corresponding footnotes.

³⁹ Περί τῆς ὑψώσεως τῆς παναγίας, ὅπως γέγονε, καὶ διατί.

⁴⁰ Yiannias, 234.

⁴¹ Δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. Δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

⁴² Μέγα τὸ ὄνομα.

⁴³ Χριστὸς ἀνάστη.

⁴⁴ Μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ βοήθει ἡμῖν.

⁴⁵ Χαίρετε, ὅτι μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας.

⁴⁶ Παναγία θεοτόκε βοήθει ἡμῖν.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 234-35. Here again the translations of these exclamations in this quotation are my own. Yiannias gives these exclamations in their original Greek which I have given here in the corresponding footnotes.

⁴⁸ Jean Danielou makes this point several times in his classic study, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity. [The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea]*, Vol. I, trans. & ed. by John J. Baker (Chicago, IL: The Henry Regnery Company, 1964)] as, for example, on page 46.

⁴⁹ Yiannias, 233.

⁵⁰ This information was given me by Deaconmonk Juvenal of the Skete of Saint Seraphim in Fridley-Minneapolis, Minnesota. Furthermore, the drinking of a cup of wine also accompanies the eating of the *Panagia* in the Melkite rite of the Elevation of the *Panagia*. Since I believe that the Elevation of the *Panagia* probably originates in early Palestinian ascetic communities, the traditional practice of the monastery of St. Sabas is especially significant in determining the original form and character of this meal ritual. Indeed, given the great formative influence of the liturgical practices of the monastery of St. Sabas on the Byzantine liturgy in general, one may reasonably postulate that it was from the monastery of St. Sabas that the ritual of the Elevation of the *Panagia* spread to the rest of the Byzantine monasticism. Yiannias also notes (233) "that in some present-day Orthodox communities which perform the Elevation of the Panaghia in the home wine is poured into the cavity left in the loaf by the excised Panaghia."

⁵¹ In the Ashkenazi ritual only the recitation of Psalm 126 comes between the eating of the *afikoman* and the grace after the meal. In the Sephardic ritual, however, nothing intervenes between the eating of the *afikoman* and the grace after the meal, which is in all likelihood the original practice, especially in light of the fact that in the Ashkenazi ritual itself the recitation of Psalm 126 is prescribed between the end of the meal and the grace after the meal only on the Sabbath and festivals.

⁵² Yiannias, 235. Eduard Freiherrn von der Goltz, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete in der altchristlichen und in der griechischen Kirche*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, XXIX (N.S., XIV) (Leipzig, 1905), 62-65.

⁵³ ΩΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΣΕΛΙΔΙ ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑ (Florence, 1520) (E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par les Grecs, aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, I [Paris, 1885], 96-97, 172; Nos. 36 and 63). MSS H15 and K34 are Nos. 670 and 1321 respectively in (Monk) Spyridon and Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the library of the Laura on Mount Athos with Notices from Other Libraries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), 220-21, 260. *Katholikon* 81 is No. CXXXVII in Aleksey Dmitrievskij's *Opisanie liturgiĕskikh rukopisej*, III: Τυπικά, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1917), 512-15.

⁵⁴ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν.

⁵⁵ Ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη.

⁵⁶ Προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τρίτημερον ἑγερσιν.

⁵⁷ Yiannias, 232. Here again the translations of these exclamations are my own. Yiannias quotes the actual Greek text found here in the corresponding footnotes.

⁵⁸ J. Goar, *Eὐχολόγιον sive rituale graecorum*, 2d ed. (Venice, 1730).

⁵⁹ Goar, 683; Yiannias, 232.

⁶⁰ Such would be the case if the *maranatha* acclamation accompanied the *afikoman* ritual in a primitive Christian Eucharist similar to that represented in the *Didache*, since there is no indication in the *Didache* that its Eucharistic texts are uniquely proper to a paschal celebration.

⁶¹ Migne, PG, XCVIII, 397, 452-453. We should note, however, that there is some doubt as to whether this passage was originally written by Germanos or is an interpolation in his text made at a later date when the *Proskomide*, the ritual preparation of the Eucharistic bread and wine before the Divine Liturgy proper, was more developed than it is believed to have been in Germanos' time.

⁶² *An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, translated by Frederick H. Chase, Jr., Fathers of the Church, Inc. (New York, 1958) 356.

⁶³ Yiannias, 233. Trempelas, Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι, 117. Cf. Von der Goltz, *Tischgebete*, 62. Yiannias attributes the origins of this pious misconception to the fact that both the Eucharistic bread and the bread of the *Panagia* are ritually elevated; however, he is wrong in his belief that the elevation of the *Panagia* was originally modeled after elevation of the Eucharistic bread and wine at the celebrant's words τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν since the earliest Greek manuscript with a rubric prescribing this Eucharistic elevation dates from 1475, and the practice was unknown in Russian before Nikonian reform in 1655, (see Paul Meyendorff, *Russia, Ritual, and Reform: The Liturgical Reforms of Nikon in the 17th Century* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1991) 188. This elevation of the Eucharistic bread and wine is still not performed in the Divine Liturgy of the Russian Old Believers) while his own study (228) demonstrates that an explicit reference to the Elevation of the *Panagia* may be found as early as the tenth century Cod. Cryptoferratensis Γ.B. VII.

⁶⁴ "You who are confessed."

⁶⁵ Yiannias, 235; Von der Goltz, *Tischgebete*, 62-65.

⁶⁶ Yiannias, 228. Other early sources given by Yiannias are the Co. E. M.6 in the Badische Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe, c. 1220; the Περὶ τῶν ὁρφυκαλίων of Pseudo-Codinus from between 1347 and 1368 and the Περὶ θείας προσευχῆς (*On Prayer*) of Symeon of Thessalonica; a Florentine *Horologion* from 1520, based on a Venetian *Horologion* of 1509; MS H15 of the Great Lavra; *Katholikon* 81 of the Great Lavra; a sixteenth or seventeenth century liturgical Typikon quoted by Goar in his *Euchologion* (683); Cod. 776 of the National Library in Athens, from the seventeenth century and a προσκυνητάριον written by the Lavriote monk Makarios Trigones in 1757.

⁶⁷ *Panarion*, 79.1.7. *The Panarion of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis. Selected Passages*. Tran. & Ed. by Philip R. Amidon, S.J. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 353-354.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.5.1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 79.8.2.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.9.3.

⁷¹ The practice Epiphanius condemns would be hardly unique as a survival of a pre-Christian ritual originally associated with the worship of a goddess becoming part of the cult of the Virgin Mary in Christian devotional practice. Indeed, many such rituals have survived down to our own time throughout the Mediterranean.

⁷² One exception I have found is the ritual prescribed in *The Great Horologion* published by Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Boston, MA, 196.

⁷³ Symeon of Thessalonica says of this twofold elevation, "The bread is presented to

the One Trinitarian God in the name of the Mother of God, because through her Divine issue we have known the Trinity, and through the One Person of the Trinity she bore in flesh she is truly glorified as Mother of God. She is the supplier of the Living Manna and mother of the Divine Drink." Migne, PG, CLV, 664; Galavaris' translation, 131. However, as Yiannias notes, Symeon's explanation "is a strained one" (236).

⁷⁴ We might note here that Symeon of Thessalonica evidently did not share Epiphanius' scruples about offering bread to the Mother of God, for in reference to the Elevation of the *Panagia*, he wrote, "We invoke her and we believe her to be present and ready to help us. And the bread is brought as a gift to her; or rather through her to her Son..." *On Prayer*, chapter 159: "The Rite of the Lifting Up of the Bread of the All-Holy [Mother of God]," Migne, PG, 155, 661-119. Translation from George Galavaris, *Bread and Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1970) 131.

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lic stamps of those days, before the introduction of rubber stamps, requires a special study (p. 17). We believe that in the presentation of the collection of printed seals, which appears in these pages, the starting point is provided for future researchers to approach in a particular manner and, perhaps, original manner, the organization and operation, as well as the historic course, of the Romaic ethnicity and society (p. 19).

This volume is a significant contribution to historic studies relating to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. According to the author, "the content of the volume, along with the challenge to the 'lover' of history and researcher, has the ambition to constitute aesthetically the object of an original and artistic approach" (pp. 13-14 and elsewhere in the book). It is our wish that the same author may also complete similar work for the other eparchies of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Sarah Hobson and Jane Lubchenco (editors), *Revelation and the Environment AD 95-1995*. World Scientific Publishing Co., 1997. Pp. xvi + 223.

The Environment and Religious Education (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1994: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 91.

The Environment and Ethics (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1995: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 79.

These three volumes are the product of meetings under the aegis of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Duke of Edinburgh, President of the World Wide Fund for Nature, representing one of the most fruitful examples of contemporary cooperation between the Church and environmental organizations. The most substantial of the three, *Revelation and the Environment*, contains the proceedings of the shipboard "Patmos Symposium" of September 1995. Contrary to what the title might suggest, the contents are not for the most part concerned with the Book of Revelation or, indeed, with Christian theology - though some contributions do deal with the use and abuse of this book, and its relevance as a starting point for the Symposium. Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon - whose contributions to

all three of these books stand out for their incisiveness and theological depth - notes the novelty of Revelation in introducing cosmology into eschatology (19), while the Anglican Bishop of London, Richard Chartres, emphasizes the necessity of appreciating the "Christian grammar" of symbolism for understanding this book. The alarming consequences of an "illiterate" interpretation of it come out in a discussion between two American participants, who have much to say about Protestant fundamentalist attempts to use Revelation as an endorsement for the destruction of the world.

The main purpose of this Symposium was to bring together into dialogue people representing a vast range of different standpoints. Representatives of a wide spectrum of world religions describe how their traditions view man and the natural world - leaving us with the distinct impression that there is no spiritual bolt-hole for the environmentally irresponsible. These presentations also challenge the reader to delve into his own tradition to discover the counterparts to positive elements stressed by other religions. But it is not only the voices of religious traditions that are heard here. In keeping with the structure of Revelation, the book is divided into seven sections, in the course of which we hear from hierarchs and politicians, scientists and businessmen, lawyers and economists, journalists and representatives of indigenous peoples. The number of facets of the environmental problem lucidly summarized in these short presentations is extraordinary; rarely does one find such breadth between two covers. Some contributions are especially hard-hitting. If the environmental prospect is so dire, asks Professor Norman Myers, why don't we do something about it? And his answer is cogent: it is the difference between (please do not repeat these experiments) dropping a frog into boiling water which it promptly leaps out of, and heating the water around it until it falls into a coma. Again, Herman E. Daly's "Science, Religion and Sustainable Development" should be required reading for all Church members involved with the environmental movement; describing "our entire society" as "living off the depleting moral capital of religious belief," he questions the honesty of avowed atheists who "appeal to religion to supply the missing moral fervor as a basis for consensus and action" (64). This should emphatically not be taken as a deterrent to contact or cooperation with people of environmental good will outside the Church; but it should be heeded as a warning against allowing them to set the agenda

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(p. 7). The author is the architect who oversaw the entire work with the collaboration of Demetrios Raitsanofsky.

The book is divided into two parts: a) the Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (pp. 9-32), and b) the building of the library (pp. 33-34). The first part, a brief history of the library, is offered from its foundation to our days on the basis of certain witnesses and inferences. The various items, which constitute the library, are presented in a harmonious manner and in combination with the archives and the Patriarchal press. Among other things, the author mentions the (great) Chartophylax and Bibliophylax as well as the two institutions: the Chartophylakion and the Bibliothek (pp. 14-16) during Byzantine times. He does not know the precise nature of the organization and the administrative structure of these institutions or of the person who was responsible to the Patriarch for their operation. On these matters, specific information can be gleaned from my books: *The Synodical Institution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (in Greek), Thessaloniki, 1986, pp. 197-215 and bibliography (pp. 627-657); *History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate: 1453 to Today* (in Greek), 2nd edition, Thessaloniki, 1987, pp. 198-209 and bibliography; *The Ecclesiastical Offices in the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (in Greek), Vol. 1, Thessaloniki, 1992, bibliography (pp. 278-283).

Although this book has no footnotes or bibliography, it does provide valuable general information and is luxuriously decorated with beautiful icons and photographs.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Akylas Mellas, *Seals of Constantinople. Parishes of the Most Holy Archdiocese (Churches, Schools, Associations, Guilds)*. Athens: Mnemosyne/Agra, 1996, 767 pp. Pictures, maps, designs.

The author was born in Constantinople in Turkey in 1934 and became a medical practitioner, practicing medicine successfully in his birthplace. He provides an example of the medical philosophers (*iatrophilosophoi*) of our race, who flourished after the capture of the city. Along with his profession, he became interested in the study of medieval Hellenism and specialized in Byzantine numismatics. He compiled a photographic archive of the Orient and collected sealed documents from communities and parishes in Asia Minor. He

speaks about these archives in his prologue (pp. 11-14) and in his introduction (pp. 15-26), which constitute the key to the understanding of all that follows. He also provides comments on them casually (pp. 672, 674, 686, 690-691, 697-698, 701, 715, 721), or whenever mention is made of codices, manuscripts, libraries and archives (pp. 11, 15, 669-670, 701, 703, 708-711, 718, 720, 737), and in connection with friends or others to whom reference is made, mainly from the same area and with the same interests with the author and other invaluable information. These persons include the Great Ekonomos Meletios Sakkoulides (pp. 11-12, 720), the Great Catechist Panagiotis Theodorides, the Bibliophylax of the Patriarchates (pp. 11, 672), the archaeologist-conservationist Demetrios Raitsanofsky, (pp. 11-12, 669-689), the philologist Demetrios Manos (p. 12), the Metropolitan of Perga Evangelos (pp. 12, 692, 694), the Great Chartophylax Manuel Gedeon (more than anyone else; pp. 12, 19, 669, 693, 743), Archimandrite Vasileios Drossos, Director of the Patriarchal Library (p. 13), Archimandrite Isaiah Simeonopetrites (p. 13), the educator Stelios Roides (p. 13), Iole Mellas, daughter and collaborator of the author (pp. 13-14), the author and archaeologist Constantine Grivas (pp. 166, 168), the dentist and patron of fine arts Stelios Melachroinos (pp. 81, 673, 694), the great rhetor Vladimir Mirmiroglou (pp. 121, 673, 694), the doctor Ioannis Bosines (pp. 686, 710-711, 726), Kallinikos Giouzeloglou (pp. 692-709), the Treasurer of the Patriarchates Antonios Maletskos, the attorney Theophanes Mendzos, the dentist Demetrios Chaviaropoulos, the professor Constantine Kallinikos, the Metropolitan of Kos Emilianos (p. 694), the doctor and author Phokion Sideropoulos (pp. 324, 499, 697), the Archon Protopsaltes of the Patriarchates Leonidas Asteris (p. 702), Aristotle Stavropoulos and Amalia Anagnostopoulos (pp. 710-711), the poet and author George Patriarcheas (p. 712) and the educator and author Kimon Tsokonas (p. 721).

Worthy of note is the oral or living witness, the information (pp. 692, 706-707 709, 719, 721) and the unpublished works of Manuel Gedeon and others (p. 693). The bibliography is supplied in a special chapter (pp. 723-729), within the text and in the footnotes. There is a rich utilization of texts and documents. The footnotes, or observations, constitute a second body of the text, although their place at the end of the book makes it difficult for the reader. There is not a table of contents, but this makes the reader all the more eager to delve into

the rich content of the book. These contents can be classified as follows: An Epistle of Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople (p. 7); A Note from the Governing Council of Mnemosyne (pp. 9-10); Prologue (pp. 11-14); Introduction (pp. 15-26); Phanar (pp. 31-126); Parishes within the Walls of Constantinople (pp. 127-299); Parishes of Pera (pp. 301-509); Associations of Constantinople (pp. 511-576); Guilds of Constantinople (pp. 577-635); Various Professions (pp. 637-668); Observations (pp. 669-722); Bibliography (pp. 723-729); Glossary (pp. 731-735); General Index (pp. 737-765).

The title of the book, *Seals of Constantinople (Churches, Schools, Associations, Guilds)*, reveals the character of the book, along with the exposition of the index of contents. It has to do with seals of persons, Patriarchs, hierarchs, other clerics, monks and other persons, either distinguished or unknown. Among the seals of all kinds, the most distinctive ones are those of the local tektonic lodges (p. 403). The oldest dated ecclesiastical seal of the Archdiocese of Constantinople is that of St. Nicholas of Hypsomatheia for the year 1710 (p. 17).

Besides the seals, the author supplies maps, designs, epigraphs, constitutions, icons, receipts, advertisements, identity cards, cover pages of regulations and other publications, lottery tickets, letters, greeting cards, programs of activities/ceremonies, ecclesiastical coins, baptism, marriage and death certificates, box tops, etc. This obviously must have been a very tiring task, finding, completing and classifying this entire material. In addition, however, historical and other information is supplied for each of the persons, institutions and everything else that appears in the pages of this book (pp. 18-19).

The time limits are from the beginning to the year 1922, i.e. the Asia Minor disaster. There are only a few exceptions to this rule (p. 26). In speaking about the Brotherhood of the Beggars and in saying that they have as a patron St. John the Merciful, who is the author, means none other than John Dukas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea. Skarlatos Byzantios relates that on the 12th of November, they celebrated the memory of St. John the Merciful, who is none other than the well-known Patriarch of Alexandria, John V, 609-620 (p. 610). Sophronios Eustratiades, formerly of Leontopolis, confirms this in his *Hagiologion of the Orthodox Church*, 2nd edition, Athens, 1905, p. 230.

The author is aware of further future research when he observes that the themes of the designs that have been engraved on the metal-

lic stamps of those days, before the introduction of rubber stamps, requires a special study (p. 17). We believe that in the presentation of the collection of printed seals, which appears in these pages, the starting point is provided for future researchers to approach in a particular manner and, perhaps, original manner, the organization and operation, as well as the historic course, of the Romaic ethnicity and society (p. 19).

This volume is a significant contribution to historic studies relating to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. According to the author, "the content of the volume, along with the challenge to the 'lover' of history and researcher, has the ambition to constitute aesthetically the object of an original and artistic approach" (pp. 13-14 and elsewhere in the book). It is our wish that the same author may also complete similar work for the other eparchies of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Sarah Hobson and Jane Lubchenco (editors), *Revelation and the Environment AD 95-1995*. World Scientific Publishing Co., 1997. Pp. xvi + 223.

The Environment and Religious Education (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1994: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 91.

The Environment and Ethics (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1995: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 79.

These three volumes are the product of meetings under the aegis of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Duke of Edinburgh, President of the World Wide Fund for Nature, representing one of the most fruitful examples of contemporary cooperation between the Church and environmental organizations. The most substantial of the three, *Revelation and the Environment*, contains the proceedings of the shipboard "Patmos Symposium" of September 1995. Contrary to what the title might suggest, the contents are not for the most part concerned with the Book of Revelation or, indeed, with Christian theology - though some contributions do deal with the use and abuse of this book, and its relevance as a starting point for the Symposium. Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon - whose contributions to

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In Memoriam

ARCHBISHOP SERAPHIM OF ATHENS AND ALL GREECE

(† 10 APRIL 1998)

Archbishop Seraphim of Athens and All Greece fell asleep in the Lord on 10 April 1998 after a prolonged illness, which he fought valiantly and with amazing patience. He was 85 years old and had spent 60 years in the service of the Church. His lying in state at the Athens Cathedral and his State Funeral, which were spontaneously and all-too-naturally attended by a flood of people, were unprecedented in character and significance. This was recognized as the final manifestation and sealing of the fact that this Greek Archbishop was a man of the people, a popular leader, a pastor who had his people at heart. The Funeral was attended by the state and political authorities of Greece and countless clergymen among whom the Hierarchs of the Church of Greece and official representatives of the Orthodox Churches headed by the Patriarchal Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Churches of Serbia, Rumania and Bulgaria were represented by their Patriarchs themselves.

Archbishop Seraphim served longer in this office than any other Archbishop of Greece since the foundation of this autocephalous Orthodox Church in the 19th century (1974-1998). During his office, seven Presidents of the Greek Republic, including the present one, Constantine Stephanopoulos, and thirteen Governments, including the present one under Prime Minister Constantine Simetes, took the oath of their high office in his presence. His falling asleep provides us with the opportunity to offer here some details about his biography and church ministry.

Archbishop Seraphim was born as Vissarion Tikas at Artesianon of Karditsa in the year 1913 of Epirote parents. Early on in his life he

was deprived of his mother, who died young, and thus developed an early attachment to the Church. Fr. Iakovos, the Abbot of Koroni, was his early guide and spiritual mentor. With his guidance and prompting he pursued his studies at the Church College of Corinth from where he graduated in 1936 and subsequently at the University of Athens from where he received his Theological degree (1940).

He was ordained to the Diaconate by Damaskenos the Metropolitan of Corinth (1938), while still a student at the University, and four years later the same Metropolitan, who had become Archbishop of Greece, ordained him to the Presbyterate and granted him the office of Archimandrite (1942). Archimandrite Seraphim first served in Athens at the parish of St. Luke and at the Synod until he was elected Metropolitan of Arta in 1949. His priestly ministry occurred during the hardship years of the Second World War and the German occupation of Greece, but he excelled in his care for the Greek victims, especially the children, creating the Philanthropic Association of "St. Luke the Evangelist" for the destitute the poor and the hungry. Besides, he was the only clergyman who got actively involved in the National Resistance Movement risking his life for the sake of his country.

As Metropolitan of Arta Archbishop Seraphim produced an amazing record of public works in all sorts of social activity, paying primary attention to his people and to their social needs. He worked decisively for the healing of the social traumas of the civil war that followed after the departure of the German army. He raised from the ruins of the war, the Metropolitan Center, the Old People's Home of George and Sophia Matsos, the Sacred Monastery of the Phaneromene in Arta, the first Hospice for the students and children of his Eparchy, a great number of churches, old and new, and several public schools and summer camps in villages of his Eparchy which were built on church property, the Kindergarten, the Stadium and the Church of St. Demetrios in Arta, the rejuvenation of the "Skouphas" cultural Association and its periodical, and the restoration of the Sacred Monastery of Kato Panayia, which became a center of learning and producing tapestries for orphan and poor girls. Such was his impact on his society that the head of the synagogue in Arta was received into the Holy Orthodox Church with his entire family.

From Arta, Archbishop Seraphim moved to the Metropolis of Ioannina (1958), where he continued his extra-ordinary activities of

service and diakonia to the people. His record of achievement is too long to recount. It would suffice to mention a few of these activities as they are noted in the official magazine of the Church of Greece *Ekklesia*. He completed the renovation of the Metropolitan Center, rendered operational the Zosimaeon Library, established a Philoptochos Fund for his Metropolitanate, the third Children's Hospice in the city and extended the Old People's Home of Zosimades. He restored old and established new educational institutions: the School of Domestic Personnel for Epirote girls, the Zosimaeon School, the Pavlideios School, the Elisabeteian School, the Gymnasium for Girls, the "Vellas" Seminary, the Residences for female and male students, the Technical Schools of George Stavros, the Spiritual Center of the Metropolis, the Public Technical Schools on the Perivleptos hill (which were built on property donated by the Church), and finally the establishment of the University of Ioannina, in the case of which the Archbishop played a primary role. Besides these, Archbishop Seraphim established 25 First Aid Stations in several villages of his Eparchy, which included training centers for first aid men and women, and financed several publications, such as, *The History of the Church of Ioannina*, or *The History of the Church of Northern Epirus*, or *The History of the Church of Arta*, or *The Epirote Leimonarion*, which contains the Acolouthies of Epirote Saints, as for example of St. George the Neomartyr, and a full catalogue of all the Saints of Epirus, or the periodical *Epirotika Chronika* (Epirote Chronicles).

Archbishop Seraphim was elected to the Archiepiscopal throne of Athens and All Greece on January 12 1974 and his enthronement took place four days later. Here he continued his program of service and diakonia unabated reaching its apogee by the time of his demise. It is briefly described in the Calendar (*Diptycha*) of the Church of Greece as follows: "He continued to be president until his death of the Central Committee of the Struggle for Northern Epirus. He served in various Synodical Commissions already as Metropolitan of Ioannina and most notably at the first Panorthodox Consultation of Rhodes. He paid official visits to almost all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, while he welcomed to Athens the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios (1987) and the Heads of most of the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches. He was granted Honorary Doctorates by various foreign Universities. As Head of the Church of Greece, he restored

the canonical order in the Hierarchy of his Church and the harmonious relation with the Great Church of Christ (the Ecumenical Patriarchate), which had been shaken. He contributed to the alleviation of hunger in the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, etc., took the initiative for summoning in Athens an all-Christian Consultation on the Mitigation of Hunger (1985) and amazed everyone by becoming a donor of his body to science for medical assistance. He arranged for a more equitable remuneration of church employees in the Archdiocese and the Metropolitan Centers, he established the fortnightly newspaper of the Church of Greece *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* (*Church Truth*) and an official church radio broadcasting station. He participated in the two recent Summits of the Heads of the Orthodox Churches, that of March 15th 1992 (Phanar) and that of September 26th 1995 (Patmos). He took a personal interest in the running and well being of the various Institutions of his Sacred Archdiocese: e.g. The General Philoptochos and the Parish Philoptochos Funds, the Orphanage of Vouliagmene, the "Damaris" Center for rehabilitation of unadaptable girls, the House for Old People of the Philoptochos, the Centers of Parish Charity, the Groups of Freely Living Elderly Persons, the Houses of Providence for the Elderly, the Sivitanideios Public School of Arts and Skills, the Demetriadeion, the Vapheiadakeion, the Kalespereion, the Speliotopouleion and the Achillopouleion Istitutes, the Ophalmiatreion (Eye Hospital) of Athens, The Pageios Committee, the Legacy of Anthea Melissourgou, the Kasimateion Institute, the Diamantes Pateras Institute the Zapheirópouleion Institute, the Scholarships Institute of Elene Speliotopoulos, The House of Achilles and Eudocia Kouvelos, the Public Utilitarian Legacy of Spyros Balias and several such Institutions which are mentioned in the *Diptycha* of the Church of Greece.

All these go to show how rigorous the pastoral work of the Archbishop of the Church of Greece actually is. Archbishop Seraphim worked quietly and constructively without advertising his operations. This is why he won the love and allegiance of the people, in spite of ill reports at the press. In this respect he is an example of a Hierarchy which needs to be taken seriously by all concerned. Archbishop Seraphim exemplified in his life and works that golden rule which St Gregory the Theologian has given us: "practice is the way to theory," or put otherwise, "orthopraxis is the way of orthodoxia."

President Clinton, in his message of condolences on behalf of the

American people, stressed the exceptional leadership of this Prelate of the Orthodox Church which exemplified the sense of responsibility for the close ties that exist between the Orthodox Church and the Greek People and have played an essential role in the preservation of the Greek civilization and the Greek language... and the Greek struggle for independence. "Archbishop Seraphim," he wrote, upheld with pride this heritage and this is why the Greek people and the friends of Greece everywhere are grateful."

His All-Holiness, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew put it succinctly: Archbishop Seraphim's "ministry and contribution as Head of the Church of Greece during the 27 years of his Archiepiscopal term was to restore the canonical order in his Church ... to settle successfully many and difficult problems in the relations between Church and State, to remain unflinching and unshrinking whenever the holy and sacred deposit of Orthodoxy was put at risk and to establish the authority and prestige of the Church of Greece."

May his memory be eternal!

[Acknowledgement: Most of the above is based on what was gleaned from *EKKLESIA: the Official Bulletin of the Church of Greece*, year 75th, 1st May 1998, No 9. For further details, see *CHARISTEION SERAPHIM TIKΑ: ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS AND ALL GREECE*, Thessaloniki 1984. I. M. Hadjiphotes, *Archbishop Seraphim* (in Greek), 2nd ed. Athens 1991. Photios G. Oikonomou, *The Archbishop of Athens and All Greece Seraphim: His ecclesiastical career and activity*, second edition, Athens 1993 (in Greek)].

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

DR. MICHAEL PAPAYANNIS

PROFESSOR OF ASTRONOMY

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

On July 1998 Dr. Michael Papayannis, Professor of Astronomy at Boston University died in Florida, after a long illness. His burial took place in Athens, Greece, where his parents were, had lived and been buried.

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St. Theodore the Studite and the Problem of the Paulicians

HIEROMONK PATAPIOS

It is well known to students of the Byzantine Church that St. Theodore the Studite, together with his followers, underwent all manner of cruel treatment at the hands of the State for his resistance to error and compromise in ecclesiastical affairs. A perusal of his voluminous correspondence is sufficient to reveal this. But what about his attitude to others who were on the receiving end of persecution from the imperial authorities? Out of nearly five hundred letters there survive two in which he addresses the problem of dealing with heretical movements. Neither letter has ever previously been translated into English, nor has much attention been paid to St. Theodore's views on those who lay outside the pale of the Church.

After being released from his second period of exile in 811, St. Theodore interceded with Emperor Michael I Rangabe on two separate occasions to refrain from killing those who were, or were considered to be, enemies of the Empire. I shall begin by describing these cases in brief, although for the purposes of this paper I am going to concentrate on the first case. After putting the persecution of the Paulicians in its historical context, I shall turn to a consideration of Theodore's arguments against applying the death penalty to heretics.

In his *Chronographia* St. Theophanes the Confessor relates how "out of great zeal for God" Emperor Michael I "moved against the Manichæans (now known as Paulicians) and Athinganoi in Phrygia and Lycaonia." At the recommendation of Patriarch Nicephoros "he decreed them liable to capital punishment." Nonetheless, "thanks to

other, malignant, advisors he let the pretext of repentance mitigate this—those captured by heresy cannot repent.” According to Theophanes, these advisors mistakenly believed that it was unlawful for priests to use capital punishment for the suppression of heresy. He cites the episode from Acts in which Ananias and Sapphira expire on being reproved by the Apostle Peter for lying to God and tempting His Spirit, and suggests that those opposed the use of force against “men who are absolutely impure in spirit and body and who worship demons” are enemies of the Apostles, and thereby of the Church.¹

In the following year Krum, the Khan of the Bulgarians, who had made a number of gains against the Byzantine Empire in the region of Mesembria, sent an embassy to Emperor Michael, in which he proposed *inter alia* that “fugitives from each side were to be returned to it, even if they had conspired against the state.” Once again, Theophanes blames certain “evil advisors” for dissuading the Emperor from accepting such peace terms. Out of false piety, stupidity and disregard for public affairs, they “declared that it was improper to return fugitives,” citing as Biblical warrant the statement of Christ: *him that cometh to Me I will in no wise cast out.*²

The Athinganoi need not detain us long. They were a Judaizing sect based, according to St. Theophanes, in Phrygia and Lycaonia. He first mentions them unfavorably in connection with Emperor Nicephoros I, whom he denounces as a “fiery friend of the Manichæans and his near neighbors the Athinganoi.” Nicephoros apparently had invited the Athinganoi to sacrifice a bull in order to put down a rebellion by one Bardanios. Theophanes is dismayed to report that the members of this sect were granted lands and allowed to carry on their business without fear.³

The origin of the Paulicians is still a matter for scholarly debate. Although their beliefs were characterized by later writers like Peter of Sicily and Patriarch Photios as being Manichæan, they actually bore a closer resemblance to those of Marcion. At any rate, the Paulicians were certainly a dualist sect. The cardinal point of their teaching was “the distinction between the good God, lord of heaven and creator of souls, who alone must be adored, and the bad God, the demiurge, creator and lord of the sensible world.”⁴ As such, they considered all matter to be evil. They believed that mankind was fallen, but ascribed a happy outcome to this fall on the ground that it had elicited a compassionate response from the good God. Some of them

thought that Christ was endowed with a celestial body, since He could not have taken one from the earth, which was the domain of the bad God. Others believed that He was an angel sent by the good God. In neither case did they acknowledge Him to be the Redeemer in anything like the traditional sense; they viewed Him above all as a moral teacher. They rejected all the sacraments, especially Baptism and the Eucharist. Most significantly for our purposes, however, they refused to venerate the Cross, the Saints and the holy Icons. In true Marcionite fashion they rejected the Old Testament in its entirety. From the New Testament they accepted the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul, although some of them were willing to admit the Epistles of Saints James, John and Jude, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, to their canon of Scripture.

Such attitudes as these, along with their opposition to any kind of ecclesiastical hierarchy, were not likely to endear the Paulicians to the Byzantine authorities. Nevertheless, Emperor Constantine V Copronymos, who in 752 had succeeded in recapturing the territories of Theodosiopolis and Melitene from the Armenians and had taken some of them prisoner, resettled them in Thrace three years later. Theophanes notes that they were responsible for spreading the Paulician heresy.⁵ It is possible that they were subsequently caught up in the events surrounding the Seventh Œcumenical Synod. In 786 Empress Irene and Patriarch Tarasios convened a Synod to restore the veneration of Icons, but the Bishops were prevented from sitting by "the troops of the *scholariii*, the *excubitores*, and the rest of the imperial guards," who "bared their blades to attack the bishops and abbots with death."⁶ Theophanes makes no explicit reference to the Paulicians at this point in his account. However, in his third *Antirrhetic* against Constantine V Patriarch Nicephoros I relates that those who had been alienated or had fallen into distress sought after a religion in which icons and reminders of Christ's incarnation did not appear, and so "they found one that had appealed to them for some time, I mean the unbelief and atheism of the Manichæans, which was in harmony with their opinions and permitted them to do as they pleased."⁷ Although St. Nicephoros does not mention the Paulicians in this passage, Paul Lemerle argues that it is "very suggestive of what happened in the time of Irene" and is also "the most clear regarding the relation, otherwise very occasional and superficial, between iconoclasm and Paulicianism, a kind of religious refuge for

those who could not any longer profess iconoclasm and refused to profess *iconodulia*.⁸

Whatever the truth of their involvement with the Iconoclast Controversy, the Paulicians appear to have enjoyed a period of relative toleration under Emperor Nicephoros.⁹ During this period one of the leaders of the sect, Sergios, who was motivated by an almost evangelical zeal to spread the teachings of Paulicianism,¹⁰ "made the majority of his missionary journeys, apparently without being disturbed."¹¹ Earlier on I mentioned Theophanes' rather jaundiced account of Emperor Nicephoros' relations with the Athinganoi. It seems that in addition to their religious zeal the Paulicians were known for their military prowess,¹² which they manifested in helping Nicephoros to quell the revolt by General Bardanes Tourkos in 803.¹³ But Theophanes connected this willingness on the part of Nicephoros to harness the energies of the Paulicians with the subsequent reverses suffered by the Byzantines at the hands of Khan Krum of the Bulgarians. "This was the wrath of God condemning Nikephoros' madness; because of it, what appeared to be his successes (over which he had boasted) rapidly crumbled." At the same time "people stopped censuring the wicked doctrines of the presumptuous heresies which opposed God: the many Paulicians, Athinganoi, Iconoclasts, Tetraditoi."¹⁴ It is often claimed that the military failures of iconodule emperors caused iconoclastic counter-reactions. Here, if Theophanes is to be believed, we see an example of such a counter-reaction resulting from earlier concessions granted to openly iconoclast sects like the Paulicians. Theophanes explains the resurgence of iconoclast sentiment as a delayed result of divine displeasure at imperial laxity shown towards the enemies of the Church.

As Paul Alexander puts it, "the decision to persecute the Paulicians was related, on the one hand, to Byzantium's defeats during the war against the Bulgars and, on the other hand, to the highly effective missionary work carried out by the Paulician movement under one of its greatest 'teachers,' Sergios."¹⁵ At this period the threat that they posed to the Empire was religious rather than military. Later in the ninth century they were to become more of a military problem, largely as a result of the severe persecutions unleashed against them.¹⁶

So much for the historical aspects of this issue. What sort of justifications were proposed for reacting against heresy with the kind of harshness that Michael I began to employ until he was dissuaded by

“evil advisors” like St. Theodore? As we have already seen, St. Theophanes praises this Emperor for his great zeal and piety, which makes sense, given that Michael was Orthodox in his beliefs, and perhaps more so than his predecessor Nicephoros.¹⁷ A desire to defend the Faith was certainly reason enough to undertake coercive measures against dissidents. This, however, is about as far as we can legitimately go in trying to account for the attitudes of the authorities. Alexander points out that “except for the treatises against the Paulicians, the surviving literature reflects the point of view of the Anti-Moechians and the Iconophiles.” As a result, “any study of the argumentation used by the persecutors must be based on sources emanating from their victims.”¹⁸ In the case of the Paulicians we have the *History of the Manichæans* by Peter of Sicily. But this work does not have much to say about the persecution of the sect in the second decade of the ninth century, and still less about the grounds alleged for the need to eradicate them. Apart from a brief passage in the *Vita* of Patriarch Nicephoros, we are compelled to rely entirely on the *Chronographia* of St. Theophanes and two letters by St. Theodore.

The difficulties to be encountered in analyzing both the course of events and the reasons underlying them are clearly brought out by Venance Grumel in his masterly survey of documents pertaining to the history of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Theophanes mentions that Michael decreed the death penalty against the Paulicians “at the behest of the holy patriarch Nikephoros and other pious men.”¹⁹ The text of the recommendations (ἐισηγήσεις) made by the Patriarch has been lost. However, in the *Vita* of St. Nicephoros by the Deacon Ignatios there is a reference to an ἐγγραφὸς τόμος by Nicephoros to Michael in which he informed the Emperor about the religious beliefs and practices of the Jews, the Phrygians and the Manichæans.²⁰ But, as Grumel observes, the *Vita* “does not speak of the death penalty, but says simply that the Patriarch obtained the interdiction of the public worship” of these three groups. The hagiographer “avoids anything that could recall a quarrel of his hero with the great champions of Orthodoxy that the Studites were.”²¹ For his part, Theophanes says nothing about the Jews, while Theodore speaks only about the Paulicians. Apart from the reference to capital punishment in Theophanes, the only other indications of the imperial sentence of death against the heretics are in Peter of Sicily and St. Photios.²²

We have already seen how Theophanes attempts to justify the application of capital punishment to the Paulicians. He claims that those who denied that clergy had the right to resort to such measures to suppress heresy were opposed to Holy Scripture in every respect, but he cites only the example of Ananias and Sapphira to support this claim. Owing to the paucity of extant sources on the side of the hardliners we do not know what other passages were used to justify the death penalty in this case. So it is to St. Theodore that we must now turn for the other side of the story.

The first of the two letters in question was written sometime between 815 and 818 to one Leo, a dealer in perfumes. Theodore was already in exile for the third time as a result of the renewal of iconoclasm by Emperor Leo V the Armenian. Addressing Leo as "an ardent zealot," he observes "what kind of fire it is that burns the Church of God, evidently fed by previous fuels." He ascribes the present turmoil in the Church over the veneration of Icons to the "adulterous wedding ceremony" performed for Constantine VI, which led to the Moechian controversy, to the "persecutions, imprisonments, exiles and earthquakes" that occurred in the wake of the illicit marriage, to the events surrounding the earlier Simoniac controversy,²³ and finally to what happened in the case of the Paulicians. In connection with the Simoniac affair he points out that "the Church is not accustomed to vindicate herself by means of whippings, exiles and imprisonments."²⁴ He then states that "ecclesiastical law does not bring knife, sword and whips against anyone; *for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.*"²⁵ Like Theophanes he bases his views on Scripture, but he does not believe that clergy should be using any kind of force, let alone capital punishment, against dissenters.

St. Theodore's views on this subject emerge much more clearly from a letter to Bishop Theophilos of Ephesus, one of the few Iconodule Hierarchs at that time. This letter is dated sometime between 821 and his death in 826. Theodore begins by registering his dismay at the increase of quarrels and dissensions among the defenders of the holy Icons, but resolves to defend the truth as he sees it. Theophilos had evidently written a letter to one of Theodore's fellow-strugglers, Athanasios, in which he took the Studite to task for advising "neither that the Manichæans should be killed nor that they should not be killed." It is not entirely clear why the issue is framed in these terms. Surely it would have made more sense to reproach

Theodore for advising that they should not be killed. Perhaps he was trying to adopt a position of neutrality. At any rate, the following words suggest that St. Theodore had come out against killing the Manichæans, that is, the Paulicians: "but if we had conceded it, we should have done the greatest and noblest deed."²⁶

Theodore finds Scriptural warrant for his position in the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares. To the servants who ask whether they should gather up the tares that have been sown in the field of wheat by the enemy, the householder responds that they should not, lest in gathering the tares they should also root up the wheat with them. Both wheat and tares should be left to grow together until the harvest.²⁷

At this point in his letter St. Theodore has recourse to the exegetical homilies on St. Matthew's Gospel by St. John Chrysostomos: "and that He called the heretics tares, evidently both those of that time and those who would come later, that is, all heretics, let us listen to Chrysostom interpreting this very point."²⁸ The householder, that is, Christ the Master, forbade the servants to gather the tares "in order to hinder wars from arising, and blood and slaughter. For it is not right to put heretics to death, since an implacable war would be brought into the world."²⁹ St. Theodore then continues his citation of Chrysostomos: "What else does He mean by *lest ye root up also the wheat with them* than this, that if you are going to take up arms and slaughter heretics, many of the saints must of necessity be slain together with them?"³⁰ He adds that "this has happened even in our times; for bloodshed and slaughter have filled our world and many of the saints have departed at the same time."³¹

It is interesting to note that Theodore does not quote St. John's commentary in its entirety. He omits his observation that if heretics are incurably diseased, punishment will eventually overtake them without harm to the Faithful, and that it is therefore better to wait for the proper season, to let nature take its course, as it were. He also fails to take into account Chrysostomos' point that the tares have the potential for becoming wheat, that is, that heretics may finally repent of their errors, if given time. "He does not, therefore, forbid us to check heretics, to stop their mouths, to eradicate their freedom of speech, and to break up their assemblies and confederacies, but He does forbid us to kill and slay them."³² As we shall see from what follows, St. Theodore brings out more clearly than St. John the idea

that heretics should be taught rather than punished. He does not advocate even the kinds of repressive measures that St. John concedes to those in authority. This may be the reason why he does not include this passage from St. John's homily.

Theodore goes even further than St. John in the next section of his letter: "And what do we say about not allowing heretics to be killed? It is not given to us even to pray against them." He quotes from an epistle of St. Dionysios in which the Areopagite tells a cautionary tale about the Apostle Carpos, who had prayed against heretics that they should be removed from life.³³ Theodore adds that "we should not pray against heretics, but for them, as the Lord indicated at the time of His Passion, when He said to His own Father: *Father, forgive them their sin; for they know not what they do.*"³⁴

St. Theodore cites the Areopagite again a little later in the letter when he mentions the passage in the St. Luke's Gospel in which the disciples ask Christ to command fire to come down from Heaven and consume a Samaritan village. The people of this village had not prepared to receive Christ, and so the disciples thought that they deserved to be destroyed as were the Samaritans by the command of Elias.³⁵ St. Dionysios explains that "the disciples did not please Jesus when He heard these examples, since at that time they were not partakers of the gentle and good Spirit. For our most divine Establisher of mysteries told them to teach in gentleness those who were opposed to the teaching of God; He said that it is necessary for those in ignorance to be taught, not punished."³⁶ As further confirmation of what Dionysios says, St. Theodore cites a passage from St. Ignatios' *Epistle to the Philadelphians*: "We must hate those who hate God and waste away on account of His enemies, but we must not persecute or strike them, as do the nations who do not know God."³⁷ He amplifies this with the remark that if we must not strike them, still less must we kill them.

Towards the end of his letter St. Theodore deals with two examples of Saints from the past that had been urged as objections to his more lenient approach to the treatment of heretics. St. Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain had apparently recommended a monarch to take punitive measures against a nation that was slaughtering Christian people. Theodore responds that he himself is now exhorting the Emperor to do the same, "to make war on the Scythians and the Arabs, who are slaying the people of God, and not to spare them. In the

latter case the war is against enemies, but in the former it is against the heretics who are subjects of the Empire."³⁸ As for the case of St. John the Faster, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Theodore denies that he ordered magicians to be impaled, being of the opinion rather that he permitted it: "for they were murderers, against whom those in power should not be prevented from putting Roman law into practice; *they bear not the sword in vain...they are revengers upon him that doeth evil.*"³⁹ He concludes this section of the letter by maintaining that "one should not allow them to use it against those for whom the Lord has forbidden it; for although it is permitted for those who rule over bodies to punish those caught in bodily wrongdoing, it is not permitted for them to punish those who transgress in spiritual matters. This belongs to those who rule over souls, whose means of correction are excommunications and other penalties."⁴⁰ In other words, St. Theodore believes that it is perfectly acceptable for those in authority to use force and even violence against the enemies of the Empire and against subjects of the Empire who commit serious crimes. Whether heretics merit capital punishment, therefore, depends on their civic status. The Paulicians evidently fell within the boundaries of the Empire during the reign of Michael I. This was fortunate for them, since Theodore was able to prevail upon the Emperor to desist from putting them to death.

St. Theodore concludes his letter to Bishop Theophilos with the following words: "we have said boldly to our Most Blessed Patriarch that the Church does not avenge herself by the sword (and he agreed), and to the Emperors who committed the slaughter, to the first, "God was not pleased by such a slaying," and to the second, who demanded a defense for the slaying, "sooner will my head be removed than I would consent to this."⁴¹

As for the fate of the Paulicians after Theodore had successfully interceded for them, it seems that the severe persecution meted out to them by Leo V and Michael II drove them into the arms of the Muslims. Some of them joined the army of the rebel Thomas the Slav in his campaign against Michael II, while others, under the leadership of the charismatic Sergios, established an independent state on the upper Euphrates, which lay within Arab territory. By now they had become a military threat to the Empire, and this may well have led to the harsh action taken against them by Empress Theodora in the early 840s.⁴² In the light of the Paulicians' subsequent militancy, it is inter-

esting to speculate what kind of policy St. Theodore would have recommended the later rulers of Byzantium to adopt against them.

As a historical footnote, I think it is worth adding that over a century later Patriarch Theophylact of Constantinople wrote a letter to King Peter of Bulgaria in which he advised him to refrain from inflicting the death penalty on the Bogomils, who had assumed the religious mantle of the Paulicians. After admitting that the civil laws of Christians prescribe capital punishment for heretics, "especially when they see the evil creeping up, advancing, and causing damage to many people," he nonetheless tells the King that he, as a Churchman, does not and cannot allow it, "in case they look to a conversion of repentance, either all or some of them, and God, Who alone loves mankind and is merciful cures them."⁴³ It seems that the note of caution and moderation introduced by St. Theodore in the previous century had not disappeared from Byzantine ecclesiastical policy.

It would perhaps be anachronistic to conclude, on the basis of this investigation, that St. Theodore was a champion of human rights, still less a pacifist. He was certainly willing to concede to the State the right, even the duty, to crush foreign invaders. However, he clearly believed that religious dissenters who lived within the confines of the Empire should be persuaded rather than forced to abandon their erroneous beliefs and practices. Contrary to St. Theophanes, he emphatically rejected the idea that clergy had any business recommending the emperor to inflict the death penalty on heretics. He also denied that the correction of heretics was the responsibility of the State. It was up to the Church to apply whatever canonical sanctions she saw fit in order to chastize those in error. Coming from one who had suffered as much as he did from the imperial authorities for his defense of the Canons and the Icons, this attitude of moderation is all the more impressive.

NOTES

¹ 495, trans. Harry Turtledove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 174-175.

² 497-498, *ibid.*, pp. 176-177. The reference is to St. John 6:37.

³ 488, *ibid.*, p. 169.

⁴ R. Janin, "Pauliciens," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. XII.1 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey, 1933), col. 57.

⁵ 429, *ibid.*, p. 118. According to Milan Loos, a "movement which thus consistently

discarded the whole system of dogma, worship and organization of the church was bound to come into conflict with the Byzantine state, which was too [*sic*] closely involved with the Orthodox church. No doubt when iconoclasm was at its height, under Constantine V, the persecution of the Paulicians slackened" (*Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* [Prague: Academia, 1974], p. 36). Steven Runciman states that the iconoclast emperors must have felt sympathy for the Paulicians and even that Constantine V held views suggesting a Paulician origin (*The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947], pp. 38-39).

⁶ Theophanes 462, *ibid.*, p. 146.

⁷ PG 100:501BC.

⁸ "L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *Travaux et Mémoires* 5 (1973), p. 80.

⁹ "If we believe Theophanes' account of Nicephorus, then we must believe that the Emperor almost joined the heresy of Paulicians" (Pavlos E. Niavis, *The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I (AD 802-811)* [Athens: Historical Publications St. D. Vasilopoulos, 1987], p. 116).

¹⁰ According to Runciman, "Once converted, he flung himself into the movement; and under his guidance Paulicianism reached its heyday. His letters have the true ring of the missionary. 'From East to West, from North to South have I hastened, preaching the Gospel of Christ, tramping on my feet'" (*Medieval Manichee*, p. 36).

¹¹ Lemerle, "L'histoire des Pauliciens," p. 80.

¹² J.M.Hussey cites "their aggressive militancy and the close-knit nature of their communities" (*The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986], p. 157). According to G.H. Huxley, "Wise emperors had valued the fighting qualities of the Paulicians instead of alienating them" ("The Historical Geography of the Paulician and T'ondrakian Heresies," in *Medieval Armenian Culture* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983], p. 82).

¹³ Niavis, *Reign*, p. 116.

¹⁴ 496, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁵ "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications," *Speculum* 52 (1977), p. 245.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹⁷ On the other hand, Paul Alexander cites hagiographic texts that extol Nicephorus' piety and concludes that "among his contemporaries Nicephorus had the reputation of being not only an extremely able general and administrator but also an orthodox Christian" (*The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], pp. 72-73).

¹⁸ "Religious Persecution and Resistance," p. 253.

¹⁹ 495, *op. cit.*, p. 174: "ἀποφηνάμενος ταῖς Νικηφόρου, τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου, καὶ ἄλλων εὐσεβῶν εἰσηγήσεων."

²⁰ PG 100: 69BC.

²¹ *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I, fasc. II (Chalcedon [Kadiköy]: Socii Assumptionistae, 1936), no. 384.

²² PG 104:1301A (Peter); PG 102:77A (St. Photios).

²³ At the Seventh Œcumenical Synod there was much disagreement between those who upheld a rigorist interpretation of the Canons and those who were prepared to be more flexible over how to deal with those Bishops who had paid money for their offices

during the first wave of iconoclasm.

²⁴ *Ep. 94* (*Ep. 23* in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* VIII.1, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi [Rome, 1871], p. 21), ed. Georgios Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. II (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 31.2; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1992), p. 214.

²⁵ The quotation is from St. Matthew 26:52.

²⁶ *Ep. 455* (*Ep. II.155* in Migne, *PG* 99:1481D), Fatouros, p. 645.

²⁷ St. Matthew 13:24-30.

²⁸ *Ep. 455* (*PG* 99:1484AB), Fatouros, p. 645.

²⁹ *Homilies on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* 46.1 (*PG* 58:477).

³⁰ *Ibid.* 46.2.

³¹ *Ep. 455, ibid.*

³² *Homilies on St. Matthew, ibid.*

³³ "Let us again hear the Lord, saying to Saint Carpos, as is indicated through the voice of the all-wise Dionysios: 'Strike Me from now on; for I am ready once more to suffer for the salvation of men, and this is pleasing to Me, as long as other men do not sin. But see whether it is good for you to exchange the habitation in the chasm with the serpents for that with God and the good angels who love mankind'" (*ibid.* The quotation comes from St. Dionysios' *Epistle* 8.6 [*PG* 3:1100C]).

³⁴ St. Luke 23:34.

³⁵ St. Luke 9:54; IV Kings 1:9-12.

³⁶ *Ep. 8.5; PG* 3:1096C.

³⁷ *Philadelphians* 3:5 [longer version]; *PG* 5:821B. Paul Alexander suggests that this passage is a late 4th century interpolation by an unknown heretic, either Apollinarian or Arian ("Religious Persecution and Resistance," p. 254).

³⁸ *Ep. 455* (*PG* 99:1485B), Fatouros, p. 647.

³⁹ Romans 13:4.

⁴⁰ *Ep. 455, ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, pp. 39-40. According to some chroniclers, as many as 100,000 Paulicians perished under Theodora, but there is no way of corroborating this figure.

⁴³ Ivan Dujcev, "L'epistola sui Bogomili del patriarca costantinopolitano Teofilatto," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. II (Studi e Testi 232; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), p. 89.

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The Christ of History and the Christ of Revelation¹

DR. PHEE-SENG KANG

THE CHRIST OF FAITH IS THE CHRIST OF HISTORY

Christianity is an historical religion. It is not a system of ideas or moral precepts but bases its truth upon certain historical happenings — the historical events of the people of Israel culminating in the life and death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. In particular, it is the historical reality of Jesus that guarantees the truth of Christian faith and authenticates its teaching about man and God. It is this history which provides Christianity with the interpretative key to the understanding of the universe, the human nature and destiny. It is also this history which unfolds the Christian understanding of the mystery of God the Trinity — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Christian theology, therefore, is not a philosophical system. It engages in the understanding of the meaning and significance of the man Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. Christianity in a nutshell is faith in *this* historical person.²

Christianity has generally been regarded as a western religion. But ironically, this Christian faith in a certain historical person has proved to be particularly difficult, and sometimes impossible, for the western mind to grasp. The mind trained in western science and humanism prefers to subsume itself under the categories of universal laws and timeless ideologies. To believe that God has chosen to reveal himself uniquely in this man Jesus or that only this man was God incarnate is indeed severely offensive to the western mind. It is not surprising therefore that for more than 250 years in Protestant theology, the historicity and singularity of God's revelation in Jesus has often been

overlooked and even rejected.

This diminution of history in Protestant theology takes its rise from G.E. Lessing's famous dictum — "the contingent truths of history can never provide the proof of the necessary truths of reason" — which drives a deep wedge between the relativities and contingencies of history and the absolute truth of religion. Baptised into Lessing's dichotomy between history and theology, modern scholars operate with a sharp distinction between *Historie* and *Geschichte* resulting in the radical dualisms between fact and value, history and significance, fact and meaning. They proceed to discern the "meaning," "value," and "significance" of history, that is, history as *Geschichte* — history as it means or as it can mean for us without any need for an objective ground in space and time.³ From within such a *Historie/Geschichte* dichotomy, there arises inevitably in neo-Protestantism a radical disjunction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith, and a conviction that the portrait of the latter has little, if any resemblance to that of the former. In other words, whoever this Jesus of history was, he was radically different from the Christ that was worshipped by the church as the Lord and Saviour of the world. The problem of the historicity and uniqueness of God's revelation in Jesus is now 'solved' by reducing the Jesus of history to a vanishing point, for he merely serves as a sort of springboard for the church to leap to a Christ of faith and just like a springboard, history is left decisively behind. Thus the cries for a "Christianity without Jesus" in modern theology in both the liberal and the existential traditions.

What these scholars fail to appreciate is the fact that the object of Christian faith, as witnessed by the holy scriptures and the great ecumenical creeds, is the Jesus of history as he lived with the first century disciples. The Christ of faith is the Christ of history. "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and touched with our hands, concerning the word of life — the life was made manifest, and we saw it, and testify to it, and proclaim to you the eternal life which was with the Father and was made manifest to us — that which we have seen and heard we proclaim also to you, so that you may have fellowship with us; and our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ."⁴ The living faith of the church that ushers in a new era in human history in the first century is rooted in history. It is

anchored in the history of the man Jesus, who, as the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed puts it, "because of us men and because of our salvation came down and became incarnate, becoming man, suffered and rose again on the third day, ascended to the heavens"

KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHRIST OF HISTORY

Given the challenge of Lessing to theologians after him, it is not surprising to see that the problem of modern Protestant theology is to a large extent the problem of the humanity of Jesus Christ. In spite of the vigorous historico-critical method cherished and employed by many biblical scholars, and in spite of the immense amount of knowledge about the background, the language, and the text of the Bible, the historical Jesus keeps eluding us. We are not one step nearer to the Jesus who actually lived in the first century. What has been revealed of Jesus by the so-called "quest of the historical Jesus" is only his strangeness and his remoteness. And he is seen ultimately as the Unknown. "And the world knew him not" as the Fourth Evangelist had said.

Who then is this Jesus Christ? What is he really like in himself? Is he one of the many who were found, and modified and later discarded by the questers of the historico-critical method? Or is he just a mythological figure of the primitive church whose historicity can in principle never be known by the modern man, as claimed by Rudolf Bultmann?⁵ Or is he the one who encountered the first century disciples and was witnessed by them as the Christ, the Son of God? Will the real Jesus please stand up?

The crux of the problem lies in the fact that the various approaches to the humanity of Christ in the liberal or the existential traditions have ruled out, *a priori*, the Christ of faith as the Jesus of history. They have as their starting point concluded that the incarnation is a Hellenistic myth, and that the Christ of faith is anything but historical. Their dualistic presuppositions have in effect cut all historical relations off from the Jesus of history and turned him into someone that fits their mythological constructs, though, as Eduard Schweizer rightly reminds us, the real man Jesus fits no formula.⁶ What finally concerns them is therefore not the Jesus of history but rather the so-called myths of the New Testament which must be first read into the biblical texts only to be demythologised later. Their approaches in-

evitably fail to recognise Jesus as he really is in himself.

The impasse of the many approaches to the historical Jesus in modern scholarship lies in their refusal to understand Jesus, as scientific rigor demands, out of his own context, out of his own intrinsic significance. There was no genuine interest in the person of Jesus.⁷ There was no attempt to construe Jesus Christ, Son of David, within his own Hebraic context. There was no attempt to understand Jesus out of his self-revealing words and acts among his disciples. There was no attempt to take seriously the experience of the first century disciples as true historical encounter, and their witness as genuine historical response. There was also no attempt to interpret Jesus Christ out of his own intrinsic λόγος. If Jesus is the λόγος of God incarnate as witnessed by his disciples, how can one really know Jesus when one refuses to let oneself be addressed by his λόγος?

The priority of the "who?" question

Knowledge of the Christ of faith must begin, as Dietrich Bonhoeffer aptly insists, with the "who?" question: *Who* is this Jesus Christ? To begin with the "who?" question in Christology is to begin with the actuality of that knowledge already *given* in the same sphere of reality to which we belong. As Bonhoeffer points out, "The question, 'who?,' presupposes an answer which has already been given."⁸ Christology therefore is not the creative expressions of our own spiritualities, but the obedient witness of the church to the given reality of the Christ of history. When we fail to start with the Christ *given*, we end up making Christ in our own images. An example of this "Christ made in our own images" is the relativism of the historicocritical method which results in as many "christs" as there are inquiring scholars. Another example is the christologies of the Myth-of-God theologians. As one of them readily admits, "we inevitably open the gates to a *multiplicity* of Christologies, rather than insisting upon one [i.e. the doctrine of the incarnation] to which all are expected to conform."⁹ Genuine Christological knowledge insists that the Christ we know has to be the only Christ we are *given* to know. The high Christology of the Son takes rise from the fact that "unto us a Son is given".¹⁰

The priority of the "who?" question is another way of affirming Calvin's epistemological principle of the primacy of *qualis est*? Calvin

takes as his theological starting point the actuality of the thing to be known rather than its essence and possibility. In medieval times, knowledge arose in asking the questions: *quid sit*, *an sit*, and *quale sit*, asked in that order. But Calvin reversed the order and made the question *quale sit?* primary — What is the actual nature of this thing that we know? What have we here?¹¹ *Quale sit?* (or *qualis sit?* when applied to a person) thus seeks to know something in accordance with its own nature, to apprehend something out of itself, *not* out of what we think of it *a priori*, *nor* out of any preconceived ideas we may claim to have about it. To begin with the concrete question “Who is God?” (*qualis sit Deus?*) rather than with the medieval abstract question “What is God?” (*quid sit Deus?*) is to begin with the actual knowledge of God in his self-revelation — “Who is this God who reveals himself in Jesus Christ? What kind of a God is he in him?,” instead of an abstract understanding of his essence. Applied to Christology, the “who?” question means that we cannot operate with a preconceived category in our understanding of Christ. We may know Christ only in terms of what we are given to know about him, in accordance with what he has actually revealed to us of his nature.

To begin with the “who?” question is also to realise that we do not begin with the questions of “what he is to me” nor “how to make him real to us,” nor “how it is possible for Christ to be both divine and human.” In so doing, we refuse to shy away from historical actuality and give a merely moral or poetic or symbolic or mythological meaning to the biblical account of the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. We also do not impose upon him some alien philosophical framework to make him into something that is acceptable to our *natural* understanding, something that can be believed.

To begin with the “who?” question is to begin, as Bonhoeffer did, with silence. It is to let ourselves be overwhelmed by the stark reality of Christ and be addressed by the Word that is in him. The “who?” question thus submits our minds to the objective reality of Christ. It is the question that endeavours to let our minds be filled with the content of the selfdisclosure of Christ. In other words, in giving the “who?” question priority, Christological knowledge starts not with the questions of abstraction and possibility but with the question of actuality, namely, the question of who Christ is and what he reveals of himself in history. Every Christological thinking therefore must

lead us to confront the Christ of history and ask, "Who art thou, Lord?" and be confronted by the same Christ and hear him question us, "Who do you say that I am?"

The greatness of the credal Christology of the early church lies in the fact that there is no attempt to explain away the mystery of the Christ of history. It only seeks to be faithful to the living fact of Christ and to what he tells us of himself. The creeds today remain authoritative in the church not because their Christological formulations are absolute and infallible in themselves, but because they faithfully serve the self-revelation of Christ and refer us back to the Christ who alone is the Truth. Only when we are brought to the living Christ in such a way that our minds fall under the compelling power of his self-evidencing reality, can we come to a genuine knowledge of Christ.

The whole Christ

Genuine knowledge of Jesus Christ therefore must take seriously the *whole* Christ (*totus Christus*). Rather than ironing out flat the biblical data into some static ideas of logico-causal relations, it seeks to construe, difficult though it may be, the historical Jesus dynamically in the depth of the saving interaction of God with us in him. In direct contrast with the Myth-of-God theologian Maurice Wiles' call to abandon any theological, metaphysical understanding of the person of Jesus,¹² genuine knowledge of Jesus Christ insists on the *whole* Christ in both his divine and human natures in such a way that the empirical and the theoretical elements, the historical and the theological ingredients are not torn apart. It acknowledges the fact that divine actuality and historical facticity are not incompatible with one another. On the contrary, held together, they constitute the ground of our knowledge of Jesus Christ in our inquiry into his living reality. To take the *whole* Jesus Christ seriously is to let the real Jesus of history reveal himself to us in his fullness as the Christ of faith. Positive Christological thinking thus must firmly renounce any notion of "epistemological Nestorianism" so that knowledge of the Jesus of history and knowledge of the Christ of faith are inseparably united in the one person of Jesus Christ. Such a unitary thinking leads us right to the heart of Calvin's theology — the only Christ we know is the Christ who is what he is, clothed in our humanity.¹³ As such, genuine knowledge of Jesus Christ is the knowledge of the Christ of history, the Jesus of faith.

HUMANITY OF CHRIST — THE SELF-REVELATION OF GOD

When Jesus Christ gathered together his beloved disciples at the Last Supper before his earthly history hastened to its fulfilment on the cross, he told them, "If you had known me, you would have known my Father also; henceforth you know him and have seen him He who has seen me has seen the Father."¹⁴ Here lies the epistemological significance of the humanity of Jesus Christ.

The real text of the revelation

The way that God makes himself known to us is the way of the incarnation of the Son. Thus, on John 1:18, Calvin comments that "God reveals himself to us by Christ alone ... that he cannot be known except in Christ." While "the naked majesty of God is hidden within himself ... [he] has now in a sense made himself visible in Christ." He is "openly beheld in the face of Christ."¹⁵ On Hebrews 1:3, Calvin also notes that "we are blind to the light of God, until it illumines us in Christ."¹⁶

Together with other reformers, Calvin views the revelation of God in Christ as involving both a "veiling" and an "unveiling." In Christ the infinite God has become finite, accommodating himself "to our little measure lest our minds be overwhelmed by the immensity of his glory."¹⁷ The full majesty of God is concealed from us in order that his saving glory may be seen by us. Thus the "veiling" of God in the humanity of Christ is to be understood as his creative and illuminating act within our creaturely existence so that there may be a genuine "unveiling" of himself in our midst. In other words, in translating his Word into the form of a human life in Jesus, God himself has condescended to our human capacity and brought knowledge of himself within the range of our apprehension. God in his incarnate Son *is not closed to us*, but in grace grants us access to true knowledge of himself through his Word. Entering into our spatio-temporal structures, God makes "room" for us and establishes reciprocity between himself and us, restoring our authentic creaturely existence so that we may be truly free and open for his knowledge. Revelation would not be genuine if in the final analysis God remains unknown to his creature. The "unveiling" or the revelation of God in Christ therefore has to be understood as truly the self-revelation of God. This by no means implies that the human mind can fully comprehend

God. For, even though God is known by us, God *as God* remains ultimately ineffable, beyond all created being. But the ineffability of God does not imply his unknowability or unintelligibility. Rather it belongs to the positive, genuine knowledge of God *as God*, in which God "reveals himself as infinitely greater than we can conceive."¹⁸ The "unveiling" of God does, however, mean that we can now truly apprehend God in our knowing and speaking of him. For in the humanity of Christ we are given not just something about God but the very God himself and thus true knowledge of God. Simply put, to know Jesus is to know God himself.

If Jesus Christ is the self-revelation of God, then, as Tom Torrance repeatedly reminds us, "the real text of the New Testament Scriptures is the humanity of Christ."¹⁹ The New Testament writers serve the revelation of God by faithfully directing us back to the humanity of Christ, and it is also in terms of the humanity of Christ that the New Testament Scriptures are to be interpreted. Bypassing the humanity of Christ, the New Testament can only be a closed book to us. In other words, the New Testament must remain what it is — a witness to the self-revelation of God in the man Jesus, to the Christ of history, a witness to the mystery of the saving history of incarnation, death and resurrection.²⁰

Extra-Calvinisticum

In making the humanity of Christ the ontological ground of the self-revelation of God to us, does it mean history now takes priority over revelation? Will it relativise the content of the eternal truth revealed in Christ? Here we must say that the humanity of *Christ*, while truly belonging to our contingent and creaturely existence, nevertheless was and continues to be the saving reality of God within human history. The humanity of Christ is ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, and thus belong as it must to the realm of *Heilsgeschichte*. For there is an essential bi-polarity in the incarnate reality of Jesus as witnessed by the Gospels, the creeds and the liturgies. Jesus is *vere deus, vere homo*. He is consubstantial with the Father in the Godhead, and consubstantial with us in manhood. In becoming man, he does not cease to be the eternal Word. This is the theological import behind the so-called *extra-Calvinisticum* which has long been the subject of controversy between Lutheran and Reformed theologians.

While both the Lutheran and the Reformed theologians are very much concerned with preserving the true humanity of Christ in the incarnation, they differ in their understanding of the relation of the eternal Word to his humanity. The Reformed theology stresses that in the incarnation Jesus is truly man, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, without ceasing to be the Creator Word by whom all things that are made are made. But this understanding of the incarnation is rejected by the Lutherans. They interpret it to mean that only some part of the Word was contained in the babe of Bethlehem and some part was left outside (i.e., *extra*) in the act of incarnation. To emphasise the real humanity of Christ, Lutheran theology resorts to a receptacle and quantitative notion of space in the doctrine of *kenosis* or the doctrine of *finitum capax infiniti*. The former "empties," as it were, the divine nature into the vessel of humanity in such a way that the incarnate reality restricts the full activities of the Word. The latter extends the creaturely humanity of Christ to an infinite capacity in order to enable it to be filled with the fullness of the divine Logos.²¹ Such Lutheran understanding inevitably leads to a deification of the humanity of Christ, as Luther himself was forced to admit. As such the *real* humanity of Christ was at stake. The Reformed theology, however, insists that we must understand the incarnate nature of Jesus wholly and fully both in accordance with his divine nature as the creator Word and in accordance with his human nature as the man Jesus. As the creator Word, he brought the universe into existence out of nothing and continues to uphold it in his providence. As the man Jesus he subjects himself to the conditions and limitations of our creaturely contingency as a being of spatio-temporal existence. In the act of the incarnation, he remains wholly himself, *vere deus*, *vere homo*. The incarnation therefore cannot be understood as the myth of the captivity of the divine Spirit in human body as if he were a genie imprisoned in the vessel of our humanity. The Word in his incarnate reality remains what he truly is, the Lord. For unless Jesus is truly God become man without ceasing to be God, our salvation would finally be deprived of its solid divine ground. In other words, the humanity of Christ as the self-revelation of God is not to be understood in terms of *kenosis*, the confinement of divine nature within our human nature, nor is it to be interpreted in terms of *finitum capax infiniti*, the deification of human nature to accommodate the divine nature. Rather, it is to be understood as truly God's freedom for us

and his accommodation for our nature in such a way that his incarnate humanity is the actual revealing and saving activity of the Lord from within our creaturely existence. Hence, our knowing and speaking of the Lord God is unconditionally bound to the Christ of history, to his contingent incarnate humanity. As the Word made flesh without ceasing to be the eternal Word of God, the weakness of the humanity of the Christ of history remains the strength and power of the Lord God.

C.E.B. Cranfield, a renowned New Testament scholar, sees the same *extra-Calvinisticum* in Romans 8:3 — "...Sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, [God] condemned sin in the flesh." While σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας defines the true humanity of Christ, ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας stresses that God the Son was not simply changed into a man, but truly became man without ceasing to be God. Thus, ὁμοίωμα points truly to the *vere homo*, yet at the same time points beyond it to the *vere deus*. "The intention is not in any way to call in question or to water down the reality of Christ's σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας," but to affirm that the incarnate humanity "was never the whole of Him — He never ceased to be the eternal Son of God."²² *Extra-Calvinisticum*, properly understood, means that the incarnate humanity in all its weakness and contingency cannot be separated from its hypostatic union with the eternal Word and Son of God. He who descended from heaven into our creaturely spatio-temporal universe to tell us heavenly things is he who is always in heaven (ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) and thus never leaves his throne empty.²³ The ontological continuity between the incarnate Son (and Word) and the eternal Son (and Word) guarantees the historical actuality of Christ as no ordinary history. Here we must distinguish the history of Christ from other historical events as one resulting directly and solely from a divine movement (ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο) and learn to appreciate it accordingly. It is unique as the history of the eternal Word of God. Hence, to make the humanity of Christ the ontological ground of the self-revelation of God to us in no way implies the elevation of history over revelation, or the relativisation of the content of the eternal truth revealed in Christ. For the Christ of history and the Christ of revelation are one in the act of the incarnation.

The humanity and the ὁμοούσιον (or, the incarnation and the Trinity)

Not only must the incarnate humanity be understood in terms of

its hypostatic union with the eternal Word, it must also be interpreted in the light of its unbroken, filial and intimate relation to the Father in the Spirit. For he who has made the Father known in his incarnate humanity is he who is always in the bosom of the Father (ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον).²⁴ There must be an ontological continuity between the incarnate Son and the eternal Father if what Jesus said to his disciples is true — “He who has seen and known me has seen and known the Father.” There must be an essential oneness between the incarnate Word and his God if the image of God mediated through Jesus is not just a changing, transient image that finally falls short of the full glory of God. If there is no ontological union between God and his incarnate Word, there would be no epistemological connection between our knowledge of God through his Word and the knowledge of God as he truly is in himself. In the final analysis, if God himself is the content of our knowledge of God, this knowledge comes not from mere credal confessions, nor from doxological or biblical statements alone, but from the supreme truth that God reveals himself in and through himself. God cannot be seen and known by our own created light. It is only in his Light that we see God as Light in himself. That is, it is only by God that God is known.²⁵ True knowledge of God is not accessible to man in a Socratic ἀνάμνησις or by some Ariadne’s thread of immanent continuity as if he were already conjoined to the Truth without being aware of it! God is known only through his Word and in his Spirit. And if we truly know God in his Word and his Spirit, then his Word and his Spirit must eternally inhere in the Being of God as ἐνούσιος λόγος and as ἐνούσιος ἐνέργεια.

In other words, the incarnate knowledge of God in Christ, fully appreciated, is not to be separated from the ὁμοούσιον. To know God truly *as God* through Christ means that the intimate and mutual knowing between the Son and his Father is unbroken in the act of incarnation. The Christ of revelation presupposes the ὁμοούσιον, and indeed the holy Trinity. True knowledge of God is rooted in Jesus’ knowledge of the Father, which in turn is a participation in the eternal mutual knowing and communion (περιχώρησις) of the holy Trinity.

Indeed true knowledge of the Son and true knowledge of the Father are inseparable. It was the Father in his Spirit who revealed Jesus the Son to John the Baptist at his baptism in the River of Jordan and to Simon Peter when he was asked by Jesus to say who he was. And

it was the same Jesus who in his Spirit made his Father known to the disciples. Hence the words of the incarnate Son while on earth —

No one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son;

Not that any one has seen the Father except him who is from the Father, he has seen the Father,

I know him, for I come from him, and he sent me;

The Father knows me and I know the Father.²⁶

That is to say, the ὁμοούσιον does not stop short at the doctrine of the Trinity. It has to be applied to the relation between the historical Jesus and his Father. Any forms of Sabellianism must be firmly rejected because what God has revealed himself to be in Jesus Christ, he is antecedently, inherently and eternally in himself, a point well made by Karl Barth and Thomas Torrance in this century. In other words, the economic Trinity is the immanent Trinity. If God were related to this world only in a tangential way, he would remain for us essentially the hidden, unknowable God. But in his incarnate humanity, Jesus has opened for us a new and living way to know God. He constitutes therefore in his vicarious humanity the only “place (τόπος)” or “source (ἀρχή)” where we may truly know the God as he is in himself. As such any detraction from the incarnate humanity of the Son cannot but be a detraction from the true knowledge of God. For the Christ of revelation is the Christ of history.

THE OBJECTIVITY OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

By choosing the way of the incarnation, God has objectified himself for our human knowing of him. In other words, the humanity of Jesus constitutes for us the objective, ontological ground of our knowing of God.

One of the most alarming phenomena in neo-Protestantism is the “flight from historical objectivity” and the resulting loss of objectivity in the knowledge of God. This can be seen most vividly in Rudolf Bultmann’s theology. Bultmann’s indebtedness to neo-Kantian epistemology is obvious. In separating faith from history, what-Christ-is-to-us from what-Jesus-is-in-himself, Bultmann admits

that "how things looked in the heart of Jesus I do not know and *do not want to know*."²⁷ There is for him nothing objectively significant about Jesus the historical person. Bypassing the historical objectivity of Christ, he can take refuge only in some kind of "subjective experience." Applying the same epistemological principle to theological statements, his interest lies solely in the experience of the religious person. As such he has effectively reduced the objective self-revelation of God in Christ to a human subjective self-understanding. Hence,

We cannot say what God is like in himself, but only what he does to us.²⁸

It is therefore clear that if a man will speak of God, he must evidently speak of himself.²⁹

The question of God and the question of myself are identical.³⁰

For Bultmann, the important paradigm here is *pro me*. But his *pro me* is given a subjective twist and is decidedly different from Luther's *pro me* which is deeply rooted in the objectively real *Christus in se*, in the centrality of his vicarious humanity. Bultmann's *Christus pro me* is the Christ of *beneficia* separated from the Christ of history. As Colin Gunton observes, Bultmann's Christ of *beneficia* "can be taken to imply, and was certainly later made to imply, that to know Christ is to know *no more than* his benefits. In other words, there is no knowledge of Christ other than of his benefits, or, crudely, than what is mediated by his effects upon me."³¹ By eclipsing all objective reference in Jesus Christ, and rejecting the Word of God incarnate in him, Bultmann inevitably reduces the objective content of God's self-revelation to merely man's own subjective selfunderstanding. In a similar way, modern scholars operating within the same paradigm also interpret the significance of Jesus out of their own religious piety and ask only what Jesus can signify for them. As such the significance of Jesus means nothing more than our understanding of him as a model for living, for our moral decisions, for our religious experiences, or even, for our understanding of God and our salvation. In the final analysis, our experiences of Christ are given primary importance and significance above the Christ of our experiences.³²

The root problem of subjectivism is in fact the original sin of the

human subject who perpetually projects himself onto the place of God and thus stands himself in the way of genuine knowledge of Christ and objective knowledge of God in him. It is against such subjectivist tendencies in modern religion and philosophy that Martin Buber laments the "eclipse of the light of heaven," the "eclipse of God."³³ Just as in an eclipse of the sun, the eclipse of God occurs because there is something between God and us — our own bloated selfhood!

The concern for objectivity here must be differentiated from a more commonly held view of objectivity, or rather objectivism, which is a detachment from and indifference toward the object. Far from detachment from the object, true objectivity entails a proper relation to the object that ultimately frees the knowing subject from all *a priori* judgements and presuppositions with respect to the object. The concern for objectivity is thus the rational commitment on the part of the knowing subject to know something in accordance with its nature, to know what it truly is and not what he thinks it is. The concern for objectivity in theology therefore is the commitment to the objective knowledge of God which is made possible because of God's own self-objectifying acts within our spatio-temporal structures. On the one hand, there is a profound subject-object relation in all our knowing, not least in our knowing of God, for the knowing subject can never be abstracted from the knowing relation. Genuine theology thus starts, as Calvin reminds us at the very beginning of his *Institutes*, with the situation in which knowledge of God and knowledge of ourselves are already knitted together in a profound mutuality.³⁴ In other words, there is an essential *personal* relation to God in all theological activities. On the other hand, knowledge of God, if genuine, has to be objective, and distinguished from knowledge of ourselves. In knowing the Truth we must let ourselves be questioned by the Truth so that we may be set free from our preconceptions and subjective imaginations. It is only in the objective historicity of Christ that our fantasies of God and our eclipse of God can come to an end. By anchoring our knowledge of God in God's selfobjectification for us in the humanity of Jesus, we may now emerge out of our ingrowing subjectivity and look beyond our own religiosity to know God objectively as what he is in his self-revelation.

Genuine *theo*-logy (θεολογία) as knowledge of God must therefore be strictly a theonomous thinking out of a centre in God's Word

(λόγος) and Act (ἔνεργεια) and not a thinking out of a centre in our own autonomous reason. Theological thinking must take the *a posteriori* path, following the way of the incarnation of the Word of God into our space and time. It must be bound unconditionally to the historical actuality of revelation in the humanity of Christ. In theological knowledge we seek to know God where God is — in Christ! We reflect upon the mystery of the incarnate reality. We know him as we allow his self-illuminating Spirit to impose himself on our minds and allow his self-communicating Word to shape our knowing of him. We think as we are compelled to think under the sheer weight of his self-revelation. As such theological thinking is not a mythological projection of our humanly forms and images into the divine, nor is it merely our mythological speculations about God, rather it is firmly grounded in the objective self-revelation of God in the humanity of Christ.

VICARIOUS KNOWING AND RESPONSE

Corresponding to the two-fold incarnate reality of Jesus Christ, there is also an essential bi-polarity in the self-revelation of God in him. Jesus Christ *as God* is the Word of God toward man, and *as man* is the word of man toward God. In his one incarnate reality, Jesus Christ himself constitutes both the exclusive language of God to man and the exclusive language of man to God. He is at once the God who lets himself be known and the man who truly knows his God. In him the gracious self-giving of God meets with the grateful receiving of man. As such, he is the Word that goes forth from the very mouth of God and does not return to God empty, but accomplishes the purpose he was sent for — to actualise the perfect human response to the Word of God.³⁵ In other words, the self-revelation of God in Christ does not wait in vain for our feeble response. For that perfect response that God has long awaited from Israel has been actualised in the vicarious humanity of Jesus the Jew.

Another way to look at this is from the perspective of Jesus' mediatorship between God and man. Responding to the Arian emphasis on the weak humanity of Jesus Christ, Athanasius writes,

We must say that our Lord, being Word and Son of God, bore a body and became Son of Man, that having become Mediator between God and men, He might *minister the things of God to us, and ours to God.*

When then He is said to hunger and weary, and to cry Eloi, Eloi, which are our human affections, *He receives them from us and offers to the Father*, interceding for us, that in Him they may be annulled.... For He prayed for us, *taking on Him what is ours*, and He was *giving what He received*.... As He for our sake became man, so we for His sake are exalted. It is no absurdity then, if as for our sake He humbled himself, so also for our sake He is said to be highly exalted.³⁶

That is to say, Jesus Christ as the one mediator between God and man, represents not only God to man, but also man to God. He is in his incarnate humanity the objective ground of our being, knowing and doing. Hence in revelation we do not simply operate in terms of God revealing and we understanding, of God speaking and we hearing, of God's self-giving and our receiving, of God's Word to us and our word to God, we are concerned with the all significant mediation of the God-manward revelation and the man-Godward response in the vicarious humanity of Jesus Christ. Without this mediation in his person, there is no true knowledge of God given within our humanity. Without the man-Godward mediation of Christ, man will be blinded by the sheer Light of God, and will remain in total darkness. Without the assumption of our human mind by the Logos, the human mind is but a perpetual factory of idols, as Calvin puts it.³⁷

Indeed, after the incarnation, our knowledge of God is granted an entirely new orientation in Jesus Christ. For now, participating in the mutual knowing between the Son and the Father in the Spirit, we are given to know God as Father and pray to him as "our Father." In other words, not only was our knowledge of God as Father mediated to us by Jesus and not derived from our own creaturely images, it was also actualised in the whole life and prayer of Jesus as the truly beloved Son. That knowledge was first in Christ before it was in the mind of the Church.³⁸ Frail as it may be, the word "father" was taken up by Jesus Christ and sanctified by him, and was made to serve what it could not do by itself — to reveal to us the true nature of God as the Father of Jesus and as our heavenly Father. Genuine theological activity is now possible and meaningful because human mind and word in the incarnate humanity are not cast away by the divine Mind and Word. They are no longer blind to the Light of God but are made open to the Word of divine Being and filled with true meaning from beyond themselves. Our human mind and word are indeed renewed in the incarnate life of Christ and is given a real and full place

in the revelation of the knowledge of God. Properly understood, the incarnational revelation calls for the wholeness and integrity of the humanity of Christ, not least in his participation in our ignorance along with other human limitations. Thus in firmly rejecting any notion of "epistemological Apollinarianism," we must cling on to the centrality of the *full humanity* of Christ in theological epistemology, in which human mind and word are healed and restored to their true functions, and in which proper words of praise, worship and prayer to God are vicariously given to the renewed minds of men. That is to say, we human are now able to know God as God because of the vicarious knowing of Jesus Christ on our behalf.

The vicarious knowing of Jesus Christ belongs to the total vicarious response of Christ to God for our sakes. In all our activities, not least in our knowing and speaking, we rely not upon ourselves but solely upon Christ, our Representative and Substitute. The perfect human response of faith in truth to God is what we in Adam cannot offer. But in grace God himself has provided freely all that he demands of us. Since he comes to us in total grace, we can never come to his presence outside his grace. Thus theology can never be simply our own self-understanding or self-expression, for that would be an attempt to stand outside of his total grace and to get behind the Christ of revelation and his vicarious response. Genuine theology cannot but joyfully acknowledge the all-sufficiency of the Christ of revelation in all our knowing and speaking of God. It is after all, *sola gratia, solo Christo*.

NOTES

¹ To be presented at the Reformed/Eastern Orthodox Theological Dialogue to be held at Limassol, Cyprus on January 7–13, 1994.

In the preparation of this paper, I am deeply aware of my indebtedness to Professor Thomas Forsyth Torrance more than I am able to acknowledge adequately here. As a Reformed theologian entrenched in the Nicene-Chalcedonian faith, Professor Torrance in the later half of this century has poured out numerous books and articles to demonstrate powerfully the significance of the ontological ground of the incarnation of the eternal Word of God and its epistemological relevance for an evangelical and biblical theology. Many of the points made in this paper have indeed been treated more fully in his writings although I have spared myself the task of providing detailed references. While it is a pity that Tom Torrance is not with us in this Reformed/Eastern Orthodox Theological Dialogue as he had been in the past sessions, his insights continue to enrich our discussions.

² Cf. Alan Richardson, *Creeds in the Making* (London: SCM, 1935), pp. 5ff.

³ Such an understanding of the significance of history is indeed parallel to Kantian epistemological principle — that we can never know things in themselves or in their inner relations, but only as they appear to us.

⁴ 1 John 1:1–3.

⁵ It is impossible, as Rudolf Bultmann sees it, to get behind the mythological Jesus of the primitive Church to the true Jesus who actually lived, the Jesus of history. "I do indeed think that we can now know almost nothing concerning the life and personality of Jesus, since the early Christian sources show no interest in either, are more fragmentary and often legendary." [Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word* (Second edition, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 8.] For "the historical person of Jesus was very soon turned into a myth in primitive Christianity." [Rudolf Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1956), p. 200.]

⁶ Cf. Eduard Schweizer, *Jesus* (London: SCM, 1971), especially chapter 2.

⁷ Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, p. 8.

⁸ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Christology* (Glasgow: Collins, 1978), p. 31. The heart of Bonhoeffer's Christology is the "who?" question. (See especially pp. 27–39.)

⁹ Frances Young, "A Cloud of Witness," in *The Myth of God Incarnate*, pp. 13–47, quotation from p. 38, italics are mine.

¹⁰ Isaiah 9:6.

¹¹ Cf. John Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.2.1. See also T.F. Torrance, *Theological Science* (London: OUP, 1969), pp. xxii f.; also *God and Rationality* (London: OUP, 1971), pp. 33f.

¹² Maurice Wiles, "Christianity without Incarnation?" in John Hicks (ed.), *The Myth of God Incarnate* (London: SCM, 1977), pp. 1–10.

¹³ Thus Calvin's "Christ clothed with his promises," "Christ clothed with his gospel." Cf. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (2 volumes, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960) 2.9.3.

¹⁴ John 14:7, 9b.

¹⁵ John Calvin, *Calvin's Commentaries* (12 volumes, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959–68), 4:25f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12:8.

¹⁷ John Calvin, *Institutes*, 2.6.4.

¹⁸ T.F. Torrance, *The Trinitarian Faith: The Evangelical Theology of the Ancient Catholic Church* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), p. 214.

¹⁹ T.F. Torrance, *God and Rationality*, pp. 151f; Cf. *Theological Science*, p. 193.

²⁰ Hence, Calvin's speaking of the Scriptures as the *spectacles* through which "God shows himself as the God upon whom they are to look." (*Institutes*, 1.6.1; cf. 1.14.1.)

²¹ For a further discussion of the receptacle notion of space in Lutheran theology, see T.F. Torrance's *Space, Time and Incarnation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 30, 49ff; *Space, Time and Resurrection* (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1976), pp. 123ff.

²² C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* in *The International Critical Commentary* (2 volumes, Edinburgh: T.T. Clark, 1975), 1:382. Cranfield's interpretation of *extra-Calvinisticum* is in keeping with Paul's theology, but whether he has not read into the term ὁμοίωμα more than what Paul has originally intended is another question to be contended with. It may also be noted that Cranfield understood Paul's use of σαρκὶς ἁμαρτίας as "'sinful flesh,' i.e., fallen human nature." (1:379)

²³ Is this variant reading of John 3:13 not also another way of expressing the *extra-Calvinisticum*?

²⁴ John 1:18. Take note also of the $\omega\nu$ in John 1:18 and 3:13 (variant reading)!

²⁵ This patristic insight "only by God is God known" illustrates most profoundly the full divinity of the Holy Spirit as well as of the Son.

²⁶ Matthew 11:27, John 6:46, 7:29, and 10:15 respectively.

²⁷ Rudolf Bultmann, "On the Question of Christology," in *Faith and Understanding*, I (London: SCM, 1969), pp. 116–44; quotation from p. 132, italics mine.

²⁸ Rudolf Bultmann, "Bultmann Replies to His Critics," in H.-W. Bartsch (ed.), *Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate* (2 volumes, combined edition, London: SPCK, 1972), 1:191–211, quotation from 1:202.

²⁹ Rudolf Bultmann, "What Does It Mean to Speak to God?" in *Faith and Understanding*, I, pp. 53–65, quotation from p. 55.

³⁰ Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (London: SCM, 1960), p. 53.

³¹ Colin Gunton, "The Truth of Christology," in T. F. Torrance (ed.), *Belief in Science and in Christian Life: The Relevance of Michael Polanyi's Thought for Christian Faith and Life* (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1980), pp. 91–107, quotation from p. 93, his italics. Cf. Melancthon's *Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia eius cognoscere*.

³² Thus however close James Mackey may come to the orthodox position when he speaks of Jesus as the one "in whom God fully and truly encounters humanity in history," or "there is no 'view' of the Father beside or above or independently of the man Jesus," or the God who is in Christ is "not a lesser divinity, but very God," without taking seriously the objective, intrinsic significance of Jesus in himself, it is no surprise that his predominant concern finally becomes our encountering God in Jesus rather than God's encountering us in him. Mackey is soon led to conclude that "God the Father could in theory be encountered *independently* of Jesus." [James P. Mackey, *Jesus, the Man and the Myth: A Contemporary Christology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), pp. 232f, 240; italics mine] In the final analysis, our knowing and speaking of God are not rooted in the divine Λόγος but derived from human μῦθος. "All talk which seems to proceed from God's side and to explain how the utterly transcendent God relates to our empirical world is really talk which proceeds from the human side and explains how the human spirit can travel toward the utterly transcendent God" (pp. 220f).

³³ Martin Buber, *Eclipse of God: Studies in the Relation between Religion and Philosophy* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1953).

³⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.1.1.

³⁵ Cf. Isaiah 55:11.

³⁶ *Contra Arianos*, 4.6f; italic mine. This is an important passage in Athanasius' understanding of the saving and sanctifying work of the vicarious humanity of Jesus Christ. Cf. 1:41ff, 50ff; 2:7ff, 12ff, 50f, 65ff, 75ff; 3:30ff, 38f.

³⁷ Thus Calvin's *Hominis ingenium perpetua dolorum fabrica*. (*Institutes*, 1.11.8)

³⁸ It is significant that in the Scriptures, God was described as "father" over 170 times by Jesus in the New Testament but only 11 times in the entire Old Testament. Furthermore, God was invoked in prayer only as "father" or *abba* by Jesus who also taught his disciples to pray to God as "Our Father." But in the Old Testament, God was never invoked as "father."

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The Christ of Revelation and the Christ of History

PROF. VLASSIOS I. PHIDAS

1. Karl Barth's theological conclusion to the question of the divine revelation was that God's sole revelation is in Jesus Christ and that the Word of God is His one and only means of communication with human beings. In this spirit Barth asserted in 1968 that "anyone who says 'yes' to Christ must say 'no' to the division of the churches." This conclusion is more or less a recapitulation of the whole discussion of the divine revelation between Christian theology and deistic thought during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During this confrontation the gnosiological approach of the divine revelation led to the suppression of its soteriological meaning in the history of salvation. The absence of common criteria about the function or the purpose of the divine revelation made all definitions equally arbitrary.

It has been traditional in the discussion of Christian revelation to distinguish between a *general* and a *special* revelation. The first type refers to the knowledge we gain about God from observing the natural universe. The second type refers to the knowledge we gain about God from the Bible, which is considered as a sufficient summary of what we need to know about God. Nevertheless, both ways of divine revelation accepted some specific presuppositions in order to elaborate their theoretical basis. The general revelation presupposes that there is an overall continuity between the ways human beings come to know about the world and the ways they come to know about God. The special revelation assumed that there are acts of knowing which could not be considered as a result of our general knowledge of God.

In this perspective revelation *per se* does not specify the limits either of knowability or of disclosures, although Christian revelation does, by relating the aspects of such knowledge to the salvation of human beings.

The naturalistic temptation of western revelational theology lost the traditional soteriological purpose of divine revelation, which is more fully shown in its fullness in the mystery of the incarnation of the Word of God. The theological deviation of the eighteenth century is a direct consequence of the dichotomy introduced between creation and incarnation. It has been accepted that there is a continuing divine-human relationship on the basis of creation, according to which knowledge of God is not merely an inference from the created world, but is immediately given along with self-consciousness, and becomes in turn a crucial factor in any knowledge whatsoever. This function of human knowledge is for the propose of enabling man to glorify the Creator, through worship and obedience, and to possess Him as the source of every blessing.

Today it becomes more and more clear that, for Christians, what is central in the divine revelation is the interpretation of the life of Jesus Christ as God's ultimate act of salvation in and for the world. The slow reconstruction of the doctrine of the supernatural and Christocentric character of divine revelation becomes clearer in modern Protestant theology. Through the rejection of natural theology the way of general revelation lost its crucial significance for the knowledge of God. In Barth's teaching, divine transcendence means that God is wholly other than human beings and as such is utterly unknowable by humans, except through the self-disclosing acts of the preached word, the biblical word and the living Word (Christ)... Specifically, this means that no genuine, much less saving, knowledge of God is discoverable within creation itself by means of human reason... Human finitude, radically compounded by and ultimately indistinguishable from human sinfulness, completely annihilates the possibility of discovering God from below. God's self, identical with Christ, can be revealed only through Christ.

A Christocentric understanding of divine revelation leads theology to the dilemma of the relationship between the Christ of revelation and the historical Christ of the Christian tradition. This dilemma is already critical in R. Bultmann's dialectical theology about the biblical "myth of Christ," which is interpreted as an artificial creation

partly from Hellenism and partly from Jewish apocalyptic literature. This dichotomy between the "historical Jesus" and the Christ of the theological tradition is essential to the affirmation of H. Conzelmann. He argued that there is a gap between the Jesus of history and the kerygmatic Christ of the apostolic community, or between the preaching Jesus, and the preached Christ or between the self-consciousness of Jesus and the faith of the community.¹

2. It is quite clear that through the contemporary restoration of a Christocentric understanding of divine revelation we can overcome any fragmentary approach of the so-called literary types of biblical Christology. The *Mysterium Christi* is shown in the NT writings as the completion and perfection not only of the divine revelation of God, but even of the first creation. Through the incarnation, of the Son of God the renewal of the whole creation has become a new reality and the salvation of the whole of humanity has become possible. Through the incarnation the Logos of God became not only a mere or a perfect man in his humanity, but the Man *par excellence*, who recapitulated in Himself the whole humanity and the whole creation. The Pauline teaching concerning the Adam-Christ typological relationship is to be understood in the history of salvation as a renewal of the whole creation between the promise and the fulfillment of the promise in Christ. According to St. Irenaeus, who also developed the Pauline teaching concerning the old and the new Adam, Jesus Christ "recapitulated in himself the ancient creation, because, as through the transgression of one man sin entered the world and through sin death, likewise through the obedience of the one man righteousness was brought in and bore fruits for the life of those men who were dead."²

This soteriological interpretation of the recapitulation and the renewal of all things in the perfect humanity of the incarnate Logos poses clear and sharp questions to our theological interpretations of the unique *Mysterium Christi* in the history of salvation. Biblical and Patristic tradition considered the incarnation, the teaching, the death and the resurrection of the Son of God as the historic realization of the divine economy for the salvation of mankind. In the *Mysterium Christi* the synergy of all three persons of the Holy Trinity is clearly manifested, since in the plan of the divine economy in Christ all things were done by the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit. The ful-

fillment of God's promise was brought about "by the Father's good pleasure" through the incarnation of the Son of God in the power of the Holy Spirit. The mystery of the incarnation is the completion of the original creation and would be impossible without the activity of the three persons of the Holy Trinity, which is the eternal creative source of everything.

Within this Trinitarian frame, the Biblical and Patristic tradition understands that there is a specific activity of the Holy Spirit in the incarnation of the Logos of God, and thus in the history of the revelation of God and of the salvation of mankind. It is true that in the history of scholastic theology the *Mysterium Christi* is more or less analyzed without any specific reference to the work of the Holy Spirit in the incarnation and in salvation. But in the Patristic tradition it is clearly declared that the incarnation was to be realized only through the specific work of the Holy Spirit. We cannot have Christ without the work of the Holy Spirit, neither the sending of the Holy Spirit without the incarnation of the Son. The Holy Spirit appears already in Genesis (6:3ff) as the creative power of the original world, and, after the fall, as remaining in the world but not resting on human beings, because they were flesh. At the incarnation he came to the Virgin Mary, so that what was impossible in the history of salvation might be accomplished. It was by means of the creative work of the Holy Spirit that the Virgin Mary was purified and was enabled to become a worthy vessel for the Son's tabernacling, through which the transfiguration in her person of the old fallen humanity was accomplished and the birth of the new humanity in Christ became possible.

St. John of Damascus summarized the thinking of the whole Patristic tradition concerning the absolutely unique role of the Holy Spirit in the incarnation. "After the consent of the holy Virgin," he says, "the Holy Spirit came upon her according to the Lord's word, which the angel announced, purifying her and granting her the power of receiving the Logos of God and also of giving birth to him. It was then that the enhypostatic Wisdom and Power of the Most High overshadowed her, namely the Son of God, who is *homoousios* with the Father, like a divine seed, and constructed for Himself, from her immaculate and most pure blood, a flesh ensouled with a rational and mind-endowed soul, a first-fruits of our own lump; by way of creation through the Holy Spirit...."³

The Holy Spirit, then, is creatively related to the transfiguration of the old humanity in the person of the holy Virgin and to the perfecting of the original creation through the new creation in Christ. Thus, the incarnation of the Son was accomplished according to the good will of God the Father "by way of creation through the Holy Spirit." It is through this purificatory and creative work upon the Virgin Mary, that the Holy Spirit came once again to rest upon human beings in order to restore and complete the order of the divine creation, which had been disturbed through the fall, while the Virgin Mary became the new centre of the power of the Most High which overshadowed her.

It is quite clear that, according to the Christian tradition, through the incarnation of the Son the divine revelation is completed, because the whole Trinity was operating in it. St. Maximus the Confessor provided an excellent summary of the synergy of the three Persons in the historical manifestation of the divine economy: "This mystery was foreknown before all the ages to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. To the one (= Father) by way of good will (*kat' eudokian*); to the other (= Son) by way of personal action (*kat' autourgian*); and to the other (= Holy Spirit) by way of synergy (*kata synergeian*). For neither the Father, nor the Spirit were ignorant of the Son's incarnation, because the whole of the Father was by way of substance (*kat' ousian*) in the whole of the Son, who was personally working out the mystery of our salvation through the incarnation, not by becoming incarnate, but by expressing His good will for the Son's incarnation; the whole of the Holy Spirit was by way of substance in the whole of the Son, not by becoming incarnate, but by working out in synergy with the Son the ineffable incarnation for us."⁴

So, if in the incarnation of the Logos of God we have the completion and the confirmation of the divine revelation, we may conclude that the synergy of the three divine persons in the incarnation is of crucial importance not only for affirming the specific ministry of the Holy Spirit in the history of divine revelation, but also for clarifying the inner relation between the Christological and the Pneumatological approach of the history of salvation. Paul's words, that "no one can say Jesus is Lord except in the Holy Spirit" (I Cor.12:13), may be understood in this sense. Thus, there is no possible dichotomy between the Paschal mystery of Christ and the Pentecostal mystery of the Holy Spirit. The interpenetration of both mysteries is clearly shown

in the role of the Virgin Mary in the incarnation. That is why in the Patristic tradition the Annunciation is interpreted as the supreme pre-figuration of the sending of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. At the Annunciation the activity of the Holy Spirit gave Christ to the world. At Pentecost Christ sent the Holy Spirit to the new creation.

3. The specific relation of the Virgin Mary to the Holy Spirit and to the incarnate Logos of God leads us to a better understanding of another typological relation, which was dominant in the Christian spirituality of the Patristic era. Through the activity of the Holy Spirit the Virgin Mary was able to become a temple for God and a type of the Church. The motherhood of the Virgin Mary and the motherhood of the Church are interrelated, because both are energized through the activity of the Holy Spirit. The ministry of the motherhood of the Virgin Mary and the ministry of the motherhood of the Church are basically Pneumatocentric, because both the Virgin and the Church receive the Spirit through whose activity Christ is born and the offspring of the new humanity are brought into the world.

However, the activity of the Holy Spirit is Christocentric in preparing for, in bringing about, and in transmitting the *Mysterium Christi*. The Holy Spirit plays an absolutely crucial role in the whole plan of the Trinitarian divine economy. It is the same Spirit who foretold the incarnation in the Old Testament. It is the same Spirit who acted upon the Virgin Mary so as to bring about the incarnation. It is the same Spirit who glorifies Christ and through being sent at Pentecost bears witness to Christ in the world. It is the same Spirit who gives birth to the historical Body of Christ, which is the Church. It is the same Spirit who brings about the communion of believers both between themselves and with the Head of the ecclesial body, who is the incarnate Christ Himself. It is the same Spirit who inspires the Church to be the authentic witness of Christ to the world and to testify that Jesus Christ is the Lord and the Saviour of all mankind and of all creation. It is the same Spirit who leads the Church to the realization of the Kingdom of God in the eschaton. It is the same Spirit who summons all Christians to the confession of the same Christ and into communion in the same faith. It is the same Spirit who communicates to us in the Church the very life of Christ through Word and Sacrament. It is the same Spirit who unites Word and Sacrament in the living experience of the Church.

Nevertheless, a major problem in theological discussion has always been how to unite Word and Sacrament in the life of the Church. It is the fundamental mission of the Church, as the Body of Christ, not only to grapple as faithfully as possible with God's transcendence and immanence, but also to live and witness to the new being in Jesus Christ. The content of this message lies in the Holy Scriptures and in the Holy Tradition. The Bible's authority is realized in the concrete encounter of the Church with the divine revelation in Christ. Thus, the Holy Tradition displays the same inner experience as the Body of Christ, to which the Biblical message and the authentic continuity of ecclesial experience bear witness. So, the same truth of divine revelation is common to both the Bible and the sacred Tradition, because both of them strive for the sharing of all believers in the same divine life of Christ.

It is evident that, since Christ entered our human history, he became the centre of the history of salvation. The incarnation is an historical event, which unites time and eternity. Jesus Christ, fulfilling the Old Testament history, became the source of the New Testament history and of the new reality of the world. From the moment Christ intervened in man's historical condition his life became the indissoluble and essential condition of the life of the Church. Christ's life is historically normative for the Church not only because the people to be saved live in history, but also because Christ himself entered into and was affected by history. Under this Christocentric understanding, the Old Testament promise and the New Testament fulfillment of the promise of God are connected indissolubly through the incarnation in time, which became the recapitulation of the whole history of mankind and the source of our salvation. This unity of the biblical Christocentric message is clearly expressed in the conscience of the Church, which recognized that "*in vetere testamento est occultatio novi, in novo est manifestatio veteris.*" The differentiated activity of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testaments is connected not only to the incarnation of the Word of God, but also to the specific role of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church. According to St. John Chrysostom the Law of the Old Testament "was merely given by the Spirit, but this one (the Law of the New Testament) bestowed the Spirit himself richly to those who accept it."

Thus, the Spirit of truth himself, who comes from the Father and

bears witness to Christ, remains in the Church, the Body of Christ, and bears this witness by means of the Church. Believers are led to meet Christ in the sacramental experience of the Church and so are enabled to be His witnesses to the world, because the Holy Spirit witnesses to Christ in their hearts. This activity of the Holy Spirit in the Church unites Word and Sacrament in the same ecclesial experience. According to St. Irenaeus, "our teaching is in full agreement with the eucharist, and the eucharist confirms the teaching." The authentic expression of this unity between Word and Sacrament is guaranteed by the presence and the activity of the Holy Spirit in the Church throughout the history of salvation. Because of this, the Holy Spirit secures Christ's presence in the Church, and makes the truth of the divine revelation in Christ accessible to his historical body, which is the Church. The Holy Spirit preserves the Church from temporal utopias or one-sided eschatological perspectives, and transforms the historical truth of the *Mysterium Christi* into the historical truth of ecclesial experience. He maintains within the Church the authentic balance between the continuity and the updating of the communication of the divine revelation through Scriptures and Tradition, and leads the Church to the fulfillment of its mission in the history of salvation.

4. The crucial task of our Joint Commission is not simply to give a convergent theological interpretation of the inner relationship of the Holy Trinity with the creation or the incarnation. We are engaged in this spiritual battle for truth in order to serve our common desire for the restoration of ecclesial communion. Thus, we must focus our theological convergencies upon the difficulties in ecclesiology which we can already identify. Through our common approach by means of the Patristic tradition we may try to distinguish between essential and secondary difficulties in order to reconcile existing diversities. It becomes more and more clear that if we are ready to accept the *Mysterium Christi* as the center of the whole divine revelation and of our salvation, we are obliged to accept its implications for our understanding of the nature of the Church.

The variety of our ecclesiologies stems from our differences in understanding the prolongation of the *Mysterium Christi* in the history of salvation. If we accept that the Church is really the historical Body of Christ, then we are obliged to accept a Christocentric ontology of the church, since the ecclesial body becomes the extended

and realized Body of Christ in the history of salvation. In this way Christological convergences can shape new presuppositions for approaching ecclesiological questions.

Our ecclesiological difference springs more or less from the different interpretations made of the interrelationships between the Paschal mystery of Christ and the mystery of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The problem is how to keep an authentic balance between these two mysteries in the history of our salvation, especially with regard to the variety of ways in which the saving grace of God is reaching us. Since we agree that the redeeming work of Christ is extended by the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church, which is the historical Body of Christ, then the Church cannot be distinguished from Christ with respect to the bestowal of divine grace. This means that the salvific work of Christ is not exhausted in His earthly life, but it is extended, realized and active in the whole history of salvation. But, if no separation between Christ and the Church is possible in the history of salvation, this is, as we have shown, the result of the continuous work of the Holy Spirit in the historical Body of Christ. Thus, through the work of the Holy Spirit divine grace is granted by the Church to all members of the Body of Christ, since the unity of the Paschal mystery and the mystery of Pentecost is indissoluble in the history of salvation.

The bestowal of divine grace to members of the ecclesial body is the common denominator of the authentic balance in the synergy of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit in the history of salvation. But, it has always been difficult to specify the appropriate work of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the living experience of divine grace. The Patristic tradition of the first millennium teaches that Christ, through his overall redeeming work, is the *source* (πηγή) of the divine grace and the Holy Spirit is the bestower (χορηγός) and operator (ὁ ἐνεργῶν) of divine grace in the faithful. This Patristic understanding of the synergy holds that divine grace is perpetuated in the historical body of Christ and is granted to the faithful by the Holy Spirit for the continuous realization of the Body of Christ in the history of salvation up to the end of the ages.

Nevertheless, scholastic theology, which relied on St. Augustine's doctrine as its starting point, developed a different view concerning the relationship between the Paschal and the Pentecostal mysteries. It set out Christ as both the source (πηγή) and the bestower (χορηγός) of the divine grace, while it ascribed to the Holy Spirit the mere role

of the operator (ὁ ἐνεργῶν) of the already granted divine grace. This theological difference emphasized the Christomonist tendencies of scholastic theology and led to an approach which created a dichotomy between Christ and Church in the history of salvation. Indeed, if Jesus Christ, through his overall redeeming work, is not only the source (πηγή) but also the bestower (χορηγός) of divine grace, then it stands to reason that, because of the universality of the saving work of Christ, divine grace is automatically granted to all believers, irrespective of their relationship to the Church and becomes active through the activity of the Holy Spirit. If, however, divine grace is granted to all, because of the universality of Christ's redeeming work, then, it stands to reason that it is bestowed also on those persons, who are not members of the ecclesial body. But, the Pauline and Patristic tradition insists on the unity of the Body of Christ, which is realized in the history of salvation through the activity of the Holy Spirit. If it is so, then all believers do not become "many bodies but one body," because "there is no other body than this one," which is nourished by the flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.⁵

If the Body of Christ is one and the same in the incarnation and in the history of salvation, then the unity of the Church is not merely a question of structure, but an essential element of the apostolic faith, as it is confessed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. In this Spirit the oneness of the ecclesial body becomes a question of salvation, because in the oneness of the Body of Christ there is recapitulated the whole of mankind from the creation to the eschaton. Bearing in mind the respective apostolic tradition, St. John Chrysostom declared that all believers of all ages and of all places, i.e. "those who are such, those who become such and those who enter into such a condition" do not become "many bodies, but only one body."⁶ "To be or not to be body is to be united or not to be united with the body" of Christ.⁷ This is why the primary mission of the Holy Spirit is to work out the unity and the function of this body in the history of salvation. This means that our convergence in Christology could effectively serve the cause of unity through a converging movement in ecclesiology, where a common understanding of the Christocentric ontology of the Church could lead to a common understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in the history of salvation. This is the ultimate aim of our dialogue, which we must always keep in mind as we go about our discussions.

NOTES

¹ Gegenwart und Zukunft in der synoptischen Tradition, *ZThK*, 54, 1957, 279 ff.

² *Adv. Haereses*, III, 21,9-10

³ PG 94, 985.

⁴ PG 90, 624.

⁵ St. John Chrysostom: *Hom, I* (Or. 24:2).

⁶ *Hom. on Eph.* 10:1; *Hom. on I Cor.* 24:2.

⁷ *Hom. on I Cor.* 30:2.

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The Church and the Churches: A Reformed Perspective

REV. DR. DAWN DE VRIES

I take my task in this paper to be that of stating as clearly and succinctly as possible the Reformed position on the nature of the church and on the presence of a multiplicity of churches in the present context. I will draw this view out of the Reformed confessions as well as the writings of Reformed theologians.

It is perhaps important to admit at the outset that the historic Reformed Confessions deal with ecclesiology in a markedly polemical, and thus one-sided, fashion. Their concern, understandably, is to distinguish the evangelical churches from the Roman Catholic church, and to argue that the Roman church is not the true church, although there may be churches in it. One consequence of this approach is that sixteenth-century confessions tend to pass over quickly the four notes of the church that we have from the Nicene Creed—unity, sanctity, catholicity, apostolicity—toward a discussion of “marks” of the true church. I hope to show, however, that the content of the Nicene ecclesiology is preserved in our confessions, but also developed to address the peculiar problems of the church in the West.

A second initial disclaimer is also in order: that is, the Reformed churches have no single definitive confessional or dogmatic constitution that would speak for all the Reformed congregations worldwide. Unlike the Lutherans, who settled upon a list of definitive confessional documents in their Book of Concord, the Reformed have freely allowed confessions to emerge from individual geographical and historical contexts without dictating an authoritative list. My own denomination, the Presbyterian Church (USA), does have a *Book of*

Confessions as one half of its constitution. While we do not require subscription to the letter of these documents, officers of the church are obligated by their ordination vows to be "instructed and led" by the confessions in leading the people of God. I bring all this up simply to remind us of a point that we encounter constantly in our dialogue: namely, we have a different way of defining and adhering to ecclesiastical pronouncements than do the Orthodox, one that allows for relatively greater freedom of expression and development. At the same time, however, we *do* have dogmatic norms and they are taken seriously. The confessions as a body of doctrinal teaching have greater authority for us than do the opinions of any individual theologians, even our most revered theologians such as Calvin. And in spite of all the diversity of Reformed confessions, there is a recognizable Reformed type of ecclesiology that is found in them all.

It is important to note at the outset that in spite of persistent criticisms of the so-called subjective individualism of Protestantism, the Reformed have held the church in the highest regard. This is evident in the way Calvin speaks of it. For example, in his *Catechism of the Church of Geneva* he writes:

M: What is the Church?

C: The body and society of believers whom God has predestined to eternal life.

M: Is this article also necessary to belief?

C: Yes indeed: *if we would not render Christ's death ineffective and reduce to nothing all that has hitherto been said. For the one effect of it all is that there be a Church.*¹

The confessions are consistent in their agreement with patristic ecclesiology that there is no salvation outside the church.² Calvin drives home this point borrowing Cyprian's metaphor of the church as "Mother" of the faithful. He writes:

[T]here is no other way to enter into life unless this mother conceive us in her womb, give us birth, nourish us at her breast, and lastly, unless she keep us under her care and guidance until, putting off mortal flesh, we become like the angels.³

It is precisely for this reason that Reformed divines have been so concerned to be able to identify the presence of the true church and distinguish it from those that pretend to be Christian churches.

Perhaps the most important feature of Reformed ecclesiology is its truculent insistence that Christ alone is Lord of the Church, Head of the body, Bishop of the faithful. Without being in right relation to Christ, no amount of impressive attributes will be able to make a church. This kind of thinking can be found already in our earliest confessional document, Zwingli's *Sixty-Seven Articles* (1523). He writes:

For Christ Jesus is the leader and captain whom God has promised and given to the whole human race: That He might be the eternal salvation and Head of all believers, who are His body, which, however, is dead and can do nothing without Him. From this it follows, first, that all who live in the Head are His members and children of God. And this is the Church or fellowship of the saints, the bride of Christ, *ecclesia catholica*.⁴

The church is "born of the Word of God, abides in the same, and does not listen to the voice of a stranger."⁵ This means that apart from the preaching of the gospel, there can be no church. But the evangelical character of the church does not limit its existence to the time after Pentecost: it has existed from the beginning of the world as God's chosen vehicle for the salvation of the world.⁶

The confessions borrow biblical language for describing the Church, and they do so freely without much attempt to harmonize the various metaphors. The Church is the body of Christ, the temple of the living God, the bride of Christ, the household of God, and the flock of sheep under the Shepherd Christ.⁷

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

Although the confessions without exception acknowledge that there is only one true church of Jesus Christ, they also note that there have been a diversity of churches from the beginning. In part this is due to the differing dispensations of the Old and New Testament. The Old Testament patriarchs were in the church, but a church with different outward features than the church after Pentecost. In part, the diversity of churches is a function of the catholicity of the church. As the church spread over wider and wider territory, it took on features particular to the places where it was found. Finally, the diversity of churches indicates the ongoing struggle of the church militant with the forces of sin and death in this world. So for now, alongside our

confession of the unity of the church, we must accept the fact of its diversity. As the *Second Helvetic Confession* puts it:

The Church is divided into different parts or forms; not because it is divided or rent asunder in itself, but rather because it is distinguished by the diversity of the numbers that are in it. ...For the one is called the Church Militant, the other the Church Triumphant. The former still wages war on earth, and fights against the flesh, the world ... against sin and death. But the latter ... triumphs in heaven immediately after having overcome all those things and rejoices before the Lord. Notwithstanding both have fellowship and union one with another... Moreover, the Church Militant upon the earth has always had many particular churches. Yet all these are to be referred to the unity of the catholic Church. This [Militant] Church was set up differently before the Law among the patriarchs; otherwise under Moses by the Law; and differently by Christ through the Gospel... Yet from all these people there was and is one fellowship, one salvation in the one Messiah; in whom, as members of one body under one Head, all united together in the same faith, partaking also of the same spiritual food and drink. Yet here we acknowledge a diversity of times, and a diversity in the signs of the promised and delivered Christ.⁸

I've quoted this passage at length because I think it demonstrates an important aspect of Reformed ecclesiology: that is, the unity of the church refers to the church as seen by God (*invisible church*) and not to the church as seen and encountered by humans (*visible church*). In faith we believe in one church, but we experience (always have and always will) a diversity of churches. This diversity is not limited to geographical or ethnic diversity, but also includes varying practices and signs. Thus the unity of the visible church is more an eschatological hope than a past or present reality.

More needs to be said at this point about the distinction between the *visible* and the *invisible church*, for these concepts have often been at the center of Orthodox and Roman critiques of Reformed ecclesiology. It is important to note that there have been a variety of ways of interpreting these categories. While many of the earliest Reformed confessions argue that the true church is visible only to God (thus is equivalent with the *invisible church*), there is a growing emphasis in Reformed thought on manifesting the *visibility* of the true church. In the *Scots Confession* we read:

This Kirk (the true church) is *invisible*, known only to God, who alone

knows whom He has chosen, and includes both the chosen who are departed, the Kirk triumphant, those who yet live and fight against sin and Satan, and those who shall live hereafter.⁹

But by the time of the Westminster Assembly, the statement is much more nuanced. The *Westminster Confession* states:

This catholic Church hath been *sometimes more, sometimes less visible*. And particular churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in then.¹⁰

The next chapter of the *Westminster Confession* deals with the doctrine of the communion of saints, and there the stress is strongly on the obligation for the church to “maintain a holy fellowship and communion” so that the catholic church will be *more visible*.

By the 19th century, we find Friedrich Schleiermacher revising the entire definition of the visible/invisible distinction since, as he writes, “the fellowship or community of those who, just because most firmly settled in the state of sanctification, are most strenuously opposed to the world, cannot but in this sense be the *most visible* of all.”¹¹ Although the Reformed confessions sometimes seemed to say that the *invisible church* was the body of truly regenerate people, while the *visible church* contained both them and those not destined to salvation, Schleiermacher insists that this is to misrepresent the character of the distinction. He puts it this way:

The fact that the Church cannot form itself out of the midst of the world without the world exercising some influence on the Church, establishes for the Church itself the antithesis between the *visible* and the *invisible Church*. ...Thus the *invisible Church* is the totality of the effects of the Spirit [in gathering and sanctifying a people of God] as a connected whole; but these effects, as connected with those lingering influences of the collective life of universal sinfulness which are never absent from any life that has been taken possession of by the divine Spirit, constitute the *visible Church*.¹²

The Reformed, then, do not simply equate the *true church* with the *invisible church*, nor are they without interest in the historical manifestation or the visibility of the church’s unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. But precisely because they see the church as

in the world, they feel obliged to have some way of conceptualizing the church's sinfulness as well as her sanctity, and that is what is at the heart of this distinction.

THE HOLINESS OF THE CHURCH

Similarly, the holiness of the one true church is affirmed without question in our confessions, and closely connected with the attribute of infallibility.¹³ But once again it is referred more properly to the *invisible* than to the *visible church*. Following Augustine, the Reformed divines argue that because the church is a *corpus permixtum*, it contains elements that can corrupt its visible manifestation. The holiness of the church is like the justification of the sinner, an attribute derived from union with Christ and participation in his merits. But those who have this union with Christ are ultimately known only by God. Hence, alongside our confession of the holiness of the church, we must acknowledge its present fallibility.¹⁴

So how can one recognize the presence of the true church, given the multiplicity of organizations claiming to be churches, and the possibility of false teachers claiming to speak for Christ? What is perhaps most distinctive about Reformed ecclesiology, at least as we find it in our historic confessions, is the desire to define "marks" of the true church.¹⁵ Most of the confessions acknowledge two sure marks, while others add a third: the pure preaching of the Word of God, the proper administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of faithful church discipline. Where these elements exist, there unfailingly is the church of Christ.¹⁶

Much could be said about what is meant by each of these marks. But it is worth noting that each one of them was uniquely suited to unmask what the Reformers believed to be the egregious failures of the Roman church in the sixteenth century. Pure preaching involved many things. Minimally it entailed communicating in a way that could be understood (preaching in the vernacular). Maximally it involved reinforcing justification by grace through faith and criticizing any practices at variance with the clear Word of God attested in scripture. The sacraments could only be rightly administered according to the express command of our Lord. Hence, the Reformers called for the end of sacraments not instituted by Christ. Clearly attested in the gospels were baptism and the eucharist, though they thought about

the possibility of including penance (Luther) and ordination (Melancthon and Calvin). And discipline involved the censure of sinful behaviors, contrary to the will of God in scripture, and separation from those who willfully persisted in such behaviors. The Reformers thought the Roman clergy themselves were in need of such discipline, and perhaps they were vindicated in their complaints by the reforming decrees that were promulgated by the council of Trent. It is important to underline here, however, that these marks were in no way intended as an alternative definition of the nature of the church, nor can we assume that the church could be reduced to them.

THE CATHOLICITY OF THE CHURCH

The confessions are clear in their affirmation of the catholicity of the Church, and this is an attribute that is clearly seen in the visible church. The *Second Helvetic Confession*, for example, says: "We ... call this Church catholic because it is universal, scattered through all parts of the world, and extended unto all times, and is not limited to any times or places."¹⁷ Characteristically, the same confession goes on to condemn the Roman church for calling itself "catholic"—as if this note could be contained in one institution.

THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE CHURCH

It is notable that the 16th century confessions do not discuss the apostolicity of the church. This may be due to the simple fact that they often keyed themselves to the Apostles, rather than to the Nicene Creed. However, it may also be due in part to the fact that the Reformers sought to avoid defining the church in terms of the so-called "apostolic succession." Of course, this concept was at the heart of their critique of ministry in the Roman church. They did develop a notion of apostolic succession in an evangelical sense, but this came under their writing on ministry rather than their thought on the church.

In more recent Reformed confessions, the notion of the church's apostolicity is quite central, but it is given a fresh interpretation. That is, the apostolic character of the church does not derive simply from the link with the 12 disciples of Jesus (though this is certainly assumed). Rather, it has to do with the church's being sent out in mission to the world. The continuity with the apostles, in other words, is not

located in ordination practices or in the originally pure doctrine, but rather in a continuous and shared divinely authorized mission. In my denomination's *Confession of 1967*, for example, we read:

To be reconciled to God is to be sent into the world as his reconciling community. This community, the church universal, is entrusted with God's message of reconciliation and shares his labor of healing the enmities which separate men from God and from each other. Christ has called the church to this mission and given it the gift of the Holy Spirit. The church maintains continuity with the apostles and with Israel by faithful obedience to his call.¹⁸

The church, then, is both called out of the world and sent back in it in the ministry of reconciliations.¹⁹

I'd like to conclude with a series of questions that might guide our further explorations.

1. In Reformed ecclesiology, the distinction between the church visible and the church invisible is significant. It is not, of course, a distinction between two churches, but it allows us to confess the holiness and unity of the church even when these attributes are not evident. We also look forward to the time when the church visible is identical with the church invisible. Can the Orthodox admit to this distinction? If not, how do they make sense of the diversity of churches and the fallibility of churches?

2. In confessing the catholicity of the church and searching for marks of true churches, Reformed theologians have always accepted the possibility that denominations from whom they are separated may contain congregations that belong to the one true church. Do the Orthodox similarly recognize the existence of the church outside their structures?

3. While we undoubtedly have very different understandings of ministry, are we agreed that union with Christ in the Spirit is the central defining characteristic of the church? Can Christ be the head of the body even without a hierarchical episcopacy?

4. What would it look like for the unity of the church to be manifested visibly? Would this involve a return of "newer" churches to the older churches? Mutual recognition and intercommunion? Something less, or something more?

NOTES

¹ Calvin: *Theological Treatises*, ed. J.K.S. Reid (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), 102 (emphasis added).

² See, for example, *Belgic Confession of Faith* (1561), article 28 (*Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*, ed. Arthur C. Cochrane [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966], 209-210); *Westminster Confession of Faith*, chapter 25, article 2 (Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, With a History and Critical Notes*, 3 vols. [4th ed., New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1919], 3:657); *Scots Confession*, chapter 16 (Schaff, 3:458-9).

³ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill, Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20-21 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 4.1.4. (cited by book, chapter and paragraph).

⁴ *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*, ed. Arthur C. Cochrane (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), p. 36-37.

⁵ *Ten Theses of Bern* (1528), in Cochrane, 49.

⁶ "This Church hath been from the beginning of the world, and will be to the end thereof," *Belgic Confession of Faith* (1561), article 27 (Cochrane, 208); cf. *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566), chapter 17: "it is altogether necessary that there always should have been, and should be now, and to the end of the world, a Church" (Cochrane, 261); *Scots Confession* (1561), chapter 16 (Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, With a History and Critical Notes*, 3 vols. [4th ed., New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1919], 3:458-9).

⁷ See *Second Helvetic Confession*, chap. 17 (Cochrane, 261-268); *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1647), chapter 25 (Schaff, 3:657-9).

⁸ *Second Helvetic Confession*, chapter 17 (Cochrane, 262).

⁹ *Scots Confession*, chapter 16 (Cochrane, 175).

¹⁰ *Westminster Confession of Faith*, chapter 25, article 4 (Schaff, 3:658).

¹¹ Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, trans. From the 2nd German edition, ed. H.R. Mackintosh and J.S. Stewart (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), § 148.2 (p. 677).

¹² *The Christian Faith*, § 148, § 148.1 (pp. 676-7). Karl Barth is even stronger in his criticism of the notion of an Invisible Church. He states, "It is best not to apply the idea of invisibility to the Church; we are all inclined to slip away with that in the direction of a *civitas platonica* or some sort of Cloud-cuckooland, in which the Christians are united inwardly and invisibly, while the visible Church is devalued. In the Apostles' Creed it is not an invisible structure which is intended but a quite visible coming together, which originates with the twelve Apostles. The first congregation was a visible group, which caused public uproar. If the Church has not this visibility, then it is not the Church" (*Dogmatics in Outline*, trans. G.T. Thomson [London: SCM Press, 1949], 142).

¹³ The *Second Helvetic Confession* states that the church "does not err as long as it rests upon the rock Christ, and upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles" (Cochrane, 263); while the *First Helvetic Confession* (1536) states that the purification of the saints is the ongoing work of Christ in the church (Cochrane, 105). Of course, this is not the only way to understand the holiness of the church. Karl Barth, for example, says: "What is the meaning of *ecclesia sancta*? According to biblical usage of the term, it means 'set apart.' And we think of the origin of the Church, of those called out of the

world. 'Church' will always signify a separation" (*Dogmatics in Outline*, 143). However, during the Reformation era, talk about the church's holiness was always connected with critique of the failures of the Roman church and the quest for the establishment of purer churches.

¹⁴ See *Tetrapolitan Confession* (1530), chapter 15: "[I]t may occur, and actually does occur frequently, that the wicked both prophesy in Christ's name and pass judgment in the Church. But those who propose what differs from Christ's doctrines, even though they be within the Church, nevertheless, because preoccupied with error, they do not proclaim the voice of the Shepherd, undoubtedly cannot represent the Church, the bride of Christ. Therefore, they are not be heard in his name, since Christ's sheep follow not the voice of a stranger" (Cochrane, 73-74). Cf. *Geneva Confession* (1536), article 18 (Cochrane, 124-5), *French Confession* (1559), articles 27-28 (Cochrane, 153-4), *Scots Confession*, chapter 18 (Cochrane, 176-7), *Belgic Confession of Faith*, article 29 (Cochrane, 210-11), *Second Helvetic Confession*, chapter 17 (Cochrane, 266-7), *Westminster Confession of Faith*, chapter 25, article 5: "The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error; and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan. Nevertheless, there shall be always a Church on earth to worship God according to his will" (Schaff, 658).

¹⁵ Of course the Reformed did not invent this concept, but borrowed it from Martin Luther. He listed seven marks: the Word, baptism, the sacrament of the altar, the office of the keys, the consecrating and calling of ministers, public worship, and possession of the Holy Cross (suffering). See his *On the Councils and the Church* (1539), in *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. Timothy F. Lull (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 545-563.

¹⁶ One of the first clear statements of the two primary marks may be found in the *Geneva Confession* (1536): "[T]he proper mark by which rightly to discern the Church of Jesus Christ is that his holy gospel be purely and faithfully preached, proclaimed, heard, and kept, that his sacraments be properly administered, even if there be some imperfections and faults, as there always will be among men. On the other hand, where the Gospel is not declared, heard, and received, there we do not acknowledge the form of the Church" (Cochrane, 125). Explicit references to discipline as a mark of the church may be found in the *Scots Confession*, chapter 18 (Cochrane, 176-77), and the *Belgic Confession of Faith*, article 29 (Cochrane, 210-211), although the substance of the concept can also be found in the *Second Helvetic Confession* (Cochrane, 267) and the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (Schaff, 659).

¹⁷ (Cochrane, 262).

¹⁸ *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church (USA): Part I: Book of Confessions*, (Louisville, KY: The Office of the General Assembly, 1994), 9.31 (p. 266). This closely echoes the thinking of Karl Barth, who writes passionately of the church's duty to proclaim the gospel or serve as God's ambassadors, rather than to be an inward-looking and self-serving institution. He writes: "Where the life of the Church is exhausted in self-serving, it smacks of death; the decisive thing has been forgotten, that this whole life is lived only in the exercise of what we called the Church's service as ambassador... A Church that recognises its commission will neither desire nor be able to petrify in any of its functions, to be the Church for its own sake... [It] is sent out: 'Go and preach the Gospel!' It does not say, 'Go and celebrate services!' 'Go and edify yourselves with the sermon!' 'Go and celebrate the Sacraments!' 'Go and present yourselves in a liturgy,

which perhaps repeats the heaven liturgy! ...Of course, there is nothing to forbid all this; there may exist very good cause to do it all; but nothing, nothing at all for its own sake! In it all the one thing must prevail: 'Proclaim the Gospel to every creature!' The Church runs like a herald to deliver the message... The Church lives by its commission as herald" (*Dogmatics in Outline*, 146-7). Emil Brunner held that the *church*, as an institution with fixed dogmas, organization, and means of salvation, is at best only the shell and instrument of the New Testament *ecclesia*, which is essentially a fellowship or brotherhood of the faithful. Hence he took the note of apostolicity to be a critical norm requiring the church to measure itself constantly "by the Ekklesia of apostolic times" (*Dogmatics* [London: Lutterworth Press, 1962], 119).

¹⁹ See the interesting discussion of this in Hendrikus Berkhof, *Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Study of the Faith*, trans. Sierd Woudstra (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1979), 410-422.

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The Church and the Churches: Reflections on the Unity of the Church

DR. KAREL BLEI

Introduction

The ancient creeds are clear about the Apostolic Faith in the unity of the Church. It is true, in the Apostles' Creed the word "one" – in connection with "Church" – does not occur. But in its wording "I believe the holy catholic Church" the article is an unambiguous reference to the Church's oneness. And the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed reads explicitly: "We believe in one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church." No doubt, up to now, the Christians of all ages have been confessing the essential unity of the Church.

What we see, however, is a multitude of churches, existing not only beside each other, but also in contrast to each other. Traditions have arisen in different contexts and are therefore already "by nature" different in views and emphases. But they have got their most specific peculiarity in and by their being confronted with other traditions. They felt it necessary, in such confrontations, to clearly reject certain elements of the other tradition and so to accentuate all the more what in that other tradition seems to be unjustly neglected. Confrontation meant controversy, emphasizing the existing differences of view, enlarging the gap between itself and the other traditions instead of trying to bridge it.

This is what at least has happened between Protestants and Roman Catholics, as well as between the different Protestant traditions mutually. I have the idea that the relationship between Orthodox and Roman Catholics have developed along the same line. Here also, over the centuries, a continuing controversy and a gap having grown

wider and wider. On the relationship between Orthodox and Protestants I am not sure. May be, Protestantism has been too much a Western phenomenon to be in real contact at all with (mainstream) Orthodoxy. Only in the context of the ecumenical movement the two really have met. For intense controversies here the time was not yet ripe. We are still in the phase of mutual acquaintance and wonder. That is why the Orthodox/Reformed dialogue is so important indeed.

Anyway, I guess, the above description is recognizable to all of us. We confess the essential unity of the Church, and we see a multitude of different, often conflicting churches. Now, the question is: how does what we see relate to what we confess? In other words: how do our respective churches (Church institutions) relate to the one Church of Christ of our creeds?

I think I am not mistaken when considering this the key question of ecclesiology; a question that again directly has to do with the ecumenical question: how the churches can achieve the goal of visible unity. The difficulty of finding a common answer goes together with the urgency of finding that answer.

The Roman Catholic position

It is, of course, possible for each one of us to solve the problem by simply identifying our own Church institution with the Church of the creeds. In that case, the other Churches (Church institutions) are to be considered either false churches or at best, having, *nolens volens*, "already" "certain Church elements." Seen from that point of view, visible unity can only be achieved by the return of the others, to "us."

This was, of old, the position of the Roman Catholic Church. Its definition, by the First Vatican Council in 1870, of the papal primacy and of the papal infallibility as God-given dogmas was the strongest possible evidence of its pretention of being itself identical with the Church of Christ. In the dogmatic constitution *Pastor aeternus* on the Church, adopted by the Vatican Council, it is said that Christ himself put the apostle Peter above the other apostles, as the "eternal principle and visible foundation of unity" of the episcopate as well as of the believers (*perpetuum utriusque unitatis principium ac visibile fundamentum*). This Petrine primacy is considered a primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church. As such it is said to have its perpetuation in the Pope of Rome who is Peter's successor and as

such "Christ's true representative and substitute and the head of the whole Church" (*verus Christi vicarius totiusque Ecclesiae caput*). It is this view that, in 1870, had its natural consequence in the dogma of the papal infallibility.¹

The dogmatic constitution *Lumen gentium* on the Church, adopted by the Second Vatican Council in 1964, is much more elaborate on the position and role of the believers (the "people of God") and of the bishops. Nevertheless (as one could expect) the doctrine of the papal primacy, proclaimed in 1870, is fully confirmed here. The Church of Christ is still considered fully identical with the Roman Catholic Church that is under the universal papal jurisdiction. This identification, however, goes together with a certain openness to the fact that some "ecclesial elements" exist outside this Church. I quote:

"Christ, the unique Mediator, constituted his holy Church, the community of faith, hope and love, as a visible organism here on earth, constantly sustaining it and imparting through it truth and grace to all. The society with its hierarchical structure and the mystic body of Christ, the visible congregation and the spiritual community, the terrestrial Church and the Church that is enriched by celestial goods are, however, not to be considered two different things; on the contrary, they form one complex reality, growing together out of a human and a divine element... This is the unique Church of Christ, of which we confess in the Creed that it is one, holy, catholic and apostolic. Over this Church our Redeemer, after his resurrection, set Peter to tend it; He charged him and the other apostles to spread and to govern it; and He established it forever as 'pillar and bulwark of the truth'. This Church, constituted and ordered as a society in this world, subsists in the catholic Church, governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops, living in communion with him, although outside its organism several elements of sanctification and truth are to be found; elements that as proper gifts of Christ's Church urge to the catholic unity."²

The last sentence of this quotation is especially significant. The mention of the "elements of sanctification and truth" that are to be found "outside the Church organism" is the evidence of a new, careful ecumenical openness. We find this ecumenical openness confirmed and elaborated in the Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis redintegratio*, adopted by the Second Vatican Council on the same day. Here, the recognition of "many and important church building and Church vivi-

lying elements" outside the "visible boundaries of the catholic Church" goes together with the acknowledgement that in the Roman Catholic Church itself renewal is necessary, in order that "its life may become a more faithful and clear witness to the doctrine and institutions that have come down from Christ through the apostles."³

In his encyclical letter *Ut unum sint*, published in 1995, the present Pope, John Paul II, underlined strongly the Roman Catholic Church's commitment to ecumenism.

The Orthodox position

Like the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church considers itself identical with the Church of the creeds, the Church of Christ. However, as far as I know, it differs from the Roman Catholic Church in that this view has never been officially proclaimed or defined in dogmas. The seven ecumenical Councils, recognized as such by the Orthodox, dealt with the doctrines of Trinity and Christology; they did not discuss ecclesiology. To the Orthodox, the belief that the Orthodox Church is identical with the Church of Christ is much more a matter of self evidence.

Timothy Ware, himself an Orthodox, says: "To Orthodox it often seems that Rome envisages the Church too much in terms of earthly power and organization." Roman Catholics do not deny the spiritual and mystical character of the Church; yet this spiritual and mystical Church view is much more emphasized by the Orthodox. According to them, "the Church must be thought of primarily in sacramental terms. Its outward organization, however important, is secondary to its sacramental life."

So, Orthodox do not need any sharp definition of the Church as an institution. To them, unlike to the Roman Catholics, "the Church is not monarchical in structure, centered round a single hierarchy; it is collegial, formed by the communion of many hierarchs with one another, and of each hierarchy with the members of his flock." "The Orthodox theology of the Church is above all else a *theology of communion*." In the Orthodox view, the Church, as the body of Christ, is not held together by any papal primacy, but by "the act of communion in the sacraments."⁴

The fact that the Orthodox Church believes itself to be the "one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church" does not imply that the Ortho-

dox Church would see other Christians as being by definition "outside the Church," or (in other words) outside God's grace. That is why it is participating wholeheartedly in the ecumenical movement.⁵ Orthodox cannot but desire the conversion or reconciliation of all Christians to Orthodoxy. Yet this does not mean that Orthodox would demand the submission of other Christians to a particular centre of power and jurisdiction. Again I quote Timothy Ware:

"The Orthodox Church is a family of sister Churches, decentralized in structure, which means that separated communities can be integrated into Orthodoxy without forfeiting their autonomy: Orthodoxy desires their reconciliation, not their absorption." "In all reunion discussions Orthodox are guided (or at any rate ought to be guided) by the principle of unity in diversity. They do not seek to turn western Christians into Byzantines or 'Orientals,' nor do they desire to impose a rigid uniformity on all alike: for there is room in Orthodoxy for many different cultural patterns, for many different ways of worship and even for many different systems of outward organization."⁶

It is, I think, significant that our Orthodox/Reformed dialogue takes ecclesiology on its agenda only in its present session. As a matter of fact, ecclesiological matters (the issue of the Authority in the Church) were discussed during several preparatory meetings, in 1981 and 1983. But these discussions had an exploratory and preparatory character. Their aim was a clarification of the underlying assumptions under which an official dialogue could only start. It had to be clear from the beginning how both Orthodox and Reformed understand authority and its function in reaching doctrinal consensus in the Church, so that discussions would be fruitful. So, as far as these discussions touched ecclesiology, they aimed at finding an adequate starting point for the official dialogue.⁷

In the very first Orthodox/Reformed meeting, in 1979, Thomas F. Torrance (who from the Reformed side took the initiative to our dialogue) presented two "Memoranda on Orthodox/Reformed Relations," in which he suggested that the official dialogue would concern itself first with "basic theology:" the "fundamental issues in doctrine" that are to both Orthodox and Reformed the theological foundation for Church life and order. According to Torrance,

"it would be most helpful if discussions began with the doctrine of the *Holy Trinity*: and then moved from there into the doctrines of the

Son and the Spirit." "That would provide the right context for discussion about *the Church and the Ministry.*"⁸

This suggestion was taken up. The series of official theological consultations started in 1988. Later consultations took place in 1990, 1992 and 1994. In these consultations, the doctrines of Trinity and Christology were discussed, and agreements could be achieved.⁹ Only now, in this fifth official consultation, eight years after the start of our official dialogue, we turn to ecclesiology; well aware of the fact that in this field divergences between both our traditions are most apparent, but at the same time hoping that in the context of the common Trinitarian perspective, reached at earlier occasions, a convergence also here would be possible.

WARC is also, since 1970, in dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. It is remarkable that in that dialogue ecclesiology was the key subject from the beginning. A first series of dialogue meetings, between 1970 and 1977, discussed the topic of "The Presence of Christ in Church and World." The report, presented in 1977, contains sections on themes such as "Christ's Relationship to the Church," "The Teaching Authority of the Church," "Church and World," "The Church as the Effective Sign of Christ's Presence in the World," "Eucharist" and "Ministry."¹⁰ Between 1984 and 1990, a second series of dialogue meetings took place, concentrating even more directly on ecclesiology. It resulted in a report on "Towards a Common Understanding of the Church," published in 1991.¹¹

The difference between the Reformed/Roman Catholic dialogue and ours so far is notable indeed. It is a confirmation of what I mentioned earlier. Roman Catholics are inclined to concentrate on ecclesiology right from the start. To them, the essential ecumenical decisions will have to be taken in that field. Orthodox, as far as I know, are of a different mind. To them, the Church is not so much a matter of discussion as a living reality, the self-evident supposition of Christian life.

As I said, Orthodox cannot but desire the conversion or reconciliation of all Christians to Orthodoxy. Yet, as we noted from Timothy Ware, this does not mean that they wish them all simply to "return," in the sense of their submission to a particular center of power and jurisdiction. Such a center does not exist, in Orthodoxy. The Dutch Reformed theologian Hendrikus Berkhof (who was for many years a

member of the WCC Central Committee) once gave the following (I hope: correct) description of the Orthodox ecumenical view: "Let each Church find its own way back to the undivided Tradition of the seven ecumenical Councils. It is only there, that we will be able to recognize each other, so that we may go from there towards a larger development of the Tradition." According to Orthodox, in order to come to that, Protestants will have to learn a lot, whereas Roman Catholics will have to renounce a lot. "The Orthodox Church, being full of love, is well prepared to assist and serve both in these processes" (of learning resp. renouncing) "with what itself has preserved over the centuries."¹² As it was said in a statement on "The Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement," issued in 1986, "God calls every Christian to the unity of faith which is lived in the sacraments and the tradition, as experienced in the Orthodox Church."¹³ The conviction that this Church unity cannot be the result of human planning, neither the product of theological agreements alone, is basic to the Orthodox position.

Reformed respect of the Tradition

Reformed protestants feel at home with this position, in so far as they consider the Reformation a return to the origin and source of Christian faith. It is true, to them this origin in its essence and fullness, being identical with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, is contained in the Holy Scripture. Protestants are used to distinguish Tradition from Scripture, in that they consider the Scripture primary, the Tradition secondary. As far as the Tradition is concerned, they are always mindful of the possibility of error, whereas the Scripture is seen as infallible. This, however, does not prevent them from greatly respecting the Tradition, especially the Tradition of the first centuries.

Both 16th century Reformers Martin Luther and John Calvin acknowledged the authority of the *patres*, the Church-fathers, as well as of the early Councils and of the ancient Creeds. This acknowledgement was rooted in the conviction that the testimony of the Ancient Church is in agreement with the Scripture. One sees Calvin's respect for the Apostles' Creed in the fact that in his principal work, the "Institutes," the substance of faith is expounded along the lines of this creed, and that even the structure of the whole book is along these lines. So, in Calvin's view (as in the Reformed tradi-

tion as a whole), theology and confession go together.

The (Trinitarian and Christological) dogma of the Ancient Church is recognized by the Reformers as authoritative because it is seen as based on the Holy Scripture; this recognition, however, is so strong that to them an exegesis of Scripture which appears to be contrary to the dogma cannot be a correct exegesis. In the Reformed tradition, the dogma is the criterion of the exegesis.¹⁴

Of course, it would be possible to say more, here. It would be interesting, e.g., to dwell on the way the Reformers, especially, deal with Pneumatology. It has been said that here more than elsewhere the special characteristics of the Reformation are clear. It is its emphasis on pneumatology, together with its view of salvation as essentially justification, that gives Reformed understanding of faith its peculiar, soteriological tendency. It is, however, not necessary to pay extra attention to that, in this context. It would not be in contradiction to what, I think, if on the basis of the above we concluded: that there is much agreement here between Orthodox and Reformed. It is fully understandable indeed that in the former sessions of our dialogue this agreement could be materialized in the form of common statements on both the doctrines of Trinity and Christology.

Reformed ecclesiology

And yet, we should not underestimate the differences that exist between Orthodox and Reformed, especially in the field of ecclesiology. Reformed are not used to speaking of Church in terms of "God-given mystery" or of "body of Christ." Though not denying the value of such ecclesiology "from above," they themselves prefer what is called an ecclesiological approach "from below." A good example of this approach can be seen in the *Heidelberg Catechism*, one of the 16th-century Reformed confessions and officially authoritative in many Reformed churches in and outside Europe. This document, due to its original intention of serving as material for religious teaching, treats Christian faith in the form of questions and answers. The section on ecclesiology reads like this:

Question: "What do you believe concerning the holy, catholic church?"

Answer: "I believe that, from the beginning to the end of the world, and from the whole human race, the Son of God, by his Spirit and his

word, gathers, protects and preserves for himself, in the unity of the true faith, a congregation, chosen for eternal life. Moreover, I believe that I am and forever will remain a living member of it.”¹⁵

This is Reformed ecclesiology in a nutshell. Its starting point is the reference to the (continuing) gathering, protecting and preserving activity of the Son of God. The church is seen as nothing more than the result of that activity, the fruit of Christ’s work of salvation: “a congregation, chosen for eternal life.” The church’s origin is divine, a matter of God’s grace; the church itself however is fully human. A usual Reformed description of the church is also: “the congregation of believers.” In the *Confessio Belgica*, another authoritative Reformed 16th-century confessional document, this ecclesiological view is represented in its definition of what the church is: the congregation of all those “who expect all their salvation from Jesus Christ.”¹⁶

In the Reformed/Roman Catholic dialogue report *Towards a Common Understanding and Vision of the Church*, already quoted earlier, two different, parallel Church conceptions are presented: the conception of the Church as “*Creatura Verbi*” and the conception of the Church as “Sacrament of Grace.” The first conception is presented as being “more Reformed,” the second as being more “Roman Catholic.”¹⁷ That presentation is correct. Indeed, the idea of “Sacrament of Grace” is a key aspect of Roman Catholic ecclesiology. The Church is seen here as being not only object, but also co-subject of Christ’s work of salvation, as being part of it and as being actively engaged in it; as playing a role on Christ’s side, over against humankind. I could imagine that also Orthodox have sympathy for this Church conception. Anyway, Reformed do not like it. In Reformed ecclesiological thinking the idea of “*Creatura Verbi*” is central. It is just another wording of the Church view we found expressed in the *Heidelberg Catechism* and in the *Confessio Belgica*. It focuses totally on the Church’s dependence on Christ and his Word.

The Church definition, quoted from the *Heidelberg Catechism*, does not contain any direct reference to ministry. One should not draw too hasty conclusions from this, as if the Reformed tradition would not recognize any ordained ministry in the church. In fact, there is a reference to the “word,” as one of the means by which the Son of God is said to gather, protect and preserve the church (and where the “word” is mentioned in the Reformed understanding we

should include the sacraments. Of course, the "word" requires a ministry of the word (as the sacraments require a ministry of the sacraments). So, at least by implication, indirectly, the ministry of word and sacraments is referred to. It is, however, significant that a direct reference is missing. In the Reformed view, word and sacraments do not belong to the church. They are considered means in the hand of Christ, by which He is acting *on* the church. In no way is there in the Reformed opinion any door open to the church to escape from its fundamental and total dependency on Christ.

There is a real and clear difference between Reformed and Orthodox here. Reformed do not acknowledge any element of "hierarchy" or of "patriarchate" in the Church like Orthodox acknowledge it. On the contrary, in the Reformed tradition this element was explicitly rejected from the very beginning, as we can see, e.g., in several church orders that were adopted by national synods in the 16th century. I quote one of the earliest examples, the church order adopted by what can be seen as the first national synod of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, held in Emden in 1571. The opening paragraph of the minutes of that synod reads as follows:

"No congregation will claim the priority or the dominion over other congregations, no pastor over other pastors, no elder over other elders, no deacon over other deacons." ¹⁸

Reformed do not know a historic episcopate either. One might say that the local pastor, the minister in his congregation, has a position that is more or less comparable to that of the bishop in the Ancient Church. In the paragraph just quoted we hear about "pastors", "elders" and "deacons." Indeed, in the Reformed church structure there is a plurality of ministries. The pastor, ordained as the "minister of the Word," cooperates with elders and deacons, elected by and from the congregation; the elders are called to do pastoral work, the deacons to take care of the poor. Together, as the "church council" or "consistory," they lead the congregation. This situation might be, to a certain extent, analogous to the situation in the Ancient Church, when bishops were mostly local pastors and the leadership of the local Church was exercised by the bishop together with the presbyters and deacons.

A special episcopate in the sense of a ministry of pastoral oversight on the regional or national level, however, does not occur in the

Reformed Church structure. In fact, such a regional or national episcopate is exercised by or on behalf of assemblies of local ministers (pastors, elders and deacons), gathering regularly.

Later Reformed scholasticism: a tendency of spiritualism

May be, the difference between Orthodox and Reformed is less important than it seems to be. As we heard earlier, Orthodox differ from the Roman Catholics in that they do not need a sharp definition of the Church as an institution, and that their Church is not monarchical but essentially collegial in structure. To Reformed, at least this collegial character, this thinking in terms of communion more than in terms of monarchy, is very much recognizable. In fact, the Reformed tradition itself emphasizes the collegial and communal character of Church structure.

But let us be careful in our optimism. I guess, a Church definition like the one quoted from the *Heidelberg Catechism* is too meager to Orthodox. They are certainly not satisfied with the Reformed ecclesiological approach "from below." Is not the Church essentially more than just "the congregation of believers?"

Indeed, there is a notorious one-sidedness in Reformed ecclesiology. The way the "congregation" is put in front here (and the ministry is seen as a secondary element only) had as its consequence: a tendency of solving the problem of the relation between "the Church of the creed" and "the visibly existing church(es)" by drawing a sharp dividing-line between "the visible church" and "the invisible church" and by identifying the Church of the creeds with the "invisible Church."

One can see this tendency already in the above quotation of the *Heidelberg Catechism*. Where the Church is defined in terms of the "gathering, protecting and preserving" work of the "Son of God" (a work He is said to be performing "by His spirit"), the Calvinist doctrine of predestination is at the background. Now, predestination, in its essence, is invisible. At least, human eyes cannot distinguish who is really a member of this "chosen congregation" and who is not. Christ's Church building and protecting work is supposed to follow its own patterns that do not coincide with any Church administration. As it is said, the Lord only knows who are His.

Especially in its later, scholastic development (in the 17th and 18th

century) the Reformed tradition drew a direct line from the idea of the Church as the congregation of the elected" to the notion of the Church's essential invisibility. This scholastic development resulted in a complete doctrinal system, the main lines of which were described and summarized in the 19th century by the German Reformed Heinrich Heppe (who illustrated his *exposé* by many quotations from 17th and 18th century Reformed theologians). To many, his compilation was seen as representative of what the Reformed tradition was supposed to stand for. This compilation can give us a clear sight of what the Reformed tradition in its later stage was about, also in matters of ecclesiology.

Taking his starting point in the definition of the Church as "the congregation of the elected" who have been called by God through His Word and Spirit, and so stating that "the existence of the Church" is founded on the merciful work of the Holy Spirit only, Heppe comes right away to the conclusion that the Church is "in itself invisible; it is not an object that can be seen, but, as invisible, an object of faith."

This emphasis on the essential invisibility of the Church had its impact on the view of the *unity* of the Church. Once more I quote Heppe who, in his summary, states: the Church is one insofar as it is founded on Christ as "the only life-ground of all believers" (here we can agree) and insofar as it, "being an essentially spiritual community, in no way is touched by any naturally human boundaries."¹⁹ "Essentially spiritual" over against "naturally human" - that sounds too spiritualizing. The ecumenical question is not taken very seriously here; at least not as a question that has to do with Church life on earth. It seems as if the unity of the Church were just a Platonic idea, to be revealed in heaven only.

An element of Reformed ecclesiology: the "marks" of the Church

Let me underline here that this does not confirm the Reformed tradition as it was in its origin. Calvin did not have in mind to create himself a new Church, opposite to the existing Church; Luther did not either. So, the 16th century Reformers kept looking for the visibility, and the visible unity, of the Church. And yet, it is true, at the same time they were extremely critical vis-à-vis the visibility of the Church of their time.

May be the best way to illustrate this is by pointing to the specifi-

cally Reformed (and Lutheran!) terminology of the “marks” of the Church. These “marks” are above all two: the “pure” preaching of the Gospel and the “pure” administration of the sacraments. “Pure,” that means here: in accordance with the will of Christ. Later (after Calvin, in the 16th century confessions) in the Reformed tradition a third characteristic of the “true Church” was added to these two: the exercise of Church discipline.²⁰ Reformed like to state that one, by checking whether these “marks” in a given situation are present or whether they are not, is able to identify the “true Church” - and so to distinguish it from the “false Church.” They underline that these “marks” help to find out, not: *what* the Church is (that is expressed in the classic “attributes:” “one,” “holy,” “catholic” and “apostolic”), but *where* the Church is.

This terminology of “marks” brings us to a double conclusion. On the one hand: one can see here the Reformed passion for the visibility of the true Church. “Marks” by definition are visible. Otherwise they could not fulfil their function of “marking,” of means of identification! Invisible “marks” are not very useful indeed. So, a Reformed ecclesiology cannot, because of its own starting point, in dealing with the Church of Christ, restrict itself to the “invisible” Church. It will have to take seriously that the “true Church,” the Church of Christ, is also, as such, visible; that this Church visibly is present among humankind.

On the other hand, however, the Reformed passion for the visibility of the “true Church” is an extremely critical one. The “marks” help to check and to find out whether what has the name and the pretention of being Church is really and authentically Church. Reformed ecclesiology, in dealing with the “marks” of the Church, is a critical approach and evaluation of all kinds of visible Church reality. It puts a big question-mark behind all self-evident claims, presented or lived by any Church institutions or Church organizations, of being identical with the Church of Christ. Reformed have a passion for the visibility of the Church. But the visibility they are looking for is not just the visibility of the Church as it is; it is the visibility of the Church as it should be.

Church unity: “Having part together in the one Church of Christ”

What has been pointed out above makes clear that Reformed are not inclined to simply identify any existing Church institution, be it

the Reformed Church, the Orthodox Church or whatever Church, with the one Church of Christ. On the contrary, to them such an identification would be a denial of the critical reserve under which each empirical Church stands.

This critical reserve applies to the Reformed Church no less than to any other Church indeed. It is true, the Reformers, Luther and Calvin, were convinced of the necessity of Reformation, of Church renewal. And today Reformed still consider the 16th century Reformation as a work of the Holy Spirit, in and for the benefit of the Church at large. Without simply identifying their Church (and their Church *par excellence*) with the one Church of Christ, they nevertheless experience the Church of Christ *in* their own Church. As members of their own Church they feel members of the Church of Christ. They do not, however, see that as a Reformed privilege. On the contrary, in principle they consider members of other Churches, of other Church traditions, in the same way. As it has been put in the Reformed/Roman Catholic dialogue report *Towards a Common Understanding of the Church*:

"The Reformed..do not understand the Church as reducible to this or that community, hierarchy or institution. They claim to belong to the Church and recognize that others also do."²¹

What does this mean for the perspective of Church unity? According to Reformed thinking this unity can neither be achieved via a "return" of the others to "us," to "our" Church (as still is the official Roman Catholic position, though with certain nuances), nor simply via a return to "the undivided Tradition of the seven ecumenical Councils" (as urged by the Orthodox). As far as this Orthodox position is concerned, Reformed, as I said, do recognize the immense significance of Tradition, but they do not see it as the ultimate authority in matters of faith *per se*. Here also, one should be aware of the critical reserve: the Tradition stands under the highest and critical authority of the Gospel, coming to us from the Holy Scripture.

In fact, Reformed look forward, rather than backward. In their view, the visible unity of the Church is not so much a lost reality of the past that should be found again (was the Church ever really visibly one?), as a promise beyond all our (Reformed or Orthodox or other) imaginations and expectations.²²

The reality of the Church of Christ is more comprehensive than

our respective empirical Church realities are, and yet our Church realities are part of it and refer to it. Where this is recognized, the door is open to a mutual acceptance, as a first step into the direction of visible unity.

Many Reformed Churches in Europe assented to the so-called *Leuenberg Agreement*, together with many Lutheran (and United) Churches in Europe. That document is a doctrinal agreement, established in 1973, in which a common understanding of the Gospel has been worked out, together with a declaration that the mutual Lutheran-Reformed controversies and condemnations of the Reformation era are inapplicable to the present doctrinal position of the assenting churches and are no longer an obstacle to church fellowship. "Church fellowship" is the name for what elsewhere could be called Church unity. At least, it means: fellowship in word and sacrament (including the mutual recognition of ordination and the freedom to provide for intercelebration) as well as the intention of cooperating as closely as possible in witness and service to the world. The churches that assented to this *Leuenberg Agreement* in doing so mutually have declared church fellowship. It is the consequence of the conviction, shared by the participating churches, "that they have part together in the one Church of Jesus Christ."²³ We see here basically the same idea of the relation between "our churches" and "the Church of Christ" as we heard expressed, as the Reformed view, a moment ago in the Reformed/Roman Catholic dialogue report. The Leuenberg Church community is an example of how this view can lead to steps towards the realization of visible Church unity.

ECUMENISM: TAKING YOUR OWN CHURCH SERIOUSLY

I do not close my eyes for the remaining weakness in this Reformed thinking. The danger of spiritualizing, of ecclesiological docetism, mentioned earlier, is always there. By distinguishing that clearly between "our churches" and "the one Church of Christ" Reformed are always inclined to consider "the Church of Christ" as something idealistic, existing "up there," above concrete history, instead of existing right here, on earth. The view of "our church" as "having part in the one Church of Christ," or as "belonging to the Church," again might be too easy a solution of the ecumenical problem of the relation between "the Church" and "the churches." Let me

make here a self-critical point: Reformed should learn to speak a bit more pretentiously about their own church, as really - for them - (a manifestation of) the true Church of Christ - like Orthodox and Roman Catholics are used to do.²⁴

I think, it is a misunderstanding that ecumenism would mean: relativizing the importance of one's own church (hoping that others, in other churches, will do the same). On the contrary, real ecumenism starts by taking one's own church very seriously, just as seriously as itself, according its own principles, wants to be taken.

Karl Barth, in dealing with the "*credo unam ecclesiam*," points out that each empirical church somewhere is convinced of being itself the authentic, true Church of Jesus Christ *par excellence* (otherwise it would loose its *raison d'être*!). And each church should stick to that conviction, and take it as seriously as possible. Be aware: that would mean that each church really would appeal to Jesus Christ as the Lord of the Church, and would be open to his word, his leadership, his guidance. In doing so, each church would unavoidably get under criticism, not from outside but from inside, basically: from Jesus Christ himself. And each church would at the same time experience to be accepted by him, to a certain extent, in its own specificity. Being faithful to its own peculiar, separate existence would then again have as its necessary consequence

Hence: a certain openness to the peculiarity of other churches: could not these be acceptable to Christ as well? and could not we have to learn something from these as well? Only then it would have become clear to each church that it cannot stick to its conviction of being *in contradiction to other churches* the true Church of Christ. That pretention would then have been taken away by Christ Himself.²⁵

Of course, this *exposé* is typically Reformed, especially in the supposition that a church that really appeals to Jesus Christ unavoidably will come under his criticism. I would like to point out, however, that at least Barth's starting point for Reformed is *not* common thinking. Reformed might do well to listen carefully to that, namely: to his exhortation to take their own church as seriously as possible and then to discover that, that exactly in doing so the decisive step towards visible Church unity will appear to have been taken.

And why should not other Christians, members of other churches, listen carefully as well? Indeed, a church that in the right way takes

its own existence seriously, exactly in doing so, will encounter sooner or later the limits of its own self-conscience. Where that happens, visible Church unity is close by.

An Orthodox-Reformed convergence possible?

Orthodox ecclesiology and Reformed ecclesiology are very different. Will a convergence be possible? Anyway, in my (Reformed!) view, an ecclesiology "from above" (like the Orthodox one) and an ecclesiology "from below" (like the Reformed one) are not necessarily mutually contradictory. And respect for the Tradition (of the first centuries) can well go together with an understanding of the Holy Scripture as the ultimate and critical authority also over Tradition. The question is whether Orthodox could be of the same opinion.

NOTES

¹The text of the "Constitutio dogmatica I 'Pastor aeternus' de Ecclesia Christi" in: H. Denzinger/A. Schönmetzer (ed.), *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, editio XXXIII, 1965, no. 3050-3075.

²Second Vatican Council, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* "*Lumen gentium*," paragraph no. 8.

³Second Vatican Council, *Decree on Ecumenism* "*Unitatis redintegratio*," paragraphs no. 3, 4.

⁴Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, Penguin Book, revised edition 1969, pp. 243, 246, 250.

⁵See the Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement documented in: *Orthodox Visions of Ecumenism. Statements, Messages and Reports on the Ecumenical Movement 1902-1992*, compiled by Gennadios Limouris, Geneva 1994.

⁶T. Ware, *o.c.*, p. 317f.

⁷Information on the three preparatory consultations is to be found in: *Theological Dialogue between Orthodox and Reformed Churches*, ed. by Thomas F. Torrance, Edinburgh 1985; see for an overview the Introduction (p. IX-XXVIII, by Torrance) and the Concluding Affirmation (pp. 157f, again drafted by Torrance).

⁸Torrance, "Memoranda on Orthodox/Reformed Relations", in *o.c.*, p. 10.

⁹Information on the consultations of 1988, 1990 and in 1992 in: *Theological Dialogue between Orthodox and Reformed Churches*, Volume 2, ed. by Thomas F. Torrance, Edinburgh 1993.

¹⁰The report has been published in: *Growth in Agreement. Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level*, ed. by Harding Meyer and Lukas Vischer, Faith and Order Paper no. 108, New York/Geneva 1984, pp. 433-463.

¹¹*Towards a Common Understanding of the Church. Reformed/Roman Catholic International Dialogue*, Studies from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches no. 21, Geneva 1991.

¹²H. Berkhof, Driemaal "oecumenisch," in: *Wending*, jrg. 19, 1964, pp. 144f.

¹³Decisions of the Third Preconciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference on The Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement, in: *Orthodox Visions of Ecumenism*, p. 113.

¹⁴Cf.: J. Koopmans, *Het oudkerkelijk dogma in de Reformatie, bepaaldelijk bij Calvijn*, Wageningen 1938 (reprinted in 1983).

¹⁵*Heidelberg Catechism*, question and answer no. 54. For the text of this document see for example: *The School of Faith, the Catechisms of the Reformed Church*, ed. by Thomas F. Torrance, London 1959. For a short comment on the quoted section see: Karel Blei, Introduction, in: *The Church in the Reformed Tradition. Discussion papers prepared by a working party of the European Committee*, ed. by Colin E. Gunton, Páraic Réamonn and Alan P.F. Sell, European Studies from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches no. 1, Geneva 1995, pp. 5-7.

¹⁶*Confessio Belgica*, article no. 27.

¹⁷*Toward a Common Understanding of the Church*, paragraph no. 94.

¹⁸On the Synod of Emden see: *1571 Emden Synode 1971. Beiträge zur Geschichte und zum 400jährigen Jubiläum*, bearbeitet und redigiert von Elwin Lomberg, herausgegeben von der Evangelisch-reformierten Kirche in Nordwestdeutschland, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973. The minutes of the synod, in German translation (from the Latin) by Dieter Perlich, are to be found here on pp. 49ff.

¹⁹H. Hepp, *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche*, neu herausgeg. v. E. Bizer, Neukirchen 1935, p. 526. For the following comment, see K. Blei, Kerk voor de wereld, in *Kerk en Theologie*, jrg. 31, 1980, pp. 13f.

²⁰*Confessio Belgica*, article no. 29.

²¹*Towards a Common Understanding of the Church*, paragraph no. 129.

²²Cf. Berkhof, in *o.c.*, pp. 143-145.

²³The text of the *Leuenberg Agreement* has been published (in German, English and French) by order of the Executive Committee for the Leuenberg Doctrinal Conversations, Frankfurt am Main 1993. Quotation from paragraph 34.

²⁴Cf. K. Blei, Samen deelhebben aan de ene Kerk van Christus, in: *Kerk tussen erfenis en opdracht. Protestanten en katholieken op weg naar een gemeenschappelijk kerkbegrip*, red. H.P.J. Witte, IIMO Research Publication no. 39, Utrecht-Leiden 1994, p. 196-200. - This book is a collection of comments, by Dutch theologians, on *Towards a Common Understanding of the Church*.

²⁵Karl Barth, *Die kirchliche Dogmatik*, IV/1, Zollikon-Zürich 1953, pp. 761-765.

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The Church and the Churches: Unity and Multiplicity in the One Body of Christ

FR. GEORGE DION DRAGAS

Preamble

The 1996 "Summary" of Orthodox/Reformed discussions on the Unity and Identity of the Church stated that: "Both traditions agree on the basis of the Bible and the Fathers that the Church could in no way be divided from Jesus Christ, and that her true being lies in the fact that she is his Body." Nevertheless, it is also acknowledged that the key notion of the Church as the "Body of Christ," though fundamental to both traditions, "is understood differently" by them! The Orthodox understanding is a) *sacramental* (eschatological) and b) *traditional* (rooted in the historically uninterrupted apostolic tradition and succession). The Reformed understanding is connected with a) *true preaching* of the Gospel and b) *right celebration* of the Dominical sacraments.

Another point made briefly and in a general way in the same "Summary" is that both sides agree on the distinction between the very "Body of Christ" and "the believers who are incorporated through Baptism into it as members of it." Nevertheless, it is also made clear that "Baptism is not understood or practiced in the same way by the two traditions." These differences in understanding and practice that were noted in 1996, have called for further discussions on this subject in view of the aim of the Dialogue to produce a common statement on the Church. The realization that we are so close in affirming certain fundamental theological principles and yet so different in the way we interpret and apply these principles leaves us with no other option but to proceed with the outmost seriousness to the task of

dialogue. We need to explain ourselves patiently so that we may have a meaningful and fruitful dialogue. The points of agreement and/or disagreement need further clarification before they are accurately compared and evaluated, or even combined.

The present paper is submitted to facilitate further discussion. Its primary aim is to throw light on the Orthodox understanding of unity and multiplicity in the Church given that as the Body of Christ the Church is One. This paper is based on an older version which had been written for a similar occasion, but it has been revised and expanded somewhat so as to meet the challenge of this occasion.¹

1. One Church in many Churches and vice versa

Western Christians often speak today of the Orthodox Churches, rather than the Orthodox Church. They speak of the "Greek Church," the "Russian Church," the Serbian Church," or the various ethnic Orthodox Churches, as if there were many, and perhaps different Church bodies and not One. This is consistent with the Western understanding of the Church as an institution or organized association of believers who hold in common a certain confession of faith and tradition and are bound by nationality, or culture or other such ties. This pluralistic and phenomenological approach to Orthodoxy is in fact a novelty and became more widely spread since the last decades of the nineteenth and especially from the second decade of the twentieth century onwards, the period of the emergence of autocephalous ethnic Orthodox Churches following the collapse of the Ottoman empire.² Before that time Westerners referred to the Orthodox as the "Eastern Orthodox Catholic Church" or "the Greek Church" as distinguished from the "Western Roman Catholic" or "Latin Church." From the Orthodox perspective, however, the Church is One, even though she is concretely manifested in many places and nations. Ethnic, cultural and local characteristics do not constitute the essential characteristics of the Church, which are *oneness, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity*, as specified in the Ecumenical Creed.

Generally speaking, Orthodox Ecclesiology operates with a unity in plurality and a plurality in unity, a unity in community and communion. For Orthodoxy there is no "either-or" between the One and the many, because the One is present in and manifested through the many. Thus, for Orthodox no attempt should be made to subordinate

the many Churches to one of them in order to manifest the One Church (the Roman Catholic model), nor should the many Churches be so independent and diverse as to compromise or relativise (render invisible or merely spiritual) the One Church (the Protestant model). It is both canonically and theologically correct to speak of the One Church in the many Churches, and *vice versa* without contradiction, because the One Church essentially and fully inheres in each one of the many and each one of the many fully manifests the One Church. This is impossible for Roman Catholic Ecclesiology because of the exclusive papal claim for *universal jurisdiction* that commits her to *uniatism*.³ The same must be said of the Protestant Ecclesiologies, which are committed to *pluralism* inasmuch as they connect the notion of the Church with particular *confessional denominationalism* and operate with a distinction between the many and diverse visible Churches and the One (pure and true) invisible Church. In the Orthodox perspective, the Church is universal *and* local, invisible *and* visible, one *and* many. To explain what lies behind this Orthodox ecclesiological unity in multiplicity, one has to deal with the Orthodox understanding of the nature of the Church.

2. *The Church of the Triune God*

The nature of the Church is to be understood in light of the fact that she is the Church of the Triune God. The Holy Trinity is the ultimate basis and source of the Church's existence and identity, and as such, the Church is both created and sustained by God and also exists in God's image and likeness. Being in the image and likeness of the Blessed Trinity constitutes the particular mode of the Church's existence, which, in fact, reveals her true nature. Being in God, the Church reflects in the created realm God's mystery of unity in Trinity. What is natural to God is given to the Church by grace, so that the Church may be the divinely constituted basis of the Creation.

The grace of the Trinity is the starting-point for understanding the mode of existence and therefore of the nature of the Church. This is particularly so with regard to the Church's unity in multiplicity, which manifests the truth that the Holy Trinity of the three divine persons of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit share one life and one being. The three distinct and unique persons are one in act and in nature. Similarly, the Church exhibits a multiplicity of persons in

unity of life and being, act and nature. The difference between God and the Church is that, in the former, multiplicity in unity is the truth, whereas in the latter, this is only a participation in the truth and/or reflection of the truth. In patristic language the former is *ousia*, while the latter is *metousia* and *mimesis* based on the divine grace of the Trinity and the human reception of and response to it. The unity of the three divine persons in life and being is, therefore, the prototype of the unity of the Church's persons in life and being. As Christ himself says in his prayer for the Church, "*even as You O Father are in me and I in You, may they also be one in us, so that the world may believe that You have sent me.*"⁴ St. Cyril of Alexandria's comments on this verse are appropriate: "*... I have already explained that the manner of the divine unity and the identity of substance in the Holy Trinity, and the inter-connection of the Persons in all respects, ought to be mirrored in the unity of the faithful through their mutual harmony and concord. I am eager to demonstrate in the faithful, also a kind of unity of nature, by which we are joined with one another, and we are all joined to God. This does not, we may say, stop short of a bodily unity with one another, though we are distinguished by our different bodies, and each of us, as a human being, is confined within the limits of his own body, and of his own person... The Mystery of Christ is available for us as a beginning and a way for our participation in the Holy Spirit, and our union with God.*"⁵ The mark of unity is collegiality, communion and love, and not imposition or subordination. Orthodox Triadology, based on the grace of the Trinity that is granted to the creation, supplies the basic charismatic/ontological categories of Orthodox Ecclesiology. The Church is an *icon* of the Holy Trinity, a participation in and an imitation of the grace of the Triune God.⁶

3. The Church of Christ

How does the Church participate in God's mystery and grace? How are *metousia* and *mimesis* achieved? How does the Church become an *icon* of the Holy Trinity? The answer, in its fullest form, is contained in the phrase "in and through Christ." Christ has established the bond between the image of the Triune God, and that, which is made according to the image, namely, the Church, which includes mankind. In Christ we have both the *εἰκών*, and that which is in

accordance with the icon, τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα. Christ took to himself the grace of the Trinity so that this grace may never again be removed from humanity but be assured for it.⁷ Hence, we must say that the Church is the Church of the Triune God as the Church of Christ. The link between the Holy Trinity and Christology, that is, between "theology" and "economy," demands a similar link in Ecclesiology. The Church is in the image of the Triune God, and participates in the grace of the Trinity inasmuch as she is in Christ and partakes of his grace. The unity of human persons in life and being cannot be achieved apart from their union with and communion in Christ. This economy of Christ, which we encounter here, is what the New Testament calls the "*Body of Christ*," which is realized by us through the Eucharist.⁸

Christ is the Head of the Church and the Church is the Body of Christ. "*And he [the Father] has made him the head over all things for the Church, which is his Body, the fullness of him who fills all in all.*"⁹ It is from this full Christological and ecclesiological angle that we better understand the multiplicity in unity that exists in the Church. This angle of the Body of Christ is primarily connected with the divine Eucharist, because it is in this supreme Sacrament of the Eucharist that the Body is revealed to us and realized in us. The other sacraments are all connected in one way or another with this one.¹⁰ The Eucharist differentiates the Church from any other kind of community and gives it its catholic character, its being divine-human union and communion. In the divine Eucharist we have the whole Christ, the Head, and the Body with its members, the Church.

Although the Eucharist is celebrated in *many* places and among *many* and culturally *different* groups of people there are not *many* and *different* bodies of Christ! This is not the case because there is only *one* Head, and only *one* Body, Christ, into whom the One Spirit engrafts human beings as members. There is the One Lord Jesus Christ and his very Body that he took up in the Incarnation and offered it up to God as a perfect sacrifice on the Cross, raised it from the dead and led it up to heaven making it sit on the right hand of the divine majesty. This is the Church into which all the groups of rational beings in heaven and on earth are incorporated. It is with this One Body of the risen and glorified Christ, the One Church, that the Sacrament of the Bread and the Wine, which is celebrated in the *many* places and among the *many* and *different* groups of people, is united hypostatically through the act of the Holy Spirit in accordance with what he himself

ordered and instituted.¹¹ And so it is the One Church, the whole Christ, which is revealed and realized at the supreme Sacrament of the divine Eucharist. It is the One Lord himself united with his people who is manifested in the many places, as he gives his One body to all, so that in partaking of it they may all become one with him and with one another. *"Because there is one Bread, we who are many are one Body, for we all partake of the one Bread."*¹² The many places and the many groups of people, where through the Eucharist the one body of Christ is revealed and realized, do not constitute an obstacle to its unity. Indeed, to partake of this body in one place is to be united with him who is not bound by place and, therefore, to be mystically (sacramentally) united with all. Here is how Saint Athanasius explains this in his profound elaboration of the prayer of Christ that the apostles (and their successors and disciples) may be one:

"... because I am thy Word, and I am also in them because of the body, and because of thee the salvation of men is perfected in me, therefore, I ask that they also may become one, according to the body that is in me and according to its perfection, that they, too, may become perfect having oneness with it, and having become one in it; that, as if all were carried by me, all may be one body and one spirit and may grow up unto a perfect man." And Saint Athanasius concludes: *"For we all, partaking of the same, become one body, having the one Lord in ourselves."*¹³ What is given in one specific place is something that also transcends it, because of its particular *"perfection"* (τελείωσις), that is its being Christ's risen Body, united with the Holy Trinity in and through the Son's hypostasis by whom alone it was appropriated.

The different localities, where the Eucharist is celebrated with the Eucharistic president (the bishop), the concelebrating clergy, and the participants (the people) constitute or reveal the whole Church. Thus the many local churches fully reveal the catholic mystery of the One Lord and the One Church. The one Church of Christ is equally and fully in all these localities because of the One and perfect Eucharist, the one Lord and the one Body. This fullness of the presence of the one Christ and the One Body of Christ in the many local churches is the ground for what is often called "Orthodox Eucharistic Ecclesiology" and its logical implication, the self-sufficiency and integrity of the local Church. This self-sufficiency is expressed through the equality of the local bishops and churches. It is rooted in,

and springs from, "their equal share in the fullness of the great Sacrament of the One Body of Christ." Self-sufficiency does not imply absolute and uncontrolled independence, because it is rooted in equal participation *and membership* in the One Body of Christ and incurs the *bond of communion* and fellowship. What St. Paul says to the Romans and the Corinthians is applicable to all local churches in themselves (in their members) and in relation to each other: "*So we, who are many, are One Body in Christ and individually we are members of one another,*" and "*The Body is One and has many members and all the members as the One Body, being many, are One Body.*"¹⁴

In Orthodox Ecclesiology there is no *essential* difference between the Bishop of a small place in Cappadocia and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. As Eucharistic leaders established upon the foundation of Jesus Christ, they are equally catholic. This *catholic order* of equality and its corollary, communion in the One Body of Christ, pertains to the very nature of the Church, that is, it constitutes the ecclesiastical ontology. It is inseparable, however, from the *hierarchical order* in the Church, i.e. the *ecumenical order* of seniorities (τὰ πρεσβεῖα) which pertains to the Church's ecumenicity, i.e. her historical structure, mission and expansion in the world from the Apostolic times onwards.¹⁵ This ecumenical order of seniorities was equally God-founded and God-sustained as the catholic one.

In Orthodox Ecclesiology there is no antimony between the order of equality (catholicity) and the order of seniority (ecumenicity). *Catholicity* (the equality of the local churches as full participants in the grace of Christ and the Holy Trinity) and *ecumenicity* (the order of seniority among the bishops as participants in the mission of the Church to the world in history) are not antipodes. From the Orthodox perspective, it is the development of such antipodes that have resulted in the historical divisions within Christendom. The Roman Catholic claims of universal jurisdiction and primacy on the one hand, and the Protestant claims of diverse or particular independence on the other, are, in fact, contradictions between ecumenicity and catholicity. They indicate respectively that the integrity or self-sufficiency of the local churches of God either is not guaranteed by their participation in the one grace of Christ and the Trinity, or cannot be manifested in a visible way through an ecumenical order.

In Orthodox perception the Roman Catholics seem to subordinate the many local churches to one local Church (the Church of Rome)

and the many Bishops who shepherd them to one local Bishop (the Pope of Rome) as universal head of the Church. The Protestants, on the other hand, seem to have ignored the historic ecumenical order, which was established by God among the local catholic churches and, as a result, have failed so far to recover the visible unity and historic continuity of the Church. For the Orthodox, the Roman Catholic model militates against the Headship of Christ and the primacy of the Body of Christ over the members, even those that seem to be most honorable. "*For the Body is not one member, but many*" and "*if all were one member, where is the Body?*"¹⁶ The Protestant models, on the other hand, are equally inconsistent with the Headship of Christ and the primacy of his Body because they have replaced them by many heads and many bodies. By setting up independent local churches *de novo* without due consideration of continuity, union with and communion in the One Body of Christ can only lead to schismatic arrangements, isolation, alienation, fragmentation, in short, to disunity and pluralism. They seem to forget that "*God has so arranged the Body ... that there may be no dissension (schism) within the Body, but the members may have the same care for one another.*" Indeed, "*God has appointed in the Church first Apostles, and ... various forms of leadership*" and "*has placed each member in the Body as he wishes.*"¹⁷

The strength of the Orthodox vis-a-vis the other Christian traditions lies in their primary attachment and fidelity to the mystery of the Catholic Church, the Body of Christ, as it has been manifested from the beginning and has unceasingly operated in history. The Orthodox have been determined to keep in their full integrity both *the catholic mystery of the Eucharist*, and *the historic ecumenical order of seniority* among the catholic and apostolic Churches, which springs out of the mystery of the Eucharist. This is why they claim to be the One Church of God, founded upon Christ, and keeping the God-given historic canonical order of seniority that constitutes the Church's response to the challenges of history. Their claim arises from the unbroken continuity of their historic experience of the grace of Christ. The existence of many Orthodox autocephalic Churches today, shows that there is always room for developments in the Church's historic response to the world, provided that such developments are consistent with the established canonical tradition. On the other hand, they remain absolutely adamant on the essential belief of the catholicity and unity of the Church as the Body of Christ.¹⁸

4. The Church of the Trinity and the Church of Christ

Some theologians speak of Orthodox Ecclesiology in terms of two models: the Triadological and the Christological.¹⁹ In fact, there are not two models, but one. The Church is both the Church of the Holy Trinity and the Church of Christ. It is true that in Christ only the second Person of the Trinity is incarnate. Yet, the entire fullness of the Godhead dwells in the body of the incarnate Son, as in a temple. This is clear from the teaching of the New Testament and from the teaching of the Fathers of the Church. Christology is inseparable from Triadology inasmuch as the divine and human natures are united in Christ indissolubly and eternally. No adequate doctrine of the Son, discarnate or incarnate, can be developed without the Father who sent the Son into the world. At the same time, the gift of the incarnate Son to humanity, both his incarnate presence and our incorporation into his Body, is unthinkable without the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and rests on the Son and is given through the Son.

It is true that Orthodox theologians have made different attempts to interpret this interpenetration of the Trinitarian and the Christological dimensions of Orthodox Ecclesiology. Some, for instance, would see the work of Christ as referring to the unity of nature, and the work of the Spirit to the diversity of persons, whilst both Christ and the Spirit bring the whole of humanity, nature and persons under the monarchy of the Father.²⁰ Inasmuch as they hold this view they argue that the constitution of the Church cannot be understood only Christologically but also Pneumatologically. Others, however, would point to the biblical pattern of the revelation of the Trinity in salvation history that is focused on the Incarnate Son, and is consummated in the incorporation into Christ and assimilation to him of human beings through the economy of the Holy Spirit. Here the grace of the Trinity finds its supreme locus "in Christ," or "in the Body of Christ."²¹ Christ is the key and so the work of the Spirit cannot be independent from Christ but is rather connected with the building up of the Body of Christ. This strictly biblical pattern seems to be closer to the ethos of the liturgical traditions of Orthodoxy, but the other model (which is more dogmatic and ontological) also seems to have its basis in the Church's mind concerning Christ the Lord. The Triadological and Christological dimensions cannot be divorced in Orthodox Ecclesiology, because the Church is the Church of the Holy

Trinity in so far as she is the Church of Christ, and *vice versa*. This is clearly stressed by St. Paul in his Letter to the Ephesians: "*For he [Christ] is our peace, who has made us both [Gentiles and Israel] one ... that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two ... and might reconcile us both to God in One Body through the Cross ... for through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father ... in whom you are also built ... for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.*"²² We may also recall here St. Cyril of Alexandria: "*The Mystery of Christ is available for us as a beginning and a way for our participation in the Holy Spirit, and our union with God. For we are all sanctified in him, in the way I have already explained [He took our humanity so that man might share the divine nature]. The Only-begotten, through the wisdom that is rightly his, and through the counsel of the Father, devised a means whereby we may come into union with God and among ourselves, although we are separated by the distinction which is observable between individuals. By means of one Body he blesses those who believe in him and incorporates them in himself and each other.*"²³

5. The Church of the Fathers

The Orthodox Church is also the Church of the Fathers. By Fathers, we mean the bishops and the priests who preside over the Eucharist. That is, those who serve the mystery of the body of Christ to the local churches. Not everybody serves the mystery of Christ to the local church — not everybody celebrates the divine Eucharist, or performs the Christian sacraments of initiation and growth. In the first instance, it is the bishop who does this. The presbyters are his assistants who participate in his episcopal function through the celebration of the Eucharist and through their ministry to the congregations (parishes) of the local church (diocese). The bishop is the specific focus of the life and existence of the local church. He is the icon of Christ for the whole diocese, not in a merely symbolic way, but in a real and living and charismatic way inasmuch as he leads her in her life and mission in the world. As Saint Ignatius said, "*where the bishop is ... there is Christ ... there is the Catholic Church.*"²⁴ This patristic order of the local church was instituted by the Lord himself in the establishment of the holy apostolate, which was continued by the successors of the apostles, the bishops, and the presbyters. Whatever the questions or theories about the historical

origins and the precise way in which this order evolved it is clear that its root is to be found in Christ and in the apostles.

In the New Testament, as in the Old Testament, the patristic dimension of the Church is a *sine qua non*. Hence, we must speak of the Church as the Church of the Fathers, as the Church was, indeed, founded upon *the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Christ himself being the chief cornerstone*.²⁵ But it is in the Fathers that we have the maintenance of the apostolic and prophetic heritage, as the Fathers maintain the integrity of the Church by keeping the orthodox faith and holy tradition of the Apostles and Prophets. The dogmas of the Fathers, whether in their accredited writings, or in their local and ecumenical synodal decisions, have no other intention but to keep the truth which the Lord gave and the Apostles preached.²⁶ Orthodox Dogmatics and doctrine are thoroughly apostolic and patristic. They are not abstract ideas divorced from the persons of the Fathers, the Apostles, the Prophets and Christ. Doctrine is the expression of this unbroken line of existence that belongs to the very being of the Church. The guarantee of this unbroken line of holy tradition and existence is none other than the Holy Paraclete given by Christ himself to his Church, the Spirit of Life who grafts all into the One Body of Christ and makes them reside in the one truth.²⁷

In the Orthodox tradition all bishops and presbyters, and even deacons, are called Fathers, because they serve the mystery of Christ and, thus, give birth and food to all Christian existence. In other words, there is a threefold patristic order in the local churches. As all local churches are equal, because they receive the same grace, through being celebrants of the same mystery, so the threefold local patristic dimension is equal from one locality to another. The other titles, which relate to the order of seniority, and which normally imply certain prerogatives for the persons who bear them, are, in fact, secondary elements which relate to the Church's response to the world. Such prerogatives exist not only among bishops but also among presbyters and deacons.²⁸

The patristic dimension in Orthodox Ecclesiology further reveals the unity in multiplicity that we observed in our discussion of the Church as the Body of Christ with particular reference to the Eucharist. This is because although there are many Bishops with specific jurisdictions in the Orthodox Church, the Episcopate is one. The same applies to the Priesthood and to the Diaconate. The conciliar pro-

cesses in the Church clearly indicate this unity of the Priesthood in its three-fold level. There are many texts of the Fathers, which attempt to describe this unity in multiplicity that exists in the patristic dimension of the Church. Perhaps the most eloquent one is that which we find in the context of the celebration of the divine Eucharist. There is the tradition of the Diptychs in the Liturgy, which involves at the highest level the commemoration of the heads of the Autocephalic Orthodox Churches in the order of their seniority and at the lowest level (that of the Orthodox parish) the commemoration of "*Our Archbishop (Bishop) ... the honorable Presbyterate, the Diaconate in Christ, all the clergy...*" The local Fathers are united with all the Fathers in the celebration of the mystery of the One Body of Christ, the One holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, whose one and only universal head is Christ.

6. The Church of the Saints or those who are called to be Saints

In the Orthodox understanding of the Church there is no separation between clergy and laity, although these two groups are distinguished by their specific functions. Both serve in the Divine Liturgy in a complementary fashion, and both participate in the divine grace of the Trinity and grow in the fullness of Christ's Body. The apostolic patristic order of celebration of the mystery of Christ was established for the people so that all the people of God may participate in it and receive the new gift, the forgiveness of sins and new life.

There are many ways in which this relationship between clergy and people in the one body of Christ is realized and revealed in the Orthodox Church. Both the liturgy and the offices have distinctive parts for the clergy and the laity, but this is also the case in the dimension of the Church's witness, teaching, and general mission to the world. In Orthodox Archdioceses, Dioceses and Parishes there are special ministries that are undertaken by both clergy and laity, and there are ministries in which the laity is given the initiative. This last case is connected with philanthropic institutions and with all sorts of social and cultural institutions that are supported by the Church. One may look at the way the Orthodox Church has been organized in the Orthodox Diaspora (=lands where Orthodoxy is not locally established because it is a minority) to realize how significant the work of the laity can be.

Particularly important in this context is Orthodox Monasticism, with its single devotion to prayer and to Christian perfection. This is one of the most eloquent links between the manifestations of this inner unity of clergy and the laity in the Body of Christ. Orthodox monks and nuns are mighty supporters of both priestly and lay ministries in the Church. Orthodox Monasteries are centers of renewal not only for individual members of the Body of Christ, but also for Dioceses and Parishes. The Stavropegiaic Monasteries in particular have a kind of ecumenical radiance. The Orthodox Monastic Community of the Holy Mountain of Athos has a unique function, given its historical witness over a millennium of Orthodox Church history.

There are also other "orders" in Orthodoxy, such as the confessors and martyrs, or those who spend their lives serving the needs of the poor and the sick, many of which are Orthodox saints. The Orthodox Church, as the Church of the Saints, is, in fact, the Church of the people of God. Here no tension between shepherds and flock is allowed, because those who minister and those who are ministered to, pursue the same aim: participation in the grace of Christ and the Holy Trinity (*metousia Theou, theosis*). The call to holiness binds them all to the one Church, the one imitation of Christ and his Saints. Whatever one's position in the Church on earth (clerical, ascetical, or lay) it is the One Body of Christ and the One grace of the Holy Trinity that remain the central focuses. Each person is appreciated fully as a person in his relation to this One Body and to the one common life and witness. Everyone is called to be a saint and, as such, to serve the mystery of Christ. Therefore, everyone, whatever his place or capacity, will be equally asked to give an account of his response to this calling on the day of judgment. Hence, all Orthodox Christians pray together for "*Christian ends to their lives, and a good apology before the judgment seat of Christ.*" The Church is holy, or called to be holy, and this is an essential characteristic of Orthodox ecclesiology.

7. Conclusion

What then is the unity and multiplicity of the Church in Orthodox perspective? She is One Church but manifested in many Churches, or she is many Churches that manifest One Church. This unity in multiplicity is rooted in the fact that the Church is the Church of the One God in Trinity, created sustained and imbued by the grace of the

Holy Trinity. The Church is the Church of the Trinity inasmuch as she is the Church of Christ. She is the Church of Christ through the Body of Christ, which is One because Christ is One, but also includes the many members who participate in it. The Church as the Body of Christ is in fact the mystery of the Incarnation that is extended throughout the ages by the incorporation into it of human beings that become its members. These members are incorporated into the Body of Christ and grow together in it through the Holy Sacraments that are governed by the operation of the Holy Spirit. The mystery of the Church as the One Body of Christ extended by means of the Sacraments through the operation of the Holy Spirit is manifested locally and includes the apostolic patristic dimension as a *sine qua non*. The Church Fathers, the successors of the holy Apostles, who serve this mystery, manifest the unity in multiplicity of the Church locally and ecumenically. Closely connected with the patristic dimension is that of the Church's Laity and that of the Church's Monastics and Saints. They too through their functions reveal the unity in multiplicity that exists in the Church, the One Lord and his Body whose members are the believers in each and every age.

As it is specified in the Ecumenical Creed, the Church is One, holy, catholic and apostolic whatever its many concrete manifestations are. Perhaps the most focused icon of this one and manifold perspective of the Church is to be seen in the seal of the holy *prosphora* of the Eucharistic Bread. Here we have the whole Church in focus, in the personal, the historical, the theological, and the anthropological dimensions. Here we have unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. Here we have the celebration of the whole mystery of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, the all-holy Theotokos, the heavenly bodiless hosts, the holy Prophets and the holy Apostles, the Fathers, the Saints and the believers, those on earth and those departed. In summary, Orthodox ecclesiology is holistic and does not tolerate any arbitrary division between the one and the many. She is not tied to external uniformity or to pluriformity, but she is unity in multiplicity. As such, she calls all divided Christians who have tasted the power of God's goodness and grace to unite with her, because this is the will of the Lord and because the "Church's name is the name of unity" (St. John Chrysostom).²⁹

Excursus on the Order of Seniority

The supreme prerogative in the Orthodox tradition is that of the Ecumenical Patriarch, which was synodally and canonically given to the bishop of Constantinople, New Rome. Then the Orthodox observe a whole order of seniority which corresponds to the historic expansion of the Church in history. The Ecumenical Patriarch the ancient Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem of the first millennium, and then the modern Patriarchs (the Russian, the Serbian, etc.) and Archbishops of the holy Orthodox autocephalic Churches (the Church of Cyprus, the Church of Greece, the Church of Poland, etc.) constitute an unbroken line of seniority. Within these boundaries there is prospect of further extension to the order of seniority.

Generally speaking, the order of *presbeia* in the Orthodox Church, which finds its ultimate expression in the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, reveals a harmony which has a natural evolution inasmuch as it follows a certain evolutionary (chronological or other) pattern of the Church's history. A closer look, however, indicates that the basis for this pattern is not merely historical but also spiritual. It is, in fact, the sacred ecclesiastical history, not divorced from the secular, but remaining along side it, that has imposed its own natural pattern of order. Had it been merely an secular historic principle that determined the 'historic' evolution of the Orthodox order of seniority, this order would not have outlasted external changes.³⁰

The order of seniority in the Orthodox Church has been kept, in spite of external changes in history, because the Church in history is like a family, which grows and gives birth to new offspring. This is a holy family where children do not reject parents, daughters do not forget or oppose mothers, and mothers do not neglect or fail to recognize the distinctive charisma of their daughters. We may say then that the patristic dimension of the Church, especially in its ecumenical structure, rests on the fact that the Church is like a family which grows in history from generation to generation, and from one people to another. The Fathers who have fallen asleep are, in fact, sleepless guardians of the Church. The Church in heaven remains united with the Church on earth and that which the Fathers have established on

earth is binding for their offspring because they are all alive and united in the One Body of the Church. To keep company with the Fathers means to maintain and expand or extend coherently their work and practice in history without abolishing continuity. It also means to keep the historic perspective which is governed by the sacred history, and is rooted in the service or diakonia of the great mystery of the Body of Christ, the mystery of the divine icon of the Holy Trinity reflected and realized in the life of mankind in the context of creation. The acceptance of the historic order of seniority, established by the Fathers of the Catholic Church, is the original ecumenical way in which Orthodox Christians make sure that merely external historic considerations do not determine the Church's response to history. The Church follows her Fathers who are not dead, but living and who pray for us and celebrate with us until the final consummation and renewal of all history.

NOTES

¹ Dragas George Dion., "Orthodox Ecclesiology in Outline", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 26 (1981) 185-192. For a Greek version of it, see: *Kleronomia* 14:2 (1982) 325-336.

² At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Orthodox Church consisted of the four ancient (*palaiphata*=celebrated) Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, plus the new Patriarchate of Moscow (which was established in 1589 by Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II with the agreement of the other Patriarchs) and the ancient Autocephalous Church of Cyprus (whose Autocephaly, rooted in the Apostolic age, was ecclesiastically recognized by the 3rd Ecumenical Synod in 431). Since then the following autocephalous Orthodox Churches have also been established by the Ecumenical Patriarchate who had canonical jurisdiction over them through issuing canonically appropriate Synodical Tomes: Church of Greece (1850 Autocephalous) Church of Serbia (1879 Autocephaly, 1920 Patriarchate), Church of Rumania (1885 Autocephaly, 1925 Patriarchate), Church of Bulgaria (1872 Schismatic, 1945 Autocephalous, 1953 Patriarchate), Church of Georgia (1917 Autocephaly restored, 1990 Patriarchate), Church of Poland (1924 Autocephalous, 1948 recognized by all Orthodox), Church of Albania (1937 Autocephalous, abolished by the State in 1967, was resurrected in 1991) and Church of Czechia and Slovakia (1923 Autonomous, 1998 Autocephalous).

³ It is fair to say that since Vatican II the Roman Catholic Church has given more recognition to the catholicity of her local churches as distinct from their connection with the Church of Rome. This has created new possibilities for rapprochement with the Orthodox Churches as this is reflected in several papal Encyclicals (e.g. *Ut Unum sint*), but the tension between the One and the Many does not seem to have been resolved. Post Vatican II Roman Catholic theologians are clearly busy with trying to find a formula

which would integrate the traditional Roman Catholic view of the Papacy with the new (but really old) emphasis on conciliarity

⁴ John 17 21

⁵ Commentary on John 17 21, from Henry Bettenson, *The Later Chistian Fathers*, Oxford University Press, New York Toronto 1970, vol 2, pp 266

⁶ For a thorough discussion of this theme see the rather exhaustive diatribe of Nikolaos Matsoukas, "Ἐκκλησιολογία ἐξ ἐπόψεως τοῦ Τριαδικοῦ Δογματος," *Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς*, vol. 17 (1972) 115-215 See also, Symeon Kragiopoulos, "Ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία," *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμάς*, 51 (1968) 495-526

⁷ Cf St Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* III 38, "For though he had no need, nevertheless he is said to have received what he received humanly, that on the other hand, inasmuch as the Lord has received, and the grant is lodged with him, the grace may remain sure For while mere man receives, he is liable to lose again (as was shown in the case of Adam, for he received and he lost), but that the grace may be irrevocable (ἀναφαμετος) and may be kept sure by men, therefore he himself appropriates the gift " On how Christ gives (as God) and receives (as man) and gives to us (as God-man) the grace of the Trinity (the Holy Spirit), see my essays "Nature and Grace according to Saint Athanasius" *Church and Theology* (London), 1 (1980) 513-554 and "Holy Spirit and Tradition the Writings of Saint Athanasius," *Sobornost* ns 1 (1979) 51-72, both of which have been reprinted in my book *Athanasiana*, London 1980, pp 99-142, and 75-98 respectively

⁸ Here we have in mind not only the occurrences of the term "body" in the Pauline Epistles, but also the use of the term "flesh" in the Gospel according to St Saint John and elsewhere in the New Testament

⁹ Eph 1 22f Cf also Col 1 18, 24 and 2 19

¹⁰ See here John Zizioulas, "The Ecclesiology of the Orthodox Church," *Search* 1984, part 7, pages 42-53, where he states that "its basically true that Orthodox Ecclesiology is decisively determined by the Eucharist" for "there is no other event in the life of the Church which reveals so fully what the Church is in its nature as does the eucharistic gathering " Zizioulas also attempts to answer the question why the Eucharist is privileged with such an ecclesiological fullness So he speaks of the Eucharist as the recapitulation of the entire mystery of salvation, as the totality of Christ (catholicity), as the eschatological event par excellence at which the Church becomes not only Catholic but also holy For a fuller discussion of, and information on, Zizioulas' contributions to the link between Eucharist and Ecclesiology in the Orthodox tradition see Paul McPartlan's *The Eucharist makes the Church Henri de Lubac and John Zizioulas in Dialogue*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh 1993 Cf also the old but interesting essay of P N Trembelas, "Ἡ θεία εὐχαριστία κατα την συναθροισιν αὐτῆς προς τα ἄλλα μυστηρια και τας μυστηριωδεις τελετας," *ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, τιμητικὸς τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 45ετηριδὶ τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς δρασεως και τῇ 35ετηριδὶ τακτικῆς καθηγεσίας Ἀμύλα Σ Ἀλβιζιάτου*, ἐν Ἀθηναις 1958, σσ 462-472

¹¹ Cf St John Damascene's comments in his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 86 (IV 13), Kotter II 194 96-99, where he speaks about the manner of the change of the Bread and the Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ in terms of the Incarnation, i e as happening through the Holy Spirit " ὥσπερ και ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτοκου δια Πνευματος Ἁγίου ἐαυτῶ και ἐν ἐαυτῷ Κυρῶ σαρκὰ ὑπεστήσατο " Cf also my

ex-student Dr Nicholas Armitage's (of Durham) interesting essay, "The Eucharistic Theology of the 'Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith' (De Fide Orthodoxa) of Saint John Damascene," *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 44 4 (1995), 292-308

¹² II Cor 10 17 Cf John 6 22-58 where Christ is identified with the 'Bread from heaven' or 'the Bread of Life' which transmits eternal life when eaten

¹³ Saint Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* III, 22

¹⁴ Rom 12 4 and I Cor, 12 12 Cf St Cynl of Alexandria's comments on John 17 21ff "We all partake of one loaf, and so we are all made into one Body for Christ cannot be divided Therefore the Church is called the 'Body of Christ, of which each individual is a member' as Paul understands For we are all united to the one Christ, by means of his holy Body, since we take him, the one and indivisible, in our bodies therefore he has a greater claim than we upon our own members If we are all incorporated with one another in Christ, not only with one another but also with him who comes within us by means of his own flesh—then surely it is clear that we are all of us One, both with one another and with Christ For Christ is the Bond of unity, since he is God and man in one and the same person "

¹⁵ On the "catholic order" see G V Florovsky, "Sobornost The Catholicity of the Church," *The Church in God An Anglo-Russian Symposium*, ed by E L Mascall, SPCK 1934, pp 51-74, and by the same, "Corpus Mysticum The Eucharist and Catholicity," *Church Service Society Annual (Edinburgh)* no 9 (1936/7) pp 38-46 For an Orthodox understanding of the development and meaning of the "ecumenical order" see Vlassios I Phidas' *Ὁ θεσμός τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν*, τομ 1-2, Athens 1977 Cf also the 1996 Durham University (England) MA thesis of my ex-student Ioannis Ant Panagiotopoulos, *The Patriarchal Institution in the Early Church*, Durham University, 140pp, which follows along the same lines Cf also my *Excursus* at the end

¹⁶ I Cor 12 14 and I Cor 12 19

¹⁷ I Cor 12 24f I Cor 12 28 I Cor 12 18

¹⁸ Cf my essay "The Ecumenical Patnarchate and Modern Ecumenism," in my book *Ecclesiasticus Orthodox Church Perspectives Models and Icons*, Printed at Darlington Carmel, Darlington (England), 1984, pp 144-147

¹⁹ See the interesting essay of Paul Evdokimov, "Principal currents of Orthodox ecclesiology in the nineteenth century," transl by J Colton, *Eastern Churches Review* 10 (1-2 (1978) 26-42 Also, Footnote 5 *op cit* and Nikos A Matsoukas, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology*, III, Thessaloniki 1997, pp 258ff

²⁰ See Footnote 6 *op cit* We may mention here Alexis Khomiakoff or Vladimir Lossky as representatives of this Trinitarian emphasis in Ecclesiology

²¹ See G V Florovsky, "Le Corps du Christ vivant," in *La Sante Eglise Universelle*, ed by Florovsky, Leenhardt, Prenter, Richardson, Spicq (Cahiers Theologiques de l'Actualite protestante, Hors-serie 4), Neuchatel 1948

²² Ephesians 2 14-22

²³ Commentary on John 17 21, from Henry Bettenson, *The Later Chistian Fathers*, Oxford University Press, New York, Toronto 1970, vol 2, pp 267

²⁴ Epistola ad Smyrnaeans 8 2, "ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ το πλῆθος ἔστω, ὡς περ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ ὁ Χριστός Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία "

²⁵ Ephesians 2 22

²⁶ Saint Athanasius, *Ad Serapionem* I, PG 26 596C

²⁷ Cf my essay, "Holy Spirit and Tradition" in my book *Athanasiana I*, London

1980, pp. 77-98 repr. From *Sobornost* n.s. 1 (1979) 51-72.

²⁸ Just as there are Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Archbishops among Bishops, so there are Archimandrites and Protopresbyters, Sakellarioi and Oikonomoi among priests. The Diaconate is also hierarchically structured: there are Archdeacons and numerous deacons for various orders of ministries and celebrations. See also the *Excursus* at the end of this essay for further thoughts on the Order of Seniority.

²⁹ Homily I On II Corinthians.

³⁰ The order of Seniority that exists today in the Orthodox Churches is as follows: 1) Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, 2) Patriarchate of Alexandria, 3) Patriarchate of Antioch, 4) Patriarchate of Jerusalem, 5) Patriarchate of Moscow, 6) Patriarchate of Serbia, 7) Patriarchate of Romania, 8) Patriarchate of Bulgaria, 9) Patriarchate of Georgia, 10) Church of Cyprus, 11) Church of Greece, 12) Church of Poland, 13) Church of Albania, 14) Church of Czechia and Slovakia.

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The Church as the Body of Christ

PROF. CHRISTOS S. VOULGARIS

All New Testament authors agree that the condition in which creation found itself after the fall, caused by man's disobedience and sin (cf. f.e. Acts 13:22-31; Rom. 8:18-25, etc.) suggests also the way to its restoration. Indeed, re-creation consists in God's action on the human level, through the incarnation of the Son, whereby He combats Satan who had become "the ruler of this world" (Matt. 9:34, 12:24; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15; John 12:31, 16:11, 14:30; Gal. 1:4, etc.), breaks his power and sets man free from his subjection to him and, along with him the entire creation as well (Rom. 8:15ff). This is to say that salvation is not accomplished by man himself, but by God and in particular by man's appropriation of Christ's human nature to himself. In other words, sin and evil enter the world after man's estrangement and separation from God, while salvation is the condition caused by man's communion with God. Both conditions affect the entire creation. Summing up this idea St. John observes that "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,... and from his fullness have we all received," and therefore, "to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God" (John 1:12-16. Cf. Rom. 8:14-17; Gal. 4:4-6, etc.) Therefore, the real, i.e. the Son's incarnate presence in the world and the effects of his work upon men, consisting in their adoption again as God's sons, constitute an ecclesiological event which excludes the possibility of seeing the Church as an invisible entity in a cosmic sense, in accordance with the Platonic ideas or the Gnostic myths. This is because the historical reality of the incarnation, experienced by all those who believed in the Son, also stresses the historical reality of the Church

as that specific human society consisting of all those believing in and saved by the incarnate Son.

This, however, is not enough when we refer to the Church as a historical reality, because it cannot be restricted to a mere human institution. As a historical reality, the Church combines in itself both the divine and the human. As St. John says again, "our fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ" became possible by the Son's entrance into history: "that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked up and touched with our hands... and the life was made manifest, and we saw it... that which we have seen and heard we proclaim also to you, that you may have fellowship with us" (1 John 1:1-3. Cf. Phil.2:5-11; Col. 1:15-20; 1 Tim. 3:16, etc.). This fellowship with Christ is an endless reality for humanity, continuing even after his exaltation because it is worked out by the Holy Spirit (John 14:8) and is realized within the Church, since it is the Holy Spirit who makes Christ precept in the believers: "Lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age" (Matt. 28:20; John 17:11ff). Because the Church came into being as a historical reality by Christ's presence and work in the world, it follows that Christ and the Church are inseparably knit together. This is why the Church's task and mission in the world is to make known the manifold wisdom of God to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places according to the eternal purpose which he has realized in Christ Jesus our Lord... and make all men see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things" (Eph.3:9-11). The Church extends to the whole creation which is thus re-created by joining it. This is the mystery of God's manifold wisdom which Paul speaks about in Ephesians and Colossians by extending the boundaries of the Church to the boundaries of creation. Thus the Church is God's new creation because in it all things are re-capitulated in Christ, "things in heaven and things on earth" (Eph. 1:10). Though visible and historical in appearance, and divine and human in nature, the Church is a mystery in itself, as a mystery is the person of Christ in whom are inseparably united the divine and the human natures, uncreated and created.

This explains why any definition of the Church is absent in the New Testament. Instead of a definition, the New Testament authors give plenty of information with regard to the place and life of the Church in the world and describe it by a variety of symbols which

express the same reality, i.e. that within which God's communion with man and the entire created order takes place in the person of Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit. The common denominator in all these metaphors is the person of Christ who is the formative factor and the connecting link of the members. This is how *St. John Chrysostom* speaks about them: "Christ is the head, we are the body... He is the foundation stone, we are the building; he is the vineyard, we are the vine; he is the groom, we are the bride; he is the shepherd, we are the sheep; he is the way, we are the walking ones; we are also the temple, he is the resident; he is the first-born, we are the brothers; he is the heir, we are the co-heirs; he is the life, we are the living; he is the resurrection, we are the risen; he is the light, we are the enlightened."¹

Belonging to the whole, all parts form a unity, and as such, their relationship to one another is defined by the whole, which is Christ, their generating and formative factor. This reality is better expressed by *St. Paul's* metaphor about the Church as "Body," "the Body of Christ." No doubt, the metaphor of the "body" offers the most appropriate and accurate description of the Church's nature because it presents it as the extension and continuity of the incarnation of the divine Logos, so that Ecclesiology proper is directly related to Theology, to Soteriology and to Eschatology. In this way the Church is, as Paul puts it, "the fullness of him who fills all in all" (Eph.1:22-23), i.e. as that entity within which the unity of the entire creation is again achieved (Eph.1:10).

Looking at it closely, the "body" metaphor is not new with Paul. It is also used in the Septuagint (with no equivalent in the Hebrew Bible), the Rabbinic literature, Stoicism and Gnosticism, and as such it was known to Paul's readers. Nevertheless, while in them it denoted collectivity and solidarity, in Paul it denotes the Church as a living organ, i.e. the body of Christ, and there is no trace of a stage at which the Church was regarded as "body" without being considered as "the body of Christ." This is to say that the Church is a "body" only with reference to the person of Christ.

The first instance in which Paul works out the metaphor with reference to the Church is 1 Cor.12:12-27 where he concludes (v. 27) that Christians form a body as members of it only because they are members of Christ by participating in him on account of their appropriation of his saving work to themselves. This makes it clear that the

description of the Church as "the body of Christ" is not occasioned by the metaphor; rather it was the Church which was first defined as "the body of Christ" and the conception of the Christians as members of the body was formed. In other words, Christians are members of the body because they participate in the body of Christ which is the Church. Obviously then, this idea clearly gives priority to the incarnation event for the formation of the body of Christ. Christology is thus the foundation of Ecclesiology.

The metaphor of the body expresses an ontological entity of a variety of members with different functions but of the same nature (Rom.12:4; 1 Cor.12:12-31; Eph. 4:11-16). What connects the members to each other is not their external similarity and uniformity but the oneness of their nature, and in this case the human nature of the incarnate Son of God, in which they participate through Baptism. Their unity in nature, however, does not make them identical as persons, but one in Christ, because in baptism each individual person-member imitates sacramentally Christ putting on his own human nature free from sin (Gal.3:27) and so enlightened by the Holy Spirit he becomes son of God by adoption and is thus led into perfection and immortality.² This is what Paul stresses in Rom. 6:3-11. The "first fruits of the Spirit" (Rom. 8:23. Cf. 2 Cor. 1:22; Gal. 4:6; Eph. 1:13. Tit. 3:5, etc.), repeats at baptism the event of Pentecost within each individual and the baptized one becomes "pneumatikos" (1 Cor. 2:13ff; Gal. 6:1; 1 Pet. 2:5) by being re-created and reborn into a new life, the life "from above," i.e. "of water and the Spirit" (1 John 3:3-6). It is this radical change affected at baptism which attaches every individual into the body of Christ, the Church, where every other distinction disappears to the extent that "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for they are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). Salvation becomes an experience only when man joins the body of Christ and becomes part of the whole. Therefore, the individual can become a member only if he belongs to the body of Christ, the Church, in which he is united with him and with the other members. In the Church, his body, Christ's humanity reflects its prerogatives upon his members who thus do not live to themselves but to Christ to whom they truly belong (Rom. 14:7-8; Gal. 2:20; 2 Cor. 5:15; Phil.1:21; 1 Pet. 2:4) because the life of the head is poured out to its body. This makes it clear why writing to the Corinthians Paul does not ask if the Church is divided, but

rather if Christ is divided (1 Cor. 1:13, 12:12). In the same sense, Christ reproved Saul on the road to Damascus not by asking him why he persecuted the Church, but rather why he persecuted him (Acts 9:4).

The close unity between Christ, the Church and the Christians has nothing in common with the idea of a "corporate personality" put out in Europe at the end of the 19th century. Their unity is centered in Christ's human nature in which individual members retain their individuality as persons. No one is absorbed by the other, as in Gnosticism. We can see this clearly in 1 Cor. 12 where Paul speaks about the role of the Holy Spirit in the Church. In order to emphasize the unity and the variety in the body of the Church, Paul says that the variety of the gifts comes "from the same Spirit," in the same way as the variety of the services stems "from the same Lord" and the variety of the workings comes "from the same God" (1 Cor. 12:4-5), because "to each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (v.7), "who apportions *to each one individually* as he wills" (v. 11). The oneness of the Spirit does not lead to the confusion of the various gifts. The same principle, says Paul, applies to the Church which as a body has a variety of members baptized into it "by one Spirit" (vs. 12-13), but with different functions. In the Church, Christians "are the body of Christ and individually members of it" (vs. 24-27). The opposite creates confusion, which destroys the reality of the body, the Church: "if all were a single organ, where would the body be? As it is, there are many parts, yet one body" (vs. 19-20).

In his epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians, when he speaks about the Church as the body of Christ, Paul never depicts Christ as head of the Church. In them he only stresses the unity of the Christians in Christ as members of the Church. The idea of Christ as the head of the Church, his body, occurs in the epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, where the Apostle speaks about the relationship of the Church as a whole to Christ (Eph.1:22, 4:15, 5:23; Col.1:18). However, as in 1 Cor. 12:3 "no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit," so also in Eph. 3:16 the riches of Christ's glory can be "strengthened with might through his Spirit in the inner man," so that the Body of the Church consists of members "filled with the Spirit" (Eph. 5:18). In other words, "the equipment of the saints...for building up the body of Christ" is worked out by the Holy Spirit, but come from Christ as a source "who is the head,... from

whom the whole body joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love" (Eph. 4:12-16. Cf. Col. 2:19). Christ's place as the head of the one body of the Church underlines the unbreakable unity of both, while at the same time it distinguishes the need from the body as two separate entities, as it also distinguishes each member of the body from the rest. Christ and Church cannot be identified, nor do the members of the Church. Their unity is considered in a collective sense, in which each part is united with the rest in substance, while it retains its individuality and distinct entity. Furthermore, Christ's place as head of the Church indicates that neither the Church can be body without Christ as its head, nor Christ can be head without the Church as his body. This makes it plain why the Church is the necessary component of Christ's divine-and-human person, "the fullness of him who fills all in all" (Eph. 1:23).

This phrase describes the divine and human nature of the overall body of the Church as a living organism, i.e. the unbreakable unity of its divine and human elements, in which the divine is the head, Christ, while the human is Christ's humanity appropriated by the members of the Church in baptism. Thus the Church is connected with the event of the incarnation of the divine Logos and through him with the other two persons of the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Holy Spirit, with whom the Logos-Son is related by their common divine nature. Being the human body of the incarnate Son, then, the Church realizes the union and communion between the Triune God and Humanity achieved by the Incarnation and the overall redemptive work of the Son. Since the sonship of Christ is an internal issue of the Holy Trinity, on account of the common divine nature of its persons, likewise the Church must be seen in the context of Christ's "consubstantiality" with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Or, to put it in other words, the Church as a historical entity falls within the context of its inner relationship with Christ, because its nature is defined by its unity with Christ, on the human level, and by his consubstantiality with the Father and the Holy Spirit on the divine level. Through his incarnation, the Son connects the Church with the Holy Trinity in his own divine-and-human person (Cf. Eph. 2:4-6). Christ's perfect humanity forms the nature, as well as the entity of the Church, which in this way constitutes the perpetual continuation of his incarnation extending beyond time. Hence, any thought of an

ontological separation between Christ and the Church rules out both the fact of Christ's incarnation and the reality of the Church. Without its ontological connection with Christ, the Church becomes a mere social organization. Christ and the Church together form a "whole;" without Christ the Church is nothing; in him the Church is everything. Without the Church, Christ the Son is not incarnate, because after his incarnation the Son can be thought of only as both divine and human and, therefore, only with the Church, while the Church can be thought of only in Christ and with Christ as his human body, i.e. as "the fullness of him who fills all in all" (Eph.1:23). Here we meet with the extreme paradox: the unity which Christ forms with the Church is in some way identified with himself: he is the whole Christ, body and head. While he is a part of the whole, he is also the whole, the incarnate divine Son. And while the Church exists as a community in its own right, at the same time it is the body of the distinct person of Christ, the humanity of the incarnate Son and Logos.

That this paradox is so, i.e. that the appropriation of humanity by the divine Logos at his incarnation is tantamount to the formation of the Church as his body, in an objective sense, even before any human persons joined it as members, is evident in Eph. 5:22-30, where the unity between man and woman in the Sacrament of Marriage is placed parallel to the unity between Christ and the Church after the incarnation. The expressions: "as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her" (Eph. 5:25. Cf. Acts 20:28), and "that he might sanctify her having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word" (v.26), suggest the objective existence of an entity before the incarnation proper living in sin, which the Son took to himself by becoming human and cleansed it. Christ's body here is the entire human nature "per se" not the body's human members who are added to it by appropriating to themselves the human nature of the Son. Human nature cleansed from sin comprises the Church as Christ's body, and so human persons are added to it as its members afterwards, so that we can say that as Christ's body the Church exists as an objective reality even before or regardless of its members. The Church exists objectively at the incarnation and because of it, even without members. Christ's human nature, being his human body, is the place within which he works out eternally the redemption and salvation of each particular human person and through them the salvation of the entire created order, to which humanity belongs (Rom. 8:14ff).

Now we can understand better Christ's expression "in me" (ἐν ἐμοί) in John 6:56 and 15:1-10, as well as Paul's frequent expression "in Christ" (ἐν Χριστῷ) denoting not man's identification with or absorption by Christ, but his unity with and in Christ's humanity. Man's unity with Christ does not deform him, but conforms him "to the image" of the incarnate Son (Rom. 8:29; 2 Cor. 3:18; Gal. 2:20), which has nothing to do again with the idea of "corporate personality." In the Church, relationship is a member relationship to the head and the body, the whole Christ. In the same sense is also understood Paul's formula "in Christ" with reference to Christ's correspondence with Adam which defines the relationship between the "one" and the "many." On account of the unity, or the oneness of human nature, Adam's fall extends to all of his descendants, while their individuality is preserved by their active participation in Adam's sin when each human person does exactly what Adam did in the past, being thus for it personally responsible: "ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον" ("because all men sinned on account of it," Rom. 5:12). Influenced by Satan, fallen human persons inherit Adam's sin which is "like the transgression of Adam" ("ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμολώματι τῆς παραβάσεως Ἀδάμ," Rom. 5:14). This fact rules out the rabbinic idea, according to which Adam constitutes the coherence of mankind in the sense that all men were created "in him." Restricting the hereditary transmission of the original sin and ignoring Satan's role in it, we are forced to deny the existence of righteous men in the Old Testament, on the one hand, and accept the universal salvation of all men by Christ without their active appropriation of his saving work to themselves, on the other. In this case, personal freedom and responsibility are done away with, and together with them active membership in the Church as well. In Paul's expression "for as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22-3), we must understand the fall and restoration of human nature as objective conditions to which men participate personally by their own free will. Being unable to achieve salvation because of his fallen nature, man in Christ obtains it by actively sharing in Christ's human nature cleansed from sin. This is why the Old Testament law could not save man (Heb. 7:19), even though, as God's work, the law was "holy" and "good" and "spiritual" (Rom. 7:12-16), being thus restricted to the role of being "our custodian until Christ came" (Gal. 3:23). Conditions change, however, when "God has done what the law, *weakened by the flesh*, could not do: sending

his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin he condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (Rom. 8:3-4). Thus, "in Adam" and "in Christ" we understand human nature in its two conditions: of sinfulness and sinlessness, i.e. the body of Adam, human nature, and "the body of Christ which is the Church" (Col. 1:24).

In conclusion, we observe that it is in full agreement with Pauline thought when *St. John Chrysostom* comments that at his incarnation Christ "took to himself the flesh of the Church" ("ἐκκλησίας σάρκα ἀνέλαβεν"¹), and formed it into his own body animated by Himself as its head. The mystery of Christ "which was kept secret for long ages" (Rom. 16:25; Eph. 3:4, 5, 9; Col. 1:26) has been disclosed as Church in the fullness of time "to unite all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth" (Eph. 1:10), "that through the Church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places, according to the eternal purpose which he has realized in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Eph. 3:10-11; Col. 1:16-20). Comprising all creation, visible and invisible, the Church unites in itself "all things" with Christ as "him over all things" (Eph. 1:22-23), so that in the Church man comes into communion not only with those other human members of it, but also with all those creatures which are subjected to Christ and accept him as "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation" (Col. 1:15).

NOTES

¹ In *1 Cor. Hom.* 8,4. P.G. 61, 72.

² Cf. *Clement of Alexandria, Pedag.* 1, 4

³ *Homily before the exile*, 2. P.G. 52, 429

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lic stamps of those days, before the introduction of rubber stamps, requires a special study (p. 17). We believe that in the presentation of the collection of printed seals, which appears in these pages, the starting point is provided for future researchers to approach in a particular manner and, perhaps, original manner, the organization and operation, as well as the historic course, of the Romaic ethnicity and society (p. 19).

This volume is a significant contribution to historic studies relating to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. According to the author, "the content of the volume, along with the challenge to the 'lover' of history and researcher, has the ambition to constitute aesthetically the object of an original and artistic approach" (pp. 13-14 and elsewhere in the book). It is our wish that the same author may also complete similar work for the other eparchies of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Sarah Hobson and Jane Lubchenco (editors), *Revelation and the Environment AD 95-1995*. World Scientific Publishing Co., 1997. Pp. xvi + 223.

The Environment and Religious Education (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1994: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 91.

The Environment and Ethics (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1995: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 79.

These three volumes are the product of meetings under the aegis of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Duke of Edinburgh, President of the World Wide Fund for Nature, representing one of the most fruitful examples of contemporary cooperation between the Church and environmental organizations. The most substantial of the three, *Revelation and the Environment*, contains the proceedings of the shipboard "Patmos Symposium" of September 1995. Contrary to what the title might suggest, the contents are not for the most part concerned with the Book of Revelation or, indeed, with Christian theology - though some contributions do deal with the use and abuse of this book, and its relevance as a starting point for the Symposium. Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon - whose contributions to

all three of these books stand out for their incisiveness and theological depth - notes the novelty of Revelation in introducing cosmology into eschatology (19), while the Anglican Bishop of London, Richard Chartres, emphasizes the necessity of appreciating the "Christian grammar" of symbolism for understanding this book. The alarming consequences of an "illiterate" interpretation of it come out in a discussion between two American participants, who have much to say about Protestant fundamentalist attempts to use Revelation as an endorsement for the destruction of the world.

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Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff

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lic stamps of those days, before the introduction of rubber stamps, requires a special study (p. 17). We believe that in the presentation of the collection of printed seals, which appears in these pages, the starting point is provided for future researchers to approach in a particular manner and, perhaps, original manner, the organization and operation, as well as the historic course, of the Romaic ethnicity and society (p. 19).

This volume is a significant contribution to historic studies relating to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. According to the author, "the content of the volume, along with the challenge to the 'lover' of history and researcher, has the ambition to constitute aesthetically the object of an original and artistic approach" (pp. 13-14 and elsewhere in the book). It is our wish that the same author may also complete similar work for the other eparchies of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Sarah Hobson and Jane Lubchenco (editors), *Revelation and the Environment AD 95-1995*. World Scientific Publishing Co., 1997. Pp. xvi + 223.

The Environment and Religious Education (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1994: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 91.

The Environment and Ethics (Summer Seminar on Halki, 1995: Presentations and Reports). Ecumenical Patriarchate, no date. Pp. 79.

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The Flight as Fight: The Flight into the Desert as a Paradigm for the Mission of the Church in History and Society

DR. ATHANASSIOS N. PAPATHANASSIOU

AN INTRODUCTORY QUESTION: DESERT VERSUS SOCIETY?

Anachoretic life is one aspect of the multidimensional Christian asceticism and especially of monasticism. The term “anachoresis” is usually treated as identical with the term “hermitism.” Both refer to solitary life in the desert. Nevertheless “anachoresis” has a dynamic meaning: being the transliteration of the Greek noun ἀναχώρησις, it derives from the verb ἀναχωρεῖν, meaning “to leave, to withdraw.”

The origins of “anachoresis” as a historical phenomenon can be traced to the third century AD in Egypt, when individuals — or sometimes whole communities — abandoned their villages and withdrew into deserts or swamps to escape the intolerable burden of taxation; besides, during the persecutions many Christians sought refuge in the desert, where they possibly tasted the spiritual benefits of solitude.¹ For some Christians, however, the motive of the withdrawal into the wilderness was primarily the desire to live a life in the fullest possible accordance with God’s will, away from every kind of compromise, which life in the world implies. This tension appeared even stronger around the fourth century, when the persecutions came to an end and Christian life in the empire, enjoying peace and official recognition, started to become secularized. In particular, after the Egyptian St. Antony (c. 251-356) who, through his exaltation by St. Athanasius the Great (c. 296-373), gained a reputation as “the tether of the desert,” anachoretic life is highly esteemed in Christian con-

sciousness. What can be determined as its basic feature is a twofold action; an "exit" and, at the same time, an "entry:" on the one hand, exit, retirement from the cities, disengagement from the world, withdrawal from society; on the other, entry into the desert, flight into the wilderness.

This flight is usually understood as a practical way to avoid the commotion and upheaval of society. The anchorite appears as the one who pursues tranquillity and silence, that is, conditions which would facilitate his spiritual struggle against his passions. Certainly, this approach to anachoretic life can easily be seen in the literature of the Church. Christ himself withdrew privately to solitary places from time to time (Matt. 14:13, 23). With regard to this, St. John Chrysostom (to mention only a few of the numerous testimonies one could cite) argues that he who manages to get rid of the cares, the troubles and the anxieties of everyday life in society, runs an easier way of life and resembles him who avoids the sea waves and dwells in a safe harbor.² Tranquillity, says St. Basil the Great, is highly beneficial to us, since it soothes the passions of our soul and offers us the opportunity to uproot them.³

The opposition between *society* and *desert* is an antithesis between two modes of life. In the minds of religious people, however, it is not always clear. Very often, *society* and *desert* are wrongly conceived as two *ontologically* different parts of Creation, as if they were created out of two different substances, one "holy" and one "profane," one "clean" and one "unclean." In that case, "anachoresis" is considered the saving exit from society, from the sinful place *par excellence*. Others cannot see in the anachoretic life anything but a selfish escape, which seeks to run away from the major problems of real life, that is, of life in society. In this respect, established society has been attributed the characteristics of the "holy" place; every withdrawal from it appears as nonsense. Though both these aspects seem to be opposed to each other, they both presuppose – *mutatis mutandis* – the said ontological, dualistic and irreconcilable distinction between desert and society.

According to authentic ecclesiastical faith and doctrine, however, asceticism cannot be reduced to a matter of geography. Numerous patristic texts show that the dissection between desert and society is not an ontological one. Every testimony, of course, has to be treated properly, that is within its context and not in a fragmentary way.⁴ For

example, the above mentioned quotation from St. Basil, which praises the benefits of solitary life, might lead a careless reader to a misunderstanding (e.g. that St. Basil regards the desert as the only place proper for ascesis). Nevertheless, it is very important that the said quotation is actually preceded by a valuable clarification: If one — says St. Basil — wants to fly from the cares of life, one has to separate oneself from the world. But exit (*anachoresis*) from the world must not be conceived literally, as a bodily withdrawal. “Anachoresis” from the world means primarily that the soul must stop being subordinate to the body.⁵ In a similar way, St. Isaac of Nineveh (d. c. 700) makes it clear that:

*“When you hear about renunciation of the world or about abandonment of the world or about being pure of the world, first of all you need to learn and know ... what the term ‘world’ means ... the world is the carnal way of life and the mind of flesh ... Negation of the world becomes apparent in these two changes: by a transformation in the way of life and by a difference in mental impulses.”*⁶

On this subject, the words of Niketas Stethatos (c. 1005–c. 1090), the disciple and biographer of St. Symeon the New Theologian, are of special significance: *“I have heard some people arguing that none can acquire virtue without leaving and taking off to the desert; but I wondered, how can they ever believe that something unlimited (i.e. our relationship with God) can be restricted to certain places... The powers of the soul have been inscribed within us since our creation, by divine and non-material energy. With and through these powers ... we can enter the heavenly Kingdom, which is inside us, as the Lord said. Thus, the desert is not necessary, since we can enter the Kingdom even without it, by repentance and keeping God’s commandments. This can be done, according to Saint David, in every place which is dominated by God; because he says ‘Praise the Lord, O my soul, everywhere in His dominion’”* (Psalm 102:29).⁷

AN INTRODUCTORY ANSWER: CREATION VERSUS AUTONOMY

Niketas’ comments successfully highlight the heart of the matter: Every place *can* become the place of the dominion of the Lord; nevertheless, the dominion of the Lord has not yet been established everywhere. What is implied here, and what has been partially clarified above, can be summed up in Church doctrine as follows:

The only *fundamental* distinction we can make, is not between two parts of the creation (e.g. society and desert), but between the Creator and the Creation; that is, between the Un-created (God) and the Created (universe). This is an *ontological* distinction, since God's essence and the essence of the Creation are totally different. We must keep in mind that the word "Creation" denotes *everything* except God alone: angels, humans, animals, inorganic matter, etc. Each one's particular mode of existence is just an aspect of the Created.

Thus, the whole world is conceived as Creation, and since it was created by God himself, "*it was very good*" (Gen. 1:31). He brought Creation into existence so that it would of its own volition lead towards God, meet him and finally become his flesh; to be more precise, the final goal of Creation is to become the body of the Son, the second Person of the Holy Trinity, and thus enter the eternal Trinitarian life. The realization of this schema began with the Incarnation of the Son. As God-Man (that is, as the person in whom the divine and the created nature met and became united), Christ marked the inception of a procedure with universal-cosmic perspectives. The entire Creation was brought into being and invited to participate in his Incarnation, to be assumed by him, to become Church so that God may be finally all in all (1 Cor. 15:28; see also Eph. 1:22-23; Col. 1:15-20; Rev. 21). In particular, man was ordained priest and was appointed as helmsman who will lead Creation to its destination. This eschatological perspective of the historical course of Creation has been emphasized by Orthodox theology and especially by Church Fathers such as Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200), Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662), Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain (c. 1749-1809) and others.⁸

Man, however, can either accept or reject God's invitation. Hence, Creation can either become a place of the Lord's dominion, or degenerate into a place of evil's dominion. Thus, the distinction between "holy" and "profane" cannot be abolished, but it must be clear that it does *not* refer to the *essence* or the *calling*, but to the deliberate *orientation* of Creation, that is, Creation's choice to go towards God or away from Him. What we have just called "orientation of Creation" has nothing to do with moralism or sentimentalism. It is a matter of life. The relationship with God and, finally, unity with him means participation in Life, since for every created existence life is a gift, a donation by him who is uncreated and owes his existence to nothing

and none. In this perspective, communion and life coincide. On the contrary, if the creatures choose autonomy by breaking their connection with God, they face the danger not merely of becoming "bad" in a moral sense, but primarily of depriving themselves of Life.

The status, however, of autonomy can give way to relationship with God whenever man repents and responds to God's calling. Every part of Creation, which has not yet found its way into the Church, resembles a territory under illegal occupation. What remains in abeyance is its liberation and the re-establishment of freedom over it.

In cases like this, what we could call a liberation struggle bears historical and eschatological characteristics. Its ultimate horizon is the vision of the final encounter of Creation with its Creator. The struggle of the Christians to elevate every part of Creation to the position of the dominion of the Lord, means to serve the itinerary of Creation towards God. It is a historical attitude and, at the same time, a sign, an anticipation and foretaste of the Kingdom. Every particular activity has to derive its meaning, its *raison d'être* from this fundamental perspective; otherwise, it is meaningless. So, the Christian asceticism cannot be conceived as the effort of the spirit to get rid of the body, or as the longing of the soul to escape from history. Such concepts, placed in an un-historical, static frame, constitute a spirituality clearly at variance with the Christian faith. In other words, what the Church craves for, is not the annihilation of a part of the creation (e.g. the body) in favour of another part (e.g. the soul), but the Resurrection of the human being in its fullness in communion with Christ.

THE FLIGHT AS FIGHT

"Anachoresis" into the desert has many dimensions. To a great extent, the meaning it assumes presupposes the meaning attributed to the desert. Thus, the desert can appear as the realm of tranquillity, as the shelter for the persecuted, as the meeting point with Yaweh, as the pure place distinct from the corrupted urban life, or as a cursed, devastated land. These dimensions appear already in the Semitic Orient and the Old Testament, that is, before the 4th century, the age of "anachoresis."⁹

But here we shall deal only with a specific aspect of anachoretic life, which is usually ignored or overlooked:¹⁰ "*anachoresis*" not as an escape, but as an expedition, an invasion; not primarily as a "with-

drawal," but as an "entry." Here, what counts more is not the city (as the place left behind) but the desert (as the territory to be conquered). As we shall argue extensively later on, from this point of view, "*anachoresis*" is conceived as the aggressive vindication of places occupied by evil, that they may be liberated from evil and rendered to God.

In the Semitic and Mesopotamian tradition, the desert was not thought of as an empty place, but — on the contrary — as inhabited. It was considered to be the abode of the powers, which harass mankind; the domain of the demons. The wilderness the wasteland and the ruins were regarded as their favorite haunts.¹¹ A similar concept recurs in ancient Egypt. The cultivated, fertile "black land" was the realm the god of life, while the sterile "red land" was the habitation of the evil god Seth.¹²

It is interesting that in the Old Testament the devastated and ruined cities become the residence of demons and wild beasts.¹³ In the case of desolated cities, it becomes clear how a place can be deprived of the presence of God and degenerate into desert. The places, which — through their inhabitants' sins — reject the sovereignty of God, pass under the yoke of the demons. Perhaps it is not by chance that the supposed root of the Hebrew word denoting "demon" means "to be mighty," hence "to rule."¹⁴ In a few words, one could say that the devil and his demons are usurpers, since they keep under their own yoke creatures (places, living beings, etc.), which do not belong to them by nature. In the New Testament the evil spirits dwell in arid areas; when they possess a man, they try to drive him into solitary places (where they dominate) and they succeed in this, even when his relatives have chained him hand and foot! (Luke 8:29, 11:24).

Within the frame of this tradition, the anchorites cannot be seen as fugitives. On the contrary, they are a kind of determined pioneers of the Church: they penetrate and intrude into the quarters of the enemy, seeking for direct conflict with him in order to expel him. The example for an action like this was set by Christ himself.

After he was baptized, "*Jesus was led by the Spirit into the desert to be tempted by the devil*" (Matt. 4:1; see also Mark 1:12-13; Luke 4:1-2). Jesus stayed in the desert for forty days and was confronted with the three demonic temptations. In this event we can lay emphasis on the following parameters: Christ's entry to the desert was not an accidental episode, but a deliberate initiative guided by the Holy

Spirit. The pattern of the incarnational mission of the Son is repeated here. The Son is being sent (John 17:18) into a place, which has renounced its relationship with God (John 1:10-11). The purpose of this "invasion" was direct struggle with Satan. Theophylact, Archbishop of Ochrid (ca. 1050-1126), comments: "*The Holy Spirit led him to the battle against the devil. He went into the desert to order to give the devil the pretext to attack him.*"¹⁵

After the victorious outcome of the battle, that is, after Christ's confrontation with the three temptations had been completed, "*the devil left him, and angels came and attended him*" (Matt. 4:11); "*he was with the wild animals and angels attended him*" (Mark 1:12-13). The desert, which shortly before had been occupied by the devil, was at last liberated and became a place of dominion of the Lord, a place where communion between the Creator and his Creation (man, angels, animals, etc.) was re-established. Actually, Christ acted like this during the whole period of his earthly life. He consistently expelled demons from every residence they usurped, including the people they had possessed. St. Ambrose of Milan (c. 339-397) connects the verse, Luke 4:1-2, with the whole work carried out by Christ; Jesus, the second Adam, entered the desert, where the first Adam had been exiled, in order to challenge the devil and liberate the ancestor (in reality, the entire human kind).¹⁶ Furthermore, it is of particular importance that in an exegetical tradition, even his flight to Egypt (in order to avoid the massacre ordered by Herod) is viewed not as an escape, but rather as a purposeful entry in order to purify Egypt, which was considered one of the two "workshops of evil." The other one, Babylon, was purified voluntarily, because its representatives, the three Magi, went to him. But Egypt had stayed away from him, so *he had to go to it*.¹⁷

It would probably be fair to say that the anchorites have modeled themselves upon Christ. The "Life of St. Antony," for example, informs us that in the desert, where Antony dwelt, something which reminds us of the above quoted scripture narrative, happened: When Antony came to attain the heights of ascesis, the demons went away from him and the wild animals became peaceful towards him.¹⁸ The anchorites and the authors of the relevant texts (narratives, sayings, lives, etc.) probably shared the said tradition about the evil yoke over the desert. It is very important that the demons appear very often claiming to be the owners and masters of certain parts of creation.

When they attacked Antony, they cried to him: "*Get off our own domain; it's none of your business to involve the desert.*"¹⁹ According to another narrative, the famous anchorite Macarius from Alexandria decided to enter an ancient pagan graveyard. There he was confronted with the demons who inhabited that devastated place. They uttered the following (indeed revealing) words: "*What do you want, Macarius? Why have you come to us? ... You and your fellow anchorites occupy our property, that is the desert. You have chased our relatives away ... Why do you trespass on our own regions?*"²⁰ Something similar is said to have happened when an anonymous anchorite entered a pagan temple and had a skirmish with the demons dwelling there. They told him: "*Go away from our own place.*" His reply, though extremely brief, fully expresses the Church's faith: "*You have no place of your own.*"²¹ For the Church, the claims of the demons over the desert are false and groundless; in reality, "*the Lord's power extends over the desert*" (Psalm 107:35). Nevertheless, the concern which constantly preoccupies the mind of the demons is how they will expel the anchorites from the desert, either through direct attacks²² or through indirect ones, that is, by trying to persuade them that no spiritual progress could be achieved in the desert, and that it would be better for the anchorites to leave the wilderness and return to the cities. St. John Climacus (c. 570–c. 649) explains that many demons have been exiled to the deserts and the abyss by Christ for the sake of human kind. Thus, it should be no surprise if the anchorites suffer severe tribulations there. In particular, the demons of prostitution — says St. John — attack violently the hermit in order to convince him that the desert offers him nothing and that he has to go back to the world.²³

The anchorites invade every shelter of the demons without exception: the deserts, the pagan graves, the ruins. In ascetical literature, this is expressed through a "charming" setting: the demons often appear to complain that they are forced to flee from place to place, and that they are ruthlessly expelled successively from all. This is how Satan addressed Antony: "*I have no longer place, arrow or town of my own. The Christians have settled everywhere; even the desert has been crowded with monks.*"²⁴ Similar complaints are found in an episode during the persecutions launched by Valens (c. 375) against the monks in Egypt. Macarius and other anchorites were exiled to an island inhabited exclusively by pagans. When they disembarked, the

demons told them through the possessed daughter of the pagan priest: "You have chased us out of every place; of cities and towns, mountains and hills, even out of the uninhabited desert. We hoped that if we settle in this little island we would be saved from your arrows; but our hopes are defeated."²⁵

The struggle for the liberation of Creation is subject to no limitations. The relevant ascetic narratives, though they may seem mythical and naive, are texts of wisdom, founded on Christian cosmology. Palladius, the author of the "Lausiac History" narrates that one day he was sent by his spiritual father, abba Dorotheus, to draw up water. When he approached the well, he saw an asp in it; so he returned desperate to the abba without bringing water at all. But Dorotheus told him: "*If the devil likes to place cusps in every well or snakes and other poisonous beasts in every spring of water, will we abstain from drinking for ever?*" Then the abba drew up water himself, drank and concluded: "*Wherever the Cross dwells, satan's evil has no power.*"²⁶ Here it becomes apparent that the mission of the anchorite is not the rejection of contaminated Creation, but its purification. Otherwise it would mean that the anchorite compromises with the devil and finally recognizes and legitimizes his arbitrary yoke. Every place can be contaminated and every place must be cleansed, and *vice versa*. This is why another anchorite, John the Cilix, would advise the monks not to re-stain the place that had been cleansed from the devil by the earlier anchorites.²⁷ In short as the late Derwas Chitty put it, "anachoresis" "*was no mere flight, nor a rejection of matter as evil ... It was rooted in a stark realism of faith in God and acceptance of the battle which is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness.*"²⁸

Thus, "anachoresis" can help us understand that the life of the Church is a struggle indeed, but it must not be conceived in terms of an imperialistic expansion. The entry into the desert is not a model for a quasi-Christian jihad; the fight is actually waged against evil, not against the infidels, the sinners or even those possessed by evil. Moreover, even those who deny the existence of the devil must admit that it is unfair to identify (as usually happens) "anachoresis" with withdrawal from participation in history. Actually, it is evident that "anachoresis" (even viewed merely as a type of religious behavior) presupposes profound confidence in man's historical assignment, intervention and creativity.

What we call "purification" and "cleansing" has to do with the

liturgical relationship between man and the rest of Creation. They are not strangers to each other. Man can contribute either to the fall or to the resurrection of Creation (Rom. 8:19-23). Thus, the Christians are the priests who minister the transformation of the whole world into Church. In this perspective, the anchorites are the missionaries who would go "*to the ends of the earth*" (Acts 1:7-8) in order to invite the whole creation to the Kingdom. The above quoted words of abba Dorotheus, "*wherever the Cross dwells...*," are extremely important. On no occasion do they imply magic ritual or such like. Actually, they have to do with the inculcation of Christ into every aspect of life; it has to do with the incorporation of the Creation into his body. In fact, the mission which the anchorites have undertaken is to act as new Apostles in order that what Christ himself achieved on his Cross may be — in a way — extended, acted, grafted into space and time. This is about human cooperation (*synergia*) in a divine work with cosmic potential. In an especially important text, St. John Chrysostom throws light on these universal dimensions. "Why was Christ crucified outside the city (Jerusalem), on a high place (Golgotha), and not under a roof?" Chrysostom asks. And he replies: Christ did so in order to cleanse the air, which was believed to be the domain of the devil. During the crucifixion, the sky was the only roof over him, so that the sky itself would be cleansed. Apart from the sky, the earth was also cleansed, because his blood trickled down on the earth and purified all its pollution. But — Chrysostom continues — why was He not crucified in the Judaic Temple? And he answers again: He was crucified outside the walls of the city so that his sacrifice would not be misappropriated by the Judeans. Because his self-offering was catholic, it was made for the sake of all nations and the cleansing of human nature benefits all mankind. Thus, Christ cleansed the entire earth and transformed every place into a place of prayer.²⁹

It is perhaps impressive that the concept in question (i.e. the flight into the desert seen as an invasion into the domain of evil) underlies the theological understanding of Christ's death for three days as an active initiative; not only a descent, but; moreover, an *invasion* into Hell, the dominion of death, in order to liberate mankind. The images recalled by the Orthodox Easter hymns speak for themselves: "*Today hell groans and cries aloud: 'My dominion has been swallowed up; the Shepherd has been crucified and he has raised Adam.*

I am deprived of those whom once I ruled ... The power of death has no more strength" (Holy Saturday). "*O Christ, into the deepest abyss of earth thou didst descend, and direst break the unyielding everlasting bars which held men prisoner*" (Easter Sunday).³⁰

For the time being, a basic characteristic of Christian life is *expectation*. The Christians "groan" inwardly as they wait eagerly for their adoption by God; moreover, even Creation waits in eager expectation for its liberation from its bondage to decay (cf. Rom. 8:19-23). Every battle the Church wins (to use a military image) is a step towards the expected end. This is why the author of the "Life of St. Antony" rejoices for the presence of the anchorites in the wilderness. He uses a rather striking hyperbole: "*The desert was turned into a city by monks.*"³¹ This is a renowned phrase, very often quoted in essays on monasticism. It certainly has to do with the communal ideal of the Church and especially of the coenobitic monasticism; the faithful are not conceived as individuals, but as members of a body, as citizens of a city. But we shall not deal with this perspective now. What we want to underline is the expression of rejoicing. It is probably no accident that the same concept (the transformation of the desert into a city) recurs in the "Life of St. Sabas" (439-532). It is interesting to watch how the "Life" presents and interprets Sabas' withdrawal from the monastery into the desert. According to the "Life," the desert was destined to be turned into a city by Sabas and so the prophecies of Isaiah concerning the desert were fulfilled. Sabas pleaded with his abbot to let him leave the monastery and depart to the desert. Yet, the abbot did not consent; eventually, however, God appeared to the abbot in a vision and told him: let Sabas go in order to worship me in the desert.³²

We can see here that flight to the desert appears as the performance of God's will, as the fulfillment of prophecies. That means that God never ceased to vindicate the desert; the warm expectation its liberation gives place to rejoicing over the realization of the liberation. The "Life of St. Sabas" is here probably referring to the prophecy of Isaiah: "*Your people will rebuild the ancient ruins and will raise up the age-old foundations.*"³³ Besides, the words the abbot heard in his vision are also biblical verses: "*Let my people go, so that they may worship me in the desert*" (Exodus 7:16).

It seems that this hermeneutical approach (i.e. "anachoresis," the conquest of the desert seen as a joyful fulfillment of prophecies)

was an idea shared by many. In a source which refers to monastic life in Egypt, it is recorded that the monks who gathered around an ascetic named Apollo resembled an angelic army. Through their lives two scriptural prophecies came true: "*The desert and the parched land will be glad; the wilderness will rejoice and blossom*" (Isaiah 35:1), and "*Sing, O barren woman, you who never bore a child; burst into song, shout for joy, you who were never in labor; because more are the children of the desolate woman than of her who has a husband*" (Isaiah 54:1). According to the author, these prophecies were fulfilled in the case of the Egyptian desert, which became spiritually the most fruitful place, though the whole land of Egypt had previously been the most unclean country among the pagan nations.³⁴

Precisely the same biblical verses (Isaiah 35:1, 54:1) are evoked by Procopius of Gaza (c. 475–c. 538), who wants to show that "*the Father subordinated the desert to Christ.*" Nevertheless, Procopius gives the "desert" an allegorical meaning, denoting the evil powers which were defeated by Christ and the nations which, according to God's old promises, were finally converted.³⁵

We can see that what is stressed by Procopius (and clearly implied in many of the above cited texts), is the evangelizing activity of the Church. A number of historical examples may be briefly cited here to illustrate the point.

It is understandable that the anachoretic attitude discussed so far, that is, the movement towards all the enslaved parts of Creation, can imply a negation of definite settling down. Such a concept may be an extreme reflection of the Church conviction that as long as history proceeds, that is, until the eschata, we can hardly speak of anything really definite. Thus, the idea of a constant pursuit of the desert inspired — to varying degrees several traditions of monasticism. In the fifth to seventh centuries, Celtic and, especially, Irish monasticism, for example, developed the ideal of the monk who was dedicated to missionary "*peregrinatio*," that is to constant traveling and evangelizing restlessness. For them, the desert was very often the unknown islands beyond the uncrossable sea. Though we cannot deal in extension with this admirable missionary *epopee* here, it is worth pointing out the fact that Celtic Christianity was influenced by the eastern (Byzantine) tradition.³⁶ This tradition includes not only canon law that firmly forbade the monk to abandon his monastery without very serious reasons,³⁷ but also a practice of constant move-

ment, which may be termed residential instability.³⁸ Besides, it is noteworthy that the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 540), which was drawn up freely from the earlier Rules of St. Basil, the Desert Fathers, et. al., dedicates its very first chapter to the kinds of monks (*"De generibus monachorum"*). Benedict praises the cenobites, but he also mentions two other types which interest us here: first, the anchorites, that is, those who enter the wilderness in order to fight against the devil; second the *"gyrovagi,"* the wanderers, those who always travel and never remain in one place.³⁹ Needless to say, these ascetical practices bear to our subject to the extent that the said instability is not merely a seeking of solitude and tranquillity, but — on the contrary — is interwoven with an understanding of the world outside the Church as a huge desert. And, certainly, in no case is this instability allowed to be identified with any anti-canonical behavior, as it happens with the rejection of the episcopal structure of the Church.⁴⁰

MISSION TO EVERY DESERT

The biblical story of mankind begins with life in a garden (the garden of Eden, Gen. 9:8-15) and ends with life in a city (the new Jerusalem, Rev. 21:2-4). It is only in this intervening period, that is, between the original garden and the final city, that the desert, the fruit of autonomy, the fallen mode of existence, emerges.⁴¹

This is where the historical role of the Church comes in.

The Church is neither an air-tight compartment of human life, nor a kind of social service of established societies. The Church alone constitutes a fresh proposal, a radically new perspective for the life of the entire world. So, to open herself to the world — even to those parts which seem totally alienated from her — means to remain faithful to her own identity. Her opening to the world, her effort to assume the world into the body of Christ, is not an extra, secondary or merely optional task of hers. It has to do with her own name and mission. A church that refuses to be sent to the world, would be right only if she could prove to be an adherent to a "Christ" who refused to be sent into the world.

St. Gregory Nazianzen comments on the way Christ lived on each and makes it clear that He did not address Himself only to individuals, but also to the concrete circumstances of human life and to the specific characteristics it has in space and time. Jesus — Gregory

says — committed himself to fishing, so he traveled from place to place. Why didn't he stay permanently at one place? Because he wanted not only to win more and more followers, but also to sanctify more places. So, he became a Jew for the sake of the Jews, he put himself under the law for the sake of those who are under the law, he became weak for the sake of the weak and cursed for the sake of us, the cursed.⁴²

An important aspect of the Incarnation is the "mobility" of Christ, that is, what St. Gregory distinguished as constant traveling from place to place. In other words, his deliberate entry into every area, where pain and decay still reigned. One has to note that in Gregory's words the term "places" is not conceived merely in a geographical sense, but as signifying the various contexts of human life. This concept is certainly not irrelevant to what modern Missiology calls "contextualization." The anchorites, on behalf of the Church, carried out a critical shift: the people of God, instead of keeping away from the desert and sending away into it the scapegoat alone, now enter the desert themselves and pollinate it. The anachoretic entry into the deserts, therefore, is not exclusively the mission of a particular cast in the Church. As an attitude towards the world and the historical responsibility of the faithful, it pertains to the whole Church. Actually, what the anchorites do, is not something exceeding the task of the Church; it is simply the performance of this task. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that it is a tragedy when the Christians imagine that some parts of human life belong by nature to evil, or that resistance to evil is carried out by a kind of expectant, pathetic immobility, rather than by an active initiative.

The desert, as the place under the yoke of evil, has not merely geographical meaning. This becomes apparent especially in those cases where the setting seems to have been inverted: some anchorites, after having won the battle in the desert, continue their mission by invading, as we have already seen, other devastated places, such as pagan graveyards, temples, and so on. In such cases the demons (already expelled from the desert and now dwelling in the graves) protest and, instead of trying to expel the anchorites from the desert, try to restrict them to the desert. Thus, the demon of a temple invaded by Macarius, appears to utter to the monk something which would be unthinkable out of the specific context: "*Since you are an anchorite, the desert is enough for you (restrict yourself to the*

desert).⁴³ In reality, the inversion is only ostensible; the terms and the reason for the clash remain the same. When, therefore, evil seems to have possessed a part of human life, the anchorite regards this part as a desert and enters it. An initiative, for example, attributed to St. Ephraem the Syrian, a strict ascetic, is significant. Ephraem was informed that the city of Edessa was heavily afflicted by famine. Judging that social injustice contributed considerably to this disaster, he left his hermitage, went to the city and convinced the rich to let him administer their wealth to the profit of the weak. After this was done, the anchorite, having fulfilled his prophetic remission resumed to his cell.⁴⁴

The Church has been called to enter every desert. The desert is any part of Creation and human life which claims existence in autonomy, out of communion with the Uncreated. The desert can be anything, which has lapsed into the domain of evil, of whatever kind. As a matter of fact, Christians — whether living in a modern city or in the wilderness — have to be able to discern that autonomy and its fruits — death, loneliness, alienation, lack of love, starvation, war, pollution, heresies and so on and so forth — try to dominate human life. The field for the life-giving mission of the Church is nothing less than all the deserts of the entire world.

NOTES

¹ Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire*, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1966, 7. Peter Brown, *The World of late Antiquity from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1971, 98. Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1978, 84-85. See also Karl Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen: Verlag von J.C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1936, esp. 70-78.

² Joannis Chrisostomi, *Ad Theodorum lapsum liber secundus*, PG 47, 312, 315.

³ Basilii, *Epistola ii, Gregorio*, 2, PGF 32, 225 B. See also *Epistola xlii, ad Chilonem*, 5, PG 32, 357 A-B.

⁴ For the relationship between the catholicity of church doctrine and partiality of certain testimonies, see my "Τῆς Χριστιανικότητος ἡ ἀσκησις. Ἀνίχνευση μερικῶν κριτηρίων," *Σύναξη* 53 (1995) 11-26.

⁵ Basilii, *Epistola ii, Gregorio*, 2, PG 32, 225 B. Actually, St. Basil in favor of cenobitic life. See Basilii, *Regulae Fusius Tractatae*, vii, PG 31, 928B-933C.

⁶ St. Isaac of Nineveh, *On Ascetical Life* (transl. From the Syriac by Mary Hansbury), New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989, 39-40.

⁷ *Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπιτικῶν*, ἐκδ. Ἀστή. τ. Γ', Ἀθήναι, 289-290 (the

Greek texts are rendered by myself). Others have interpreted the verse "the Kingdom of God is within you" (Luke 17:21) as pointing not to the soul of the individuals, but to the Church community. In any event, what matters here is not the biblical interpretation but the clarification of the concepts "desert" and "society."

⁸ For a comprehensive examination of this issue, see Panayotis Nellas, *Deification in Christ; The Nature of the Human Person* (tr. Norman Russell), New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1987.

⁹ For the various concepts of the "desert" and withdrawal into it, see: Antoine Guillaumont, "La Conception du désert chez les moines d'Égypte," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 3 (1975) 3-21. J.A. Selbie, "Wilderness or Desert," *A Dictionary of the Bible* (J. Hastings ed.) IV, Edinburgh, 1904, 917-918. W.L. Reed, "Desert," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, I, New York-Nashville 1962, 828-829. G. Kittel, "Ἔρημος," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Hrsgs. Gerhard Kittel) II, Stuttgart 1935, 654-657. John Chrysavgis, "The Sacredness of Creation in the Sayings of the Desert Fathers," *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993) 346-351.

¹⁰ I have presented the basic concept of the present essay in two earlier publications: "Ἐκκλησιοποίηση ὅλης τῆς ζωῆς. Ἡ πράξη τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὁδηγός γιὰ τό σημερινό ἦθος," (newsp.) *Χριστιανική* 2-10-1981 and "Ὁ ἀναχωρητισμός. Μεταμόρφωση τῆς ἐρήμου σέ τόπο δεσποτείας Θεοῦ," *Σύναξη* 13 (1985) 38-40.

¹¹ T.H. Gaster, "Demon. The habitat of demons," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, op. cit., 821. Guillaumont, op. cit., 4.

¹² Guillaumont, op. cit., 11.

¹³ Isaiah 13:21, 34:13-14; Jeremiah 27:39; Sophonius 2:14; Baruch 4:35; the beasts are often connected to evil powers: Psalm 21:11-21; Ezekiel 34:5, 8:25.

¹⁴ Owen C. Whitehouse, "Demon, devil," *A Dictionary of the Bible*, op. cit., I, 590.

¹⁵ Theophylacti, *Enarratio in Evangelium Lucae*, iv, PG 123, 745 C. (Scripture taken from the "Holy Bible, New International Version," 1984.

¹⁶ "Conuenit recordari quemadmodum de paradiso in desertum Adam primus eiectus sit, ut aduertas quemadmodum de deserto ad paradysum Adam secundis reuerterit ... Plenus igitur Iesus Spiritu sancto agitur in desertum consilio, ut diabolum prouocaret ... ut illum Adam de exilio liberaret." Ambrose de Milan, *Traité sur l'Evangile de S. Luc*, I, livres I-VI, Sources Chrétiennes 45 (Dom Gabriel Tissot ed.), Paris 1956, 153, 156. Here another dimension is clearly implied: the desert as the symbol of human life away from God. We refer to this in the last section of this study.

¹⁷ Theophylacti, *Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaei*, ii, PG 123, 168C. Cf. Chrysostomi, *Homilia viii*, "Et intrantes domun..." 4, PG, 57, 88.

¹⁸ Athanasius, *Vita et conversatio S.P.N. Antonii*, 51, PG 26, 917 B.

¹⁹ *Vita S. Antonii*, op. cit., 13, PG 26, 861 C.

²⁰ Palladii, *Historia Lausiaca*, xix, PG 34, 1052C-D. The entry into pagan graveyards, as well as the conversion of pagan temples to Christian Churches should be considered a specific aspect of the "invasion into the desert." I plan to deal with this aspect in more detail in a future study.

²¹ *Apophthegmata Patrum*, vii, PG 65, 184 D.

²² See e.g. *Vita S. Antonii*, op. cit., 53, PG 26, 920 A-B. See, in general, A. Guillaumont, "(Le démon) dans la plus ancienne littérature monastique," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique* III, Paris, 1957, 189-191.

²³ Ioannis Climaci, *Scala Paradisi*, xv, PG 88, 893A. Besides, it is recorded that the

demon managed to persuade abba Nathanael to leave his cell and build another, closer to the town. Palladii, *op. cit.*, xviii, PG 34, 1041 D. See also xxxii, 1091 D.

²⁴ *Vita S. Antonii*, *op. cit.*, 41, PG 26, 904 A-B. See also 853 C-856 A: when Antony entered a cemetery, he was attacked by a demon who was afraid that Antony would fill the desert with monks.

²⁵ Theodoret of Cyrensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv, 18, PG 82, 1165 c. Theodoret (c. 393–c. 466) draws his information from Socrates (c. 380–450), who mentions the story more briefly. See Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv, 24, PG 67, 524 C-525 A. For the said persecution see Chitty, *op. cit.*, 48.

²⁶ Paladii, *op. cit.*, ii, PG 34, 1011 D-1012 A. According to Barsanuphius (question 416), since the devil was defeated through the cross, he cannot imitate it even in dreams in order to deceive the faithful. See Βίβλος Βαρσανουφίου καὶ Ἰωάννου (ἐπιμ. Νικοδήμου Ἀγιορείτου), ἐκδ. Ρηγοπούλου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1974, 214; French translation in *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, Correspondence* (tr. Lucien Regnault-Philippe Lemaire-Bernard Outtier), Solesmes: Abbaye aint Pierre de Solesmes, 1971, 290.

²⁷ Joannis Moschi, *Pratum Spirituale*, cxv, PG 87, 2980 B.

²⁸ Chitty, *op. cit.*, xvi.

²⁹ Joannis Chrysostomi, *Oratio II in crucem et in confessionem latronis*, PG 49, 408-409. See also Athanasii, *Oratio de humana natura a Verbo assumpta*, 25, PG 25, 140 B-C, where it is emphasized that the air had to be cleansed, since it had been the domain of the devil (Ephesians 2:2) after his original fall. I think Cyril Mango is right to wonder whether the same concept (Christ's crucifixion as direct challenge of the demons in the open air, that is, in their own habitat) "had some bearing at a later date on the introduction of stylitism." Cyril Mango, "Diabolus Byzantinus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992) 215.

³⁰ *The Lenten Triodion* (tr. Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware), London; Boston: Faber and Faber, 1984, 656, and *Divine Prayers and Services of the Catholic Orthodox Church of Christ* (compiled by Rev. Seraphim Nassar), New Jersey: Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of America, 1979, 924. For the Orthodox understanding of Christ's descent into hell, see, Ἰωάννου Καρμίου, *Ἡ εἰς ᾄδου κάθοδος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξ ἐπόψεως ὀρθοδόξου*, Ἀθήναι, 1939, esp. 107-143.

³¹ *Vita S. Antonii*, *op. cit.*, 14, PG 26, 865 B.

³² Edward Schwartz (Hrsg.), *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis, Leben des Sabas* (Texte und Untersuchungen), Leipzig, 1939, 90.

³³ Isaiah 58:12. In the Septuagint, the words "ancient ruins" are rendered ἐρημοὶ αἰώνιοι (everlasting deserts). Nevertheless, the Hebrew word comes from a root meaning "to be waste" or "desolate;" the proper application of this Hebrew term is to cities or districts once inhabited, but now lying waste. J.A. Selbie, "Wilderness or desert," *A Dictionary of the Bible*, *op. cit.*, IV, 918.

³⁴ A.-J. Festugiere (ed.), *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, 19-21 (Subsidia Hagiographica 34), Bruxelles, 1961, 54-55. This transformation of Egypt (especially of its desert) is also stressed by Chrysostom: Chrysostomi, *Homilia viii, "Et intrantes domun..."* 4, PG 57, 88.

³⁵ Procopii Gazei, *Commentarii in Josue*, PG 87, 993 A-C.

³⁶ See Hans Frhr. von Campenhausen, *Die asketische Heimatlosigkeit im altkirchlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Mönchtum*. Tradition und Leben. Tübingen: Kräfte der Kirchengeschichte, Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960, esp. 302-305.

³⁷ See, for example, the rule 4 of the Fourth (451) and 21 of the Seventh Ecumenical Councils.

³⁸ See, for example, Donald M. Nicol, *Instabilitas Loci. The Wanderlust of late Byzantine monks: Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* (Studies in Church History, 22, ed. W.J. Shells), Oxford: Blackwell, 1985, 193-202.

³⁹ *Benedicti Regula: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticarum Latinorum*, lxxv (recensuit Rodolphus Hanslik), Vindobonae, 1960, 17-18: "...Secundum genus est anachoritarum, id est heremitarum... qui didicerunt contra diabolum multorum solacio iam docti pugnare ... Quantum vero genus est monachorum, quod nominatur gyrovagum, qui ... (sunt) semper vagi et numquam stabiles."

⁴⁰ It is characteristic that Augustine disapproved of wandering ascetics and accused them of leading a parasitic life. Perhaps this opinion of his was reinforced by the fact that the ascetics of the schismatic Donatist church (Augustine's great rival) formed the "circumcelliones," bands of wanderers who terrified their religious opponents. See Henry Chadwick, *The Ascetic Ideal in the history of the Church: Monks, Hermits and the ascetic Tradition*, op. cit., 12-13.

⁴¹ Andrew Louth, *The Wilderness of God*, London: Darton-Longman-Todd, 1991, 26-27 (the author speaks about this interim, nevertheless the concept he stresses is desert as a meeting point with God). Jean Meyendorff, *St. Grégoire Palamas et la mystique Orthodoxe*, Editions du Seuil, 1959, 13: "Le désert apparaît ainsi comme le type parfait du monde, hostile à Dieu et soumis à Satan, où le Messie vient apporter la vie nouvelle." According to St. Augustine of Hippo, for the Christians the desert is the present world. See Karl Bosl, "Ερημος - Eremus. Begriffsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zum historischen Problem der Entfremdung und Vereinsamung des Menschen," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 2 (1967) 74.

⁴² Gregorii, *Oratio xxxvii, in dictum Evangelii "Cum Consumasset Jesus hoc sermones,"* PG 36, 281 A, 284 A-B. Besides, John Kantakouzenos (d. 1383) argues that Christ did not come only to call sinful individuals to repentance, but also to honor humble places which were considered unimportant till then (Bethlehem, Nazareth, Galilee). See Χαρ. Σωτηροπούλου, *Ἰωάννου ΣΤ Καντακουζηνού, Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων Λόγοι ἐννέα (τὸ πρῶτον νῦν ἐκδιδόμενοι)*, Ἀθήναι 1983, Λόγος β', 389-402, 91.

⁴³ Palladii, op. cit., xix, PG 34, 1052 D.

⁴⁴ Palladii, op. cit., ci, PG 1204 C-1209 A.

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The Greek Orthodox Theological Review

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His Eminence Archbishop SPYRIDON

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And the Faculty of

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

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Editor's Note

As explained in the Editor's Note of the previous double issue (vol. 42, Nos 3-4, 1997), this volume has been designed in lieu of the four issues that should have been produced for the year 1998. This has been done in order to bring the Review to schedule overcoming the delays that had occurred previously.

Apart from the introductory *1998 Commencement Addresses*, this volume contains the *1997 Priestly Ministry Lecture* which was delivered by Dr. David H. Kelsey of Yale Divinity School at Holy Cross, several scholarly *Articles* on the topics of *Liturgy, History and Monasticism*, and most importantly the *Proceedings of the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Sessions of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches* which took place in 1992, 1994, 1996 and 1998.

A special effort has been made to update and enhance the *Periodical Review Section* which provides detailed information in English on the contents of the most important Greek Orthodox Theological reviews published in Greece.

As the Twentieth Century and the second Christian Millennium draw to a close we wish to dedicate several issues to topics relating to these important signposts, and therefore invite appropriate contributions. We especially invite contributions to the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Orthodox Churches in the 20th century, and to the development of Orthodox theological studies and literature during the 20th century, whether in general or particular perspectives.

We would like to dedicate an issue on the history of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in America, both general and local. We have already recieved some very interesting material, but we need much more, if we are to give a more comprehensive picture.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

ADDRESSES



ARCHBISHOP SPYRIDON OF AMERICA



METROPOLITAN NICHOLAS OF AMISSOS

LECTURES

ARTICLES

THEOLOGICAL CONSULTATIONS



MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE ORTHODOX-REFORMED
DIALOGUE AT THE PATRIARCHAL CENTER IN CHAMBÉSY, SWITZERLAND.

From left to right. Subdeacon Valerio Lopes (Antiochian Orthodox Church),
Fr. George Dragas (Ecumenical Patriarchate), His Eminence Metropolitan
Panteleimon of Tyroloë and Serention (Orthodox Co-chairman),
Dr. Milan Opocensky (General Secretary, WARC), Dr. Iain R. Torrance
(Church of Scotland) and Fr. Aurel Jivi (Patriarchate of Romania).

International Orthodox-Reformed Dialogue: An Introduction

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

The Orthodox Church has been involved in the modern ecumenical movement from the very beginning of the twentieth century. Important starting points were the Encyclicals of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople during the first decades of the twentieth century (1902, 1904, and 1920). These Encyclicals emphasized the need for closer cooperation of the Orthodox Churches everywhere, as well as the need for promoting dialogue between Orthodoxy and the other churches of Christendom, with the view to discovering ways of cooperation and recovering unity.

The Panorthodox response came after the Second World War when the Orthodox Churches as a family entered the modern ecumenical movement. This involvement was greatly enhanced by Panorthodox Consultations, which were summoned by the Ecumenical Patriarchate at regular intervals. Thus, the First Panorthodox Consultation (Rhodes 1961) placed on its agenda the need to promote rapprochement with the Roman Catholic Church, the Ancient Oriental Churches, the Old Catholics, and the various Protestant Churches, especially the Anglicans, the Lutherans and the WCC. The Third Panorthodox Consultation (Rhodes 1964) reiterated the same point. The Fourth Panorthodox Consultation (Chambesy 1968) dealt with the development of the theological dialogues between Orthodoxy and the other churches and, generally, with the involvement of the Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement. Thus International Bilateral Dialogues

were organized between Orthodoxy and the Anglicans, the Old Catholics, the Oriental Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans and, finally, the Reformed Churches.

The starting point for the modern Orthodox-Reformed dialogue goes back to 1977. At that time the Very Rev. Professor T. F. Torrance, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, paid a formal visit to His Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios in Istanbul and handed in a formal *Letter* to him from the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches (WARC). This *Letter* signed by Prof. Jan M. Lochman, Chairman of the Department of Theology of WARC, asked for structured theological conversations. That *Letter* also referred to preceding modern conversations between the two families of Churches (the Orthodox and the Reformed) which had taken place locally in the early seventies (North America, Romania, Hungary, and Leningrad). The Ecumenical Patriarch's response was positive and included an invitation to the President of the WARC, the Rev. Dr. James McCord President of Princeton Theological Seminary, to lead a Reformed Delegation of theologians to a visit at the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The Reformed appointed a delegation in 1978, consisting of President McCord (USA), Prof. Lochman (Switzerland), Prof. Torrance (Scotland), Prof. Esser (FRG), Prof. McLelland (Canada), Prof. Juhász (Rumania) and Dr Perret and Rev. Smith of the WARC (Geneva). The visit to the headquarters of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Phanar (Istanbul) took place in July 1979 when more positive reactions were given from both sides and it was determined that the dialogue should start first on an exploratory basis. On this occasion Professor Torrance presented two *Memoranda* to the Patriarch which requested that the dialogue should begin with the doctrine of the Trinity.

The next meeting was at the John Knox Center in Geneva in 1981 when three papers were offered and discussed, dealing with *the doctrine of God* and with *authority in the Church*. This led to another one on the subject of *The Trinitarian foundation and Character of the Faith and of Authority in the Church*. It took place in Geneva (Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Chambésy) in 1983 and produced a *Concluding Affirmation or Agreed understanding of the Theological Development and Eventual Direction of the Orthodox/ Reformed Conversations leading to Dialogue*. This Affirmation together with the first *Letters, Memoranda and Papers* were pub-

lished by Prof. Thomas F. Torrance under the title *Theological Dialogue between Orthodox and Reformed Churches*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1985.

Following these exploratory meetings the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches proceeded to appoint official delegations to pursue an official Dialogue. Under the Chairmanship of H.E. Metropolitan Panteleimon (Rodopoulos) of Tyroloe and Serention of the University of Thessalonica (Ecumenical Patriarchate) and the Rev. Dr. Lukas Vischer of the University of Bern and Evangelische Arbeitsstelle Oekumene Schweiz (WARC) meetings were held in Geneva in 1988, in Minsk (Byelorussia) in 1990 and in Geneva again in 1991. At the last meeting an *Agreed Statement on the Trinity* was signed. This *Agreed Statement*, together with the supporting papers which formed the basis of the discussions, and another jointly approved document, bearing the title, *Significant Features, a Common Reflection on the Agreed Statement on the Holy Trinity* (1992), were published in a second volume by Professor T. F. Torrance under the title, *Theological Dialogue Between Orthodox & Reformed Churches*, vol. 2, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh 1993.

The Joined Commission went on to discuss the *Incarnation*, *Christology and Soteriology*, and *Ecclesiology*. Meetings were held in Kappel Am Albis (near Zürich) in 1992, in Limassol (Cyprus) in 1994, in Aberdeen (Scotland) in 1996, and in Zakynthos (Greece) in 1998. They were facilitated by a small stirring committee, which consisted of the two co-chairmen and two advisors from each side and met at the Patriarchal Center in Geneva in 1993, 1995 and 1997. This round of conversations produced: 1) *A Summary of discussions on Christology* (1992); 2) *An Agreed Statement on Christology between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches* (1994); 3) *A Summary of Discussions on the Identity and Unity of the Church* (1996); and 4) *An Agreed Working Statement on the Church as the Body of Christ* (1998). All these documents together with the supporting scholarly papers, which formed the basis of these discussions, and other relevant documentation, are published in the present volume.

This publication of the Proceedings of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth joint theological conversations of Orthodox and Reformed Churches brings up to date the record of this first round of the official Orthodox Reformed Dialogue which is based on the Ecumenical

Creed and is approaching its conclusion, possibly in the year 2000!

I am grateful to Professor Iain Torrance of the Department of Divinity, Aberdeen University, for collaborating in this project, by submitting to me the relevant papers from the Reformed side. Thanks are also due to Dr. Christoph Stenschke for translating into English the German original of Christian Link's paper delivered at Kappel Am Albis. Time limits did not permit a more rigorous pursuit of details and possible revisions of the papers published, but for a few exceptions. Special thanks are due to Daryle and Carolyne Lamoreaux for assisting me technically in preparing the texts for submission to the Holy Cross Press.

THIRD OFFICIAL THEOLOGICAL CONSULTATION
BETWEEN REFORMED AND ORTHODOX CHURCHES
Kappel Am Albis (Near Zürich), March 9-15, 1992

List of Participants

Orthodox Participants

Ecumenical Patriarchate (also representing the Patriarchate of Antioch)

Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyroloë and Serention, *Co-chairman*
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Prof. Basil Anagnostopoulos

Patriarchate of Moscow

Archpriest George Goncharov

Patriarchate of Bulgaria

Prof. Todor Koev

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Church of Greece

Prof. Vlassios Phidas

Church of Czechoslovakia

Archpriest Josef Hauzar

Church of Finland

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V. Rev. Athanasios Gikas

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Ms. Margaret Owen
Dr. Henry S. Wilson

Letters

Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople
Istanbul, Turkey

To: Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyrolae and Serention
Orthodox Co-Chairman
and
Dr. Lukas Vischer
Reformed Co-Chairman

· Being with you in spirit, we wish You success in your work and
good progress towards rapprochement with unity of faith as final goal.

With much brotherly love
in Christ
† Patriarch Bartholomew

Kappel am Albis
Zürich, Switzerland

March 10, 1999

His All-Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew
Rum Patrikhanesi
Fener, Istanbul Turkey

Gathered in Kappel near Zürich the members of the
Orthodox-Reformed Dialogue wish to thank You for Your greetings.

In this time of upheaval and uncertainty, we praise God for the
opportunity of meeting and deepening our common understanding
of Christ's saving presence in our midst.

† Panteleimon, Metropolitan of Tyrolae and Serention
Lukas Vischer

Communiqué

The Evangelical Reformed Church of Zürich, Switzerland hosted the third official bilateral dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches during March 9–13, 1992. Twenty-five participants representing the two Church traditions and co-chaired by His Eminence Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos of Tyrolöe and Serention (Ecumenical Patriarchate) and the Rev. Dr. Lukas Vischer (Swiss Reformed Church) discussed the theological implications of the incarnation, extending their earlier conversations based on the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

The two previous international dialogues at Leuenberg, Switzerland (1988) and Minsk, Byelorussia (1990) focused on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as expressed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. These Discussions have led to a consensus on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity through our common acceptance of the Creed. It is now the hope of the participants at the Dialogue that this Joint Statement of consensus along with "Significant Features: Common Reflections on the Agreed Statement" be distributed to the Orthodox and Reformed Churches for study and discussion.

Each day's session began in prayers led by Orthodox and Reformed participants. Meeting at the historic site of Kappel-am-Albis reminded everyone of Reformation history where Reformer Ulrich Zwingli died in battle in 1531, and his successor Heinrich Bullinger preached and taught.

The delegates to the Dialogue affirm the importance of the conversations in enhancing trust and understanding between the two traditions. It is hoped that future sessions of the Orthodox-Reformed Dialogue will build on the good will established by these mutual theological discussions to the mutual benefit of their respective churches.

The Orthodox representatives included delegates from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, Patriarchates of Alexandria,

Antioch, Russia and Bulgaria as well as from the Churches of Cyprus, Greece, Czechoslovakia and Finland. The Reformed Commission included delegates from Australia, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, South Korea, Romania, Switzerland and the United States of America. The delegations included clergy and lay patristic scholars and theological professors.

The Joint Commission issued a Summary on the first discussions of the incarnation with suggestions for further conversations.

Kappel-am-Albis

14 March, 1992

Agreed Summary of Discussions

Our discussion of the doctrine of the Incarnation presupposed our agreement on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and our firm adherence to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed as the basis of our dialogue. In our previous discussions on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, we acknowledged that the teachings of the great Fathers of the fourth century were in agreement with this Creed.

There were actually four topics which were discussed on this occasion. 1) The link between the theme of the Trinity and the theme of the Incarnation. 2) Our interpretation of the second article of the Nicene Creed. 3) The relation of the Incarnation to salvation. 4) The relation of the Incarnation to creation.

On the topic concerning the link between the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of the Incarnation two kinds of approaches were presented which were not deemed to be totally incompatible. The first approach sought to arrive at the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity by examining the life of Jesus Christ as it is presented in the Gospels, especially the offices of Christ, prophetic, priestly and royal, which is a central theme of the Reformed tradition. The second approach expressed the link between the Trinity and the Incarnation by the thesis that in the Gospel, the Creed and the Liturgy, the Trinity is the presupposition to the Incarnation and the Incarnation is the manifestation of the Trinity and the way through which humanity participates in the energies (grace) of the Trinity and is thereby deified without ceasing to be human.

The main question raised about the first approach was that history seems to be given priority over revelation and that it could relativise the content of the eternal truth revealed in Christ. It was acknowledged, however, that this possibility can somehow be averted if history is understood not in a secular way but as *Heilsgeschichte* and as long

as adherence to the ecumenical Creed is maintained.

The main question raised about the second approach was whether one doctrine could be derived from the other and whether either or both of them could be posited without reference to the history of Jesus Christ. The discussion of these two approaches has led to a mutually converging understanding, which, as admitted, needs to be further drawn out.

On the topic concerning the interpretation of the second article of the ecumenical Creed the two answers given can be outlined as follows. The Orthodox side understands it in the light of the later statements of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth ecumenical councils which affirm the Incarnation in terms of the union of the two natures, the divine and human, in the one *hypostasis* or person of the Logos of God and the doctrine of the real *communicatio idiomatum*, which is the basis of the deification of the human nature. The Reformed side demonstrated that the classical Reformed theological tradition, as indicated in the Reformed Confessions and the writings of Calvin, Bullinger and Ursinus acknowledges the same patristic doctrine in accordance with the third, fourth, fifth and sixth ecumenical councils stressing the distinction of the two natures.

The question raised from the Orthodox side was related to the Reformed understanding of the *communicatio idiomatum*, which, as expounded seemed to neglect the doctrine of human participation in the divine perfections. To this the Reformed replied that participation by the human nature in the divine life, love and righteousness could be admitted if it were understood to be mediated by the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, the Reformed side wondered how the integrity of the natures could be successfully maintained on the basis of the Orthodox interpretation of the *communicatio idiomatum*. The Orthodox responded that the real participation of the human nature in the perfections of the divine nature in and through the hypostatic union does not change the essence of Christ's humanity. Both sides were in agreement about the crucial significance of the *communicatio idiomatum* and the need to explore further its exact meaning.

On the third topic concerning the relation of the Incarnation to salvation, the Reformed side expounded the doctrine of atonement, which rests on the work of Christ in taking up human sin by imputation and through living obediently under the conditions of fallen human existence, as well as offering himself as sacrifice to the Father's

righteous and loving judgment. The Orthodox side focused on the Incarnation as the recapitulation of human nature and the whole of creation in the perfect human nature of Jesus Christ, which is extended in the history of salvation through his body, the Church. The relation, therefore, between salvation and Incarnation is in and through the Church, especially as it is manifested in the Eucharistic body of Christ in which human beings participate as faithful members.

Some of the questions raised by the Orthodox concerning the Reformed doctrine of atonement included the seeming lack of a proper relation between Incarnation and atonement, the abstract character of the forensic framework of justification, the obscurity concerning the relation of sin to human nature and the understanding of original sin. In response, the Reformed side admitted that the forensic element had indeed contributed all too often to a view of the atonement which was abstracted from its ground in the divine love and graciousness. The Reformed also agreed that the classical Reformed view of the atonement needs to be more fully integrated with the doctrine of hypostatic union. It was further noted that such a link is present in certain strands of the Reformed tradition. In spite of differences both sides agreed that the Incarnate Lord is the Saviour of the world but felt that they had to explore further how they understand salvation and such key themes as Christ's sacrificial death, the link between Christology and ecclesiology, the character of original sin, etc.

On the topic of the relation between Creation and Incarnation both sides considered the thesis that the latter is a key to understanding the former, because it is the Saviour who manifests the Creator and shows that nature is not independent of God and is only properly understood as creation.

In this manner we are made aware of the cosmic significance of the Incarnation. Just as God does not confine his promises and salvation to individuals but in his work of reconciliation has poured out his love for the whole *cosmos*, in the same manner he has revealed to us the model by which he has created the whole visible world through the power of the Word and Spirit. Both sides confess the Holy Trinity as the foundation of life and vitality of all creatures, who (which) brings the world to its goal of perfection. In his recognition a new perspective of our common faith is opened: we become aware of the suffering of our present world which is threatened by our civilisation, through the exploitation of its natural resources and the dying out of

animals and plants, because it has denied the character of God's creation.

As to the way in which the connection between Creation and Incarnation is to be interpreted, there are two different approaches, which, however, are not incompatible with each other. One way starts with the experience of salvation — the experience that God creates new relationships out of old ones — and then asks about the implications for our understanding of the work of creation in the beginning. It recognizes the Creator in the Saviour of the world. The other way sees the connection between creation and Incarnation in the activity of the Holy Trinity. It recognizes the work of God the Father through the Son in the continuing existence of the world in the power of the Spirit.

There is unanimity among both Orthodox and Reformed about the significance of these discussions. Not only have we realized the common heritage in Christology arising from our adherence to the Nicene Creed and our reception of patristic Christology, but we have been stimulated by discovering that some of our differences could serve as starting points for leading us deeper into the faith, which has been entrusted to both of us. It is clear that there is a lot for us to learn from each other by overcoming misunderstandings and possibly arriving at clearer formulations.

FOURTH OFFICIAL THEOLOGICAL CONSULTATION
BETWEEN REFORMED AND ORTHODOX CHURCHES
Limassol (Cyprus), January 7-14, 1994

List of Participants

Orthodox Participants

Ecumenical Patriarchate (also representing the Patriarchate of Antioch)

Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyrolöë and Serention, *Co-chairman*
V. Rev. Dr. George Dion. Dragas

Patriarchate of Alexandria

Prof. Basil Anagnostopoulos

Patriarchate of Romania

Rev. Dr. Aurel Jivi

Church of Cyprus

Metropolitan Chrystanthos of Limassol
Mr. George Lambrianides

Church of Greece

Prof. Christos Voulgaris
Prof. Vlassios Phidas

Church of Czechoslovakia

Bishop Christophoros of Olomouk and Brno

Secretary to the Orthodox Co-Chairman

V. Rev. Athanasios Gikas

Reformed Participants

Rev. Dr. Karel Blei

Leidschendam, Netherlands

Rev. Dr. C. S. Calian

Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, U.S.A.

Dr. Dawn de Vries

McCormic Theological Seminary, IL, U.S.A.

Dr. Alasdair I. Heron

Lehrstuhl für Reformierte Theologie, Erlangen, Germany

Prof. Dr. M. Juhasz

Rectoratul Institutului Teologic Protestant, Cluj, Romania.

Dr. Phee-seng Kang

Hong Kong Baptist College, Hong Kong

Prof. Christian Link

Spiegel, Switzerland

Prof. John Mbiti

Burgalorf, Switzerland

Prof. Eric Osborn

Victoria, Australia

Rev. Dr. Janos Pasztor
Budapest, Hungary

Rev. Dr. Iain Torrance
Department of Divinity, Aberdeen University, Scotland

Dr. Lukas Vischer, Co-chairman
Evangelische Arbeitsstelle Oekumene, Bern, Switzerland.

Communiqué

The Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus through His Eminence Metropolitan Chrysanthos of Limassol hosted the fourth official bilateral dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches from January 8–13, 1994. Twenty-seven participants representing the two Church traditions and co-chaired by His Eminence Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos of Tyrolö and Serention (Ecumenical Patriarchate) and the Rev. Dr. Lukas Vischer (Swiss Reformed Church) discussed the doctrine of the Incarnation, building upon and extending their earlier conversations based upon the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.

The three previous international dialogues in Leuenberg, Switzerland (1988), Minsk, Bielorussia (1990), Kapel-am-Albis, Switzerland (1992), focused on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as expressed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. In the Limassol meeting presentations were made on "The Holy Trinity in Creation and Incarnation," "*Antidosis (Communicatio) Idiomatum and Theosis (Deificatio)* of the Human Nature" and "The Christ of Revelation and the Christ of History." The discussions on these topics led to a consensus on the doctrine of Christology. The "Common Statement" produced by this session will be sent to the Orthodox and Reformed Churches for study and discussion.

Each day's session began with prayers led alternatively by Orthodox and Reformed participants. The Consultation enjoyed the privilege of attending the Orthodox Liturgy with a local congregation in Limassol and making an excursion to Paphos and Nicosia. In Paphos the participants were warmly received by His Eminence Metropolitan Chrysostom and in Nicosia they had the privilege of meeting with His Excellency, Mr. Glafkos Clerides, the President of Cyprus, His Beatitude Chrysostom, the Archbishop of the Church of Cyprus,

and the Honorable Lellos Demetriades, Mayor of Nicosia. A reception and dinner were also given in honor of the members of the Dialogue by the staff of the Middle East Council of Churches, whose headquarters are located in Cyprus.

The delegates to the Dialogue affirm the importance of the conversations in enhancing trust and understanding between the two traditions. It is hoped that future sessions of the Orthodox-Reformed Dialogue will build on the good will established by these theological discussions to the mutual benefit of their respective Churches.

The Orthodox representatives included delegates from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Romania, as well as from the Churches of Cyprus, Greece and the Czech and Slovak Republics. The Reformed Commission included delegates from Australia, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, the Netherlands, South Korea, Romania, Switzerland and the United States of America. The delegations included clergy and lay theological scholars, pastors, church administrators, and professors.

Representatives departed from Cyprus thankful for the experience of sharing in worship and intense discussion with one another and grateful for the extraordinary warmth and hospitality which was offered by His Eminence Chrysanthos, the Metropolitan of Limassol.

Limassol
13 January 1994

Agreed Statement on Christology

LIMASSOL, JANUARY 1994

1. In accordance with the Nicene Creed we affirm the basic interconnection between the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of Christ. Our common belief in One God, the Holy Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is bound up with our belief in Jesus Christ who reveals the mystery of the Holy Trinity. It affirms that the God of the Old Testament Scriptures who led his people Israel from oppression to new shores of freedom is the Father of Jesus of Nazareth who sends forth his Life-giving Spirit. He is one and the same God who encounters us in the resurrected Christ and in the Holy Spirit acting in his Church.

As regards the connection between the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of the Incarnation, Orthodox and Reformed seem to follow two different kinds of approach which, however, are not incompatible. The Orthodox approach takes its beginning in the Mystery of the Incarnation which includes the whole saving economy as it is proclaimed in the Bible, confessed in the Patristic Tradition and experienced in the Divine Liturgy. The starting point of the Reformed approach to Christology and the mystery of the Trinity is the scriptural witness to the life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. Both agree that their teaching about Trinity and Incarnation reflects the encounter with the reality of God as revealed in Christ.

2. Following the witness of the Gospel as it is declared in the second article of the Nicene Creed, Orthodox and Reformed

confess that Jesus Christ is the eternal and Only-begotten Son and *Logos* of God, the second person of the Holy Trinity, who became fully human, without ceasing to be God, by being conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary. Both confess the apostolic faith that the Incarnation took place in the fullness of time, when God 'sent his own Son to be born of a woman under the Law to redeem those under the Law and grant to us adoption as children' (Gal. 4:4-5). Thus understood, the Incarnate Son is the manifestation of the Holy Trinity in the sphere of earthly human history. The Incarnate Son as a concrete historical person demonstrates that human nature is not fundamentally foreign to God. It reveals rather what was hidden in the primordial nature of the *Logos*. Through the Incarnation the life of God is manifested under the conditions of human existence. God assumes the human condition and nature in all their aspects and dimensions. All this takes place for us human beings and for our salvation, so that we may become participants in the 'treasures of wisdom and knowledge' (Col. 2:3) hidden in Christ.

3. The Incarnation of the Son of God belongs to the very same existence and life of God. As the divine will to create the world and humanity is connected with God's being, so also the will to save them was 'a mystery hidden before the ages in God who created all things' (Eph. 3:9). Creation and Incarnation, then, belong together to God's original plan. Thus, Christ's redemptive work 'was predestined before the foundation of the world, but was manifested in the end of time' (1 Pet. 1:20). Being the Head of all creation by whom all things were formed the Son who was by nature eternally of the same uncreated nature with the Father and the Spirit, received to Himself the created human nature and became fully human in body and soul so that through it he might unite himself with the entire creation.

4. In the language of the Fathers and the Councils of the early

church, Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of God unites human and divine natures in his own single person (*hypostasis*). The properties of each nature belong to the whole person in whom both natures are united without being confused or separated. So Jesus Christ acts both as divine and as human, exercising both kinds of properties as appropriate in communion with each other. In this sense there is a 'communication of attributes' within the hypostatic union as the divine nature acts through the human and the human under the guidance of the divine. Strictly speaking, however, it is to the *person* of Jesus Christ as the incarnate Word that the properties of both natures are correctly ascribed. The distinct properties of the one nature are not transferred to the *other* nature: the divine nature does not acquire human characteristics nor the human nature divine attributes. What can be said is that through the *perichoresis* or interpenetration of the two natures in the unity of Christ's person the human nature is restored, sustained and glorified as the *new and perfect humanity* of the last Adam, recapitulating the history of the first Adam. In the Orthodox tradition this is called *theosis* (commonly rendered as 'deification'), but this does not imply that Christ's humanity ceases to be creaturely or becomes divine in essence. Reformed theology shares this understanding but avoids the language of *theosis*. It treats the theme more in terms of the *sanctification* of human nature in Christ. In both traditions this renewal of our common humanity in the person of the incarnate Word is affirmed and venerated as the decisive saving action of divine grace and the pledge of the renewal and restoration of all who are united to Christ as members of the Body of which he is the Head.

Speaking of the union of natures in the person of Jesus Christ is normative for both the Orthodox and Reformed traditions. However, the term 'nature' should not be understood statically, or abstractly, nor as if the human and divine natures were two individual instances of a generic concept of 'nature.' What this language directs us toward is the reality of God assuming the

reality of humanity in Jesus Christ, a movement of God to humanity and humanity to God in the unity of his person and history.

The divergent conclusions drawn by the Orthodox and Reformed traditions on the subject of iconography is a subject related to the above statement which might well form a point of entry for discussion at a future dialogue.

5. According to the Nicene Creed it was 'for us and for our salvation' that the eternal Son of God became flesh, lived, died and rose again. The ontological ground of our salvation is the hypostatic or personal union of the Word and flesh, or divine and human natures, in Jesus Christ. Conversely, the hypostatic union is worked out in the economy of salvation. The New Testament presents this economy in terms of the three offices ('*triplex munus*') of prophet, priest and king. This threefold office continues its activity in the Church. Each of these offices provides a particular model—witness, sacrifice, service—for the restoration of the divine image in humanity through participation in Christ. At the same time each office points us to the deity of Christ who is eternal Word, Son and Wisdom of God. All three offices thus show the unity of true historical humanity and true eternal deity in the person of Jesus Christ, and also how the divine calling should be exercised in all aspects of our lives from birth to death.

6. The Holy Trinity is presupposed by the Incarnation, but the Incarnation enables us to approach the Trinity at a deeper level. The Incarnation shows us, as nothing else, the nature and path, the range and depth of God's love. It shows us that God, though complete in himself in the loving fellowship of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, loved us so much that he sent his only-begotten Son to enter and redeem his creation. The creation is not part of the eternal nature of God. We understand it to be a deliberate act of God that he might share that love which he is

with that which he is not. Creation is then rooted in the mutual love of the persons of the Triune God. Thus understood the Incarnation is the key which opens to us the intention, plan, meaning and goal of the creation. In the Incarnation of the Son the purpose of creation is fully revealed. The Spirit acting in Christ penetrates the cosmos. The Spirit groans with all creatures and leads them to the promised goal of their perfection. This is why the relationship between the world and God receives its true form in the incarnate Son; from the Incarnation it obtains its direction and identity. 'In him all things have their being' (Col: 1:17).

In Christ we understand that God cannot bear to be absent from his creation and through his Spirit constantly strives to bring it to share his freedom and joy. As the community of the redeemed, set free by the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, we are caught up in that love, trust and freedom. We see the teeming creation with new eyes as God's bountiful world. We are summoned to share his purpose, to be liberated, healed and restored, to celebrate and rejoice, to worship and share creation's praise for its maker.

7. The understanding common to Orthodox and Reformed of the revelation of the three persons of the Trinity makes them crucially aware of the connection between Christology and Pneumatology and of the specific role of the Holy Spirit in the Incarnation of the Word of God and in the history of salvation. Both Orthodox and Reformed recognize the Spirit's creative activity in the birth of Christ from the Virgin Mary as the first fruits of the new creation. It is the Holy Spirit who glorifies Christ and through his sending at Pentecost bears witness to Christ in the world. It is the Holy Spirit who brings about the communion of all believers both with the Head of the Body of Christ and between themselves. It is the Holy Spirit who summons all Christians to the confession of the same Christ and communicates to us the very life of Christ through word and sacrament. It is the Holy Spirit who unites word and sacrament

in the living experience of the Church and leads the Church to the realization of the kingdom of God in the *eschaton*. It is the Holy Spirit who enables us to discern the authentic relationship between the Paschal and the Pentecostal mysteries in the history of salvation, because 'one can say Jesus is Lord, except in the Holy Spirit' (1 Cor. 12:3).

Topics for Future Dialogue

1. Can we say that God's being (*ousia*) is the same as his act or just that God's act is not inconsistent with his being? The Orthodox want to avoid the projection of contingent acts (and new acts) into the divine *ousia*. The Reformed want to avoid any suggestion of inconsistency between being and act, fearing that the *homoousion* is ultimately at stake.

2. In atonement, should stress be laid largely upon the incarnation (Orthodox), or upon the whole course of Christ's life (Reformed)?

3. Is *all* of creation fallen? Are the violence and death we observe in the natural world the result of the fall of humanity? The Orthodox see the cosmos in anthropocentric terms so that the present state of creation is a projection of the fall of humanity. Reformed theologians often differ on this issue. They view that part of creation beyond human influence as an object of God's direct care.

4. Do the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection pertain to humanity and creation only insofar as they are fallen? Or do they also have a role in perfecting God's original creation?

5. Does Christ act in his divine nature outside his human nature? The *extra-Calvinisticum* states that Christ is present outside his human nature in the eucharist. The Orthodox want to know whether this means that Christ acts outside the Church, e.g. through secular agencies in the world.

6. What is the Reformed view of the Virgin Mary? Does their reluctance to call Mary the Mother of God imply a rejection of the *Theotokos*? Does it involve a separation of the two natures in Christ?

7. Is the Kingdom of God already present in the Church, e.g., in the celebration of the Eucharist? The Orthodox say that it is, but the Reformed fear the idea of a "eucharistic *parousia*" because it dissolves history.

8. Do the Incarnation and Crucifixion conflict with the belief in

divine impassibility? The Orthodox hold firmly so the impassibility of God but also emphasize the hypostatic union. The Reformed differentiate the two natures yet often question the idea of impassibility on biblical grounds.

9. Does the *Communicatio idiomatum*, imply a static understanding of Christology? Can we have a more dynamic understanding? Does the *triplex munus* help to develop such an understanding?

10. What are the implications of the *Communicatio idiomatum* for soteriology? Does the deification of human nature in Christ have any effect on humans as hypostases? Is such an effect present (already) or future (not yet)?

FIFTH OFFICIAL THEOLOGICAL CONSULTATION
BETWEEN REFORMED AND ORTHODOX CHURCHES
Aberdeen (Scotland), June 9-15, 1996

List of Participants

Orthodox Participants

Ecumenical Patriarchate (also representing the Patriarchate of Antioch)

Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyroloë and Serention, *Co-chairman*
V. Rev. Dr. George Dion. Dragas

Patriarchate of Moscow

V. Rev. Dr. Hilarion Alfeyev

Patriarchate of Romania

Rev. Dr. Aurel Jivi

Church of Cyprus

Metropolitan Chrystanthos of Limassol
Mr. George Lambrianides

Church of Greece

Prof. Christos Voulgaris
Prof. Vlassios Phidas

Church of Albania

Dr. Peter Laurence Gilbert

Secretary to the Orthodox Co-Chairman

V. Rev. Athanasios Gikas

Reformed Participants

Rev. Dr. Karel Blei, *Co-chairman*

AK Leidschendam, Netherlands

Rev. Dr. C. S. Calian

Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, U.S.A.

Rev. Dr. Dawn de Vries

Virginia, USA

Dr. Phee-seng Kang

Hong Kong Baptist College, Hong Kong

Dr. Edgar Moros Ruano

Universidad de Los Andes, Venezuela

Rev. Dr. Iain Torrance

Department of Divinity, Aberdeen University, Scotland

Dr. Henry S. Wilson

WARC, Geneva, Switzerland

Communiqué

The Joint Commission of the Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches held its fifth meeting at the Department of Divinity, King's College, University of Aberdeen, from 9-15 June 1996.

The meeting was co-moderated by His Eminence Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos, representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the Reverend Doctor Karel Blei, representing the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. At its opening session, the joint commission received greetings from His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomaios, and from the Reverend Maxwell Craig of Action of Churches Together in Scotland. The delegates, coming from Albania, Cyprus, Greece, Hong Kong, The Netherlands, Romania, Russia, Scotland, Switzerland, USA and Venezuela, were greeted at a formal reception given by Professor Maxwell Irvine, Principal of the University of Aberdeen.

The main theme of the meeting was "The Identity and Unity of the Church" in the context of the respective article of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and in light of the Patristic tradition of the ancient Church. This theme was addressed in papers on three subdivisions of the main theme, presented by both Orthodox and Reformed delegates: (1) The Mystery of Christ and the Mystery of the Church; (2) The Nature of the Church; (3) The Unity of the Church.

After intensive discussion of the papers, delegates produced an agreed summary statement of their discussions on this theme, highlighting both differences and common ground. It was agreed that the next meeting should take up the subject of Church and Sacraments. The joint commission is hopeful that, after consideration of these topics, it may be able to move toward an agreed statement of convergence on Ecclesiology.

Agreed Summary of Discussions on the Identity and Unity of the Church

The Joint Commission of the Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches held its fifth meeting at the Department of Divinity, King's College, University of Aberdeen, from 9 to 15 June 1996.

The main theme of the meeting, specified by the preparatory committee, was "The identity and unity of the Church" in the context of the respective article of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and in the light of the Patristic tradition of the ancient Church.

There were three sub-divisions to the main theme: (1) The Mystery of Christ and the Mystery of the Church; (2) The Nature of the Church; and (3) The Unity of the Church ("The Church and the Churches," and "The Limits of the Church"). All these subjects were examined from both the Orthodox and Reformed points of view by means of presentations and discussions of relevant papers, with a view to understanding the ecclesiological positions of the two traditions and to establishing points of convergence.

The discussions made clear that there are important differences in the understanding and interpretation of the nature of the Church in the two traditions, which derive from historical and theological developments and make difficult a common description of the nature and mission of the Church. Nevertheless, the necessity of reaching convergence on the question of the unity of the Church was recognised, because it became apparent in the discussions that this unity is a matter of faith on which no compromise is possible. On this basis, the discussions ex-

amined existing divergences in the ecclesiologies of the two traditions, and then affirmed together the following points:

Both traditions converge on the belief that the Church is the gift of the Triune God, a divine creation. Both affirm that the divine foundation of the Church is Jesus Christ, in accordance with God's eternal, free and gracious will and desire to have communion with God's people and to bring them into communion with God. They understand this *koinonia* as based upon and as being an expression of the *Koinonia* which is in the Triune God.

Both traditions affirm that in creation and in the history of salvation God the Holy Trinity has acted graciously in establishing this *koinonia*, God's holy Church. They acknowledge that in the fullness of time in the birth and human life of God's eternal Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, God acted decisively in fulfilling in a consummating way the divine will for all creation. The advent of Christ marks the full manifestation and establishment of the Church.

Given this divine action in Jesus Christ, both traditions recognise that the Church towers above any merely historical, human institution. The Orthodox express this by speaking of the Church as supreme Mystery and by stressing the sacramental character of the Church, which includes both the divine and the human dimensions. The Reformed express this in their distinction between the Church invisible and visible, and hold together an ecclesiology "from above" and "from below," reflecting the two natures of Christ.

Both traditions agree on the basis of the teaching of the Bible and the Fathers that the Church could in no way be divided from Jesus Christ, and that her true being lies in the fact that she is his Body. That the Church is the Body of Christ is fundamental to both ecclesiologies, although this is understood differently. The Orthodox tend to understand this primarily in sacramental terms, but they also refer to the Apostolic foundation and the uninterrupted sacred history of the Church. The Reformed

emphasise the true preaching of the Gospel and the right celebration of the dominical sacraments, believing that where this occurs, there the Body of Christ is manifested.

Both distinguish between the undivided Body of Christ and the believers who are incorporated into it through baptism. The neglect or sinfulness of the believers does not threaten the reality and integrity of the Body of Christ, but puts the believers' relationship to it at risk. This means that through their divisions Christians stand under the danger of being separated from the Body of Christ which is the Church.

Given that incorporation of the believers into the Body of Christ takes place through Baptism both sides explored the possibility of using Baptism as a starting point for moving towards convergence in ecclesiology and eventually church unity. Nevertheless it became clear that Baptism is not understood or practised in the same way by the two traditions. Therefore both traditions recognise that they need to explore further the meaning of Baptism and its relation to the Church as the Body of Christ. It was suggested by both sides that the next session should be devoted to the crucial issue of Church and sacraments.

SIXTH OFFICIAL THEOLOGICAL CONSULTATION
BETWEEN REFORMED AND ORTHODOX CHURCHES
Zakynthos (Greece), June 16-21, 1998

List of Participants

Orthodox Participants

Ecumenical Patriarchate (also representing the Patriarchate of Antioch)

Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyroloë and Serention, *Co-chairman*
V. Rev. Dr. George Dragas

Patriarchate of Alexandria
Dr. Christos Oikonomou

Patriarchate of Moscow
V. Rev. Dr. Hilarion Alfeyev

Patriarchate of Serbia
Dr. Nenad Milosevic

Patriarchate of Romania
Rev. Dr. Aurel Jivi

Church of Cyprus
Metropolitan Chrystanthos of Limassol
Mr. George Lambrianides

Church of Greece
Prof. Christos Voulgaris

Prof. Vlassios Phidas

Church of Poland

Rev. Prof. Abbot Varsanofios Doroszkiewicz

Church of Czechia and Slovakia

Rev. Dr. Peter Novák

Church of Finland

Rev. Protodeacon Kallinen Kimmo

Secretariat to the Orthodox Co-Chairman

V. Rev. Archim. Gerasimos Makris

Subdeacon Jose Valerio Lopes dos Santos Junior

Reformed Participants

Rev. Dr. Karel Blei, *Co-chairman*

BA Haarlem, Netherlands

Rev. Dr. Habib Badr

The Near East School of Theology, Beirut, Lebanon

Rev. Dr. C. S. Calian

Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, U.S.A.

Dr. Dawn de Vries

Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, USA

Rev. Dr. Iain Torrance

Department of Theology, Aberdeen University, Scotland

Dr. Vibila Vuadi

Université Protestante au Congo, Kinshasa, Congo

Prof. Dr. Michael Weinrich

Paderborn, Germany

World Alliance of Reformed Churches

Rev. Dr. H.S. Wilson, *Secretary*

Letters

To: His All-Holiness
The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople
Bartholomew

We are deeply grateful for Your message and blessing on the occasion of the 6th meeting of the mixed Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches which is taking place in the Metropolis of Zakynthos. We are pleased to report that we have explored the theme "Membership of the Body of Christ" and have produced an Agreed Statement, which will be submitted to You.

Asking for your patriarchal blessings, we remain yours with filial love and deepest respect,

Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyrolöë and Serention
Orthodox Co-Chairman

Rev. Dr. Karel Blei
Reformed Co-Chairman

Communiqué

The Joint Commission of the Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches held its sixth meeting from 16 to 21 June in Zakynthos, Greece. The meeting was hosted by His Eminence Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Zakynthos and was co-moderated by His Eminence Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos, representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the Rev. Dr. Karel Blei, representing the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

At Its opening session the Joint Commission received greetings from His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomaïos, and from the Reverend Prof. Dr. C.S. Song, President, and Prof. Dr. M. Opocensky, General Secretary of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. The delegates, coming from Alexandria, Dem. Rep. of Congo, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Finland, Lebanon, The Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Scotland, Switzerland and the USA were greeted by the Mayor of Zakynthos Mr. Photios Ladikos and the Prefect Mr. Ioannis Tourikis. They were also greeted at a formal reception given by His Eminence Chrysostomos, Metropolitan of Zakynthos.

The main theme of the meeting was "Membership of the Body of Christ" in the context of the respective article of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and in the light of the Patristic tradition of the ancient Church. This theme was addressed in papers on three subdivisions of the main theme, presented by both Orthodox and Reformed delegates: 1a. The Body of Christ, 1b. Becoming the Member of the Body of Christ, 2a. Word, Catechesis and Confession of Faith, 2b. Sacraments of Initiation, 3a. The Body of Christ and the Church, 3b. The Church and the Churches.

After intensive discussion of the papers, delegates produced an agreed summary statement on this theme, highlighting both differences and common ground.

It was agreed that the next meeting should continue the discussion on ecclesiology with specific reference to Baptism and the apostolicity of the Church.

Agreed Working Statement

THE CHURCH AS THE BODY OF CHRIST

The Church is founded in the mystery of the one God, the Holy Trinity. In its primary and wider sense the Church manifests the communion and union of the uncreated God with the created world.

In the biblical and patristic tradition the Church, rooted in the eternal counsel of God, was first manifested in the communion between God and the invisible world of the holy angels which was created first. The fall of Satan and his angels did not prevail against this first Church.

The first manifestation of the Church was expanded to include the visible creation in and through humanity. This manifestation of the Church in the visible creation is primarily connected with the Garden of Eden in which Adam and Eve, the ancestors of all humanity, were originally placed.

This visible manifestation of the mystery of the Church was disrupted by the fall of the first ancestors of humanity which led to humanity's subjection to Satan and to sin through corruption and death. Such a disruption did not incur the total loss of the visible manifestation of the Church. This is the Church of the old covenant, revealed in the history of God's people Israel, which was finally fulfilled and given to the whole of humanity through Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son and Word of God.

THE BODY OF CHRIST

The Body of Christ is the perfect human nature which the Son and Word of God, assumed from the Virgin Mary in order to fulfill the old covenant and restore humanity's true relation with God its Creator. In Christ the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily. As such the

Body of Christ is the most tangible, visible and focused manifestation of the Church.

In the first instance Body of Christ is the single, or particular human nature which the Son and Word of God took from the Virgin Mary and united to himself personally or "hypostatically." Christ's humanity is the first-fruits of the restoration and renewal of the image of the Church in the visible creation and throughout the cosmos.

In the second instance the Body of Christ includes the whole of human nature, inasmuch as Christ is the second and last Adam, who recapitulates in himself the first Adam and with him all humanity. The Son of God assumed the whole of human nature when he became man, and he lived, died, rose again, ascended into glory and sits at the right hand of the Father for the salvation of the whole of humanity.

Christ loved the Church and gave himself for it, but he remains the Lord of the Church. Christ's place as Head of the Church indicates that neither can the Church be body without Christ as its head, nor can Christ now be head without the Church, since he has become incarnate, and irrevocably bound himself to his human nature. Being engrafted into the human nature of the incarnate Son, the Church realises the *koinonia* between the Triune God and humanity achieved in the incarnation, and as a community of love is active in showing God's love to the world, in reaching out to the poor and the oppressed, the sick and the dispossessed. The Church reaches out to the whole creation, which is thus recreated by joining it. The Church is God's new creation, because in it all things are recapitulated in Christ (Eph 1.10).

The Body of Christ in its particularity was visibly manifested in history and was linked with particular human beings, Christ's holy mother, the Theotokos, the holy Apostles and the apostolic community which gathered around them. This means that the Church founded upon Christ has a concrete, visible and historical form, the apostolic community. This community was expanded at Pentecost and from Jerusalem it spread to other places. As a historic community it was given a historic mission, to preach the good news of the Gospel and to receive into membership of the One Body of Christ, the Church, all those who received the good news of the Gospel.

The most distinctive mark of this community was that Christ was their basis, their life, their head. They were united with him and were

fed and sustained by him. Their union and communion with Christ was centered on the celebration of and participation in the sacrament of the Eucharist. It meant that as members of the Church they were members of his Body.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE BODY OF CHRIST

Those who receive the Gospel and freely believe in it, through baptism are incorporated into the Church which is the Body of Christ. They are engrafted into Christ, put on Christ, are regenerated in Christ, so that in him they may be restored to their true nature and fulfilled in the Church. What Christ has done objectively for all in and through his humanity is now appropriated by those who believe and freely submit to him as their Lord and Savior. Baptism is the great sacrament of entry into the Body of Christ, it is Christ's gracious gift to all human beings; it is a gift to be freely accepted and appropriated by each human being.

BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

The present volume, authored by Protopresbyter George Poulos, an alumnus of the School (class of 1948), describes the history of this institution during its first decade (1937-1947), the golden age, when this was located in the little town Pomfret in the state of Connecticut, USA.

The first attempt at the operation of such a school, under the name of St. Athanasius, was made during the residence in America of Archbishop Meletios (Metaxakis) of Athens, later Ecumenical Patriarch (1921-1923), and of Bishop Alexander, later Archbishop of America (1922-1930). This school survived only for two years (1921-1923) on account of difficulties.

Archbishop Athenagoras of America (1930-1948), later Patriarch of Constantinople (1948-1972), made a second attempt in 1937 with the foundation of the school in Pomfret Center, Connecticut. It was called Preparatory Theological School and had a two-year program. The alumni of this school were to continue their theological studies in the Theological School of Halki or the University of Athens, wherefrom they returned to America on completion of their studies to serve the Church as priests. The first director (*Scholarches*) was Athenagoras Cavadas (1937-1949), who died as Archbishop of Thyateira (1951-1962), with a group of fellow professors. However, the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945) forced the Archdiocese and the Trustees to extend the two-year program of the School to a five-year course with a full theological program. Thus, on May 31, 1942, the first alumni of the School received their theological diplomas.

The book consists of a prologue, an introduction, seventeen chapters and an epilogue. The first thirteen chapters, apart from some texts they contain (ch. 11, pp. 123-130), have been composed by the author, while the following chapters 14-17 by other professors and alumni of the School, including the author (pp. 135-315).

There is a rich collection of photographs with localities, events and persons, which, however, have not been numbered in the index. This volume contains all the elements needed for the history of a theological school: the name, the place, context, buildings of every kind, causes or reasons for its foundation, the sacred Archdiocese of America, the Trustees, other bodies, benefactors, the program of courses, the body of professors, the staff, doctors, nurses, pharmacists, place of worship, spiritual life, divine sermons, choir, library, athletic life, etc.

The theological school of the sacred Archdiocese of America has strong ties with and a great debt to the sacred Theological School of Halki (pp. 6ff, 32ff, 38, 44, 56, 93-95, 110, 113-114, 133-134, 172-175, 218-223, 239-242, 271, 308, 326). It also has strong ties with the Theological School of the University of Athens (pp. 56, 218-223, 239-242), and later with the University of Thessaloniki (1942, 1945ff).

There is a typographical error. Fr. Vasilios Efthimiou, professor of the School (a graduate of Halki in 1906) was not a classmate of Athenagoras (Spyrou) of Constantinople (a graduate of Halki in 1910), as it can be ascertained from my book *The Sacred Theological School of Halki*, 2nd ed., Thessaloniki, 1988, pp. 277, 281.

Further bibliographical material for the theological school of the sacred Archdiocese of America can be found in my works: *Orthodox Theological Education for the Life and Witness of the Church*, Athens, 1980, off-print from *Theologia*; *Orthodoxy in America*, Athens, 1981; *The Sacred Theological School of Halki*, as above, pp. 631-659 (Bibliography); *The Sacred Theological School of Halki: A Brief Review*, Ecumenical Patriarchate, 1994, pp. 61-70 (Bibliography); *Publications: A Forty-year Period (1951-1990)*, nos. 1-605, Thessaloniki, 1996. See also Makarios (Tillyrides) of Zimbabwe, "From the History of Hellenism in America: Pages from the Foundation of the First Orthodox Theological School of St. Athanasius in New York," *Theologia* 68 (1997) 664-696.

The following authors may also be consulted for further details concerning the history of the school: Phokas Angelatos, Nomikos Michael Vaporis, Miltiades Efthimiou, George A. Christopoulos, George Eliopoulos, Athenagoras Cavadas of Thyateira, Athenagoras Kokkinakis of Thyateira, George A. Kourvertaris, Demetrios I. Constantelos, Athanasia Papademetriou, J. Papson, George Poulos, Constance Tarasar, P.A. Chamberas, George Tsoumas, Demetrios Frangos, Stanley S. Harakas.

The author (1948) is full of enthusiasm and gives a lyric tone to his book. The same applies to most of his collaborators in this volume. Fr. George Poulos should, for technical and practical reasons, produce a briefer and more comprehensive historical edition of this work.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *A Chronicle of Hellenic College/Holy Cross, Greek Orthodox School of Theology*, Brookline Mass, Holy Cross Orthodox Press 1988, pp. i-xviii, 1-311, plus photographs.

This volume marks the 50th anniversary of the Foundation of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology (1937-1987). It comprises 50 chapters which cover the first 50 years of its operation and supply information on the professors who taught at the School on a full time or part time basis (pp. 213-220), the alumni (pp. 221-305) and the honorees (pp. 306-311).

The author, who was born in the island of Kalymnos in Greece (1926), but grew up in the USA, died in 1997. He had been an alumnus of this School and, subsequently, Professor of Church History, Dean of Hellenic College, Director of the Holy Cross Orthodox Press and Editor of the Greek Orthodox Theological Review (1972-1995). In composing this *Chronicle* he based himself on the notes of Fr. George Tsoumas, of eternal memory, who was a Professor of the School, and Fr. George A. Karahalios, also a Professor at the same institution, as well as on material which he himself had gathered.

The book is not a full "historical account" but rather a "chronicle," which underlines the important events of the first 50 years of the School's existence, and serves as a basic resource for the composition of a full account of its history. These events begin with the foundation of the Preparatory Theological School (1937) by Archbishop Athenagoras of America (1930-1948) at Pomfret Connecticut, and continue with the following: the development of a complete Theological School during the period of the Second World War (1939-1945); the relocation of the School in Brookline/Boston Mass; the recognition of the School by the education authorities of the State of Massachusetts (1954) during the Archiepiscopal career of Archbishop Michael of America (1949-1958); and, finally, the development of Hellenic College (1968) with two Faculties, that of the College and that of the Graduate Greek Orthodox School of Theology of Holy Cross during the Archiepiscopal career of Archbishop Iakovos of America (1959-1996). Other subsequent events include: the membership of the School of Theology in the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) of America (1974) and in the Boston Theological Institute (BTI) which comprises nine Theological Schools in the Boston area; the recognition of the School by the Greek State, the Ecumeni-

cal Patriarchate and the Theological Schools of the Universities of Athens and Thessaloniki; and the ten year accreditation extended to the School by the American authorities NEASC and ATS (1983-2002).

Apart from the above events, which mark the major stages in the development of the history of the School, the 50 chapters of this book further supply information on: the location and the buildings of the School, the classrooms, the library, the place of worship, the gymnasium, the dinning facilities, the residential quarters for students and medical facilities, the daily program with the classes taught, the regulations pertaining to its relation to the Archdiocese, the Trustees, and benefactors, the administration, the professors, the students, the alumni and other associations, the spiritual life and practice of confession and preaching, the choir, the scholarships, the conferences, the pilgrimages to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and to Greece, the honors bestowed on distinguished personalities, etc. The only obvious oversight here is connected with Archimandrite Ezekiel (Tsoukalas) who was Dean and Professor at the School. He appears on page 34 (year 1950-1951) as Bishop, and this is right, because on August 31, 1950, he was elected Bishop of Nazianzus by the Ecumenical Patriarchate (cf. Stavrides, *Ecumenical Patriarchate: The Sacred Archdiocese of Australia*, Thessaloniki 1994, pp. 142-143). However, he reappears on pp. 37ff as an Archimandrite, which is incorrect.

The book is quite rich in biographical and photographic material. It notes events that occur for the first time in the School's history (pp. 39, 73, 87, 98, 101-102, 109, 112, 117, 121, 137, 175) and clearly underscores the strong ties between this School and the Sacred Theological School of Halki. The precise meaning and significance of this last point can be seen in the following three publications: 1) Estias Apophoiton Halkes, *O Ieros Photios*, Nesos Erateine, New York 1986 (in Greek), 2) Demetrios Tsoumas, "The contribution of the Alumni of the Theological School of Halki to the Homogeneia of America," *Epeteris Estias Theologon Halkes*, pp. 181-192. 3) Georgios Tsoumas, "The Theological School of the Holy Cross in Boston USA, and the Alumni of Halki," *ibid.*, Athens 1980, 193-201. The last author points out the fact that "the many and distinguished alumni of Halki, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and lay people, who served at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, demonstrate that this School is a daughter School of the Theological School of Halki" (*op. cit.* p. 201). It must be also pointed out, however, that the School's ties are further extended to the Theological Schools of Athens and Thessaloniki which also contributed to its history and formation.

Periodical Reviews

A SURVEY OF THE CONTENTS OF GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL JOURNALS

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

EDITOR'S NOTE

My predecessor Fr. Stanley Harakas (Editor during 1995-1998) had the excellent idea of introducing the section of "Periodical Reviews," offering a selection of Greek Orthodox Theological Periodical Publications which are written mainly in Greek and are not readily available to English speaking readers in the USA. Thus, he supplied the original Greek table of contents with English translations of the following periodicals: 1) ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΙΑ= ORTHODOXIA (published in Thessaloniki for the Ecumenical Patriarchate) vol. 2: 1, 2, 3, 4 (1995) and vol. 3: 1, 2 (1996) [Please note that, due to oversight, 2:4 is actually called 2:3 in GOTR 41:4]. 2) ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ= THEOLOGIA (published in Athens for the Church of Greece) vol. 66: 1, 2, 3, 4 (1995), vol. 67: 1-2 (1996) [Please note that, due to an oversight, vol. 67:1-2 (1996) is actually 68:1-2 (1997). This oversight is rectified in the present volume]. 3) ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ Ο ΠΑΛΑΜΑΣ=GREGORIOS O PALAMAS (published in Thessaloniki for the Metropolis of Thessaloniki) vol. 78: 756, 757, 758, 759, 760 (1995), vol. 79:761, 762 (1996). 4) ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΚΗΡΥΚΑΣ=EKKLESIASTIKOS KERYKAS (published in Larnaka, Cyprus, for the Metropolis of Kition) vol. 1 (1989), vol. 2 (1990), vol. 3 (1991), vol. 4 (1992).

In the present volume of the GOTR we will update the reviews of the above mentioned periodicals and also add the following: ΚΑΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ=KLERONOMIA (published in Thessaloniki for the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies of the Ecumenical Patriarchate), ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΦΑΡΟΣ=EKKLESIASTIKOS PHAROS and ΠΑΝΤΑΙΝΟΣ =PANTAINOS (Published by the Patriarchate of Alexandria, NEA SION (published by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem),

ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΣ=APOSTOLOS VARNAVAS (published in Nicosia, Cyprus, by the Archdiocese of Cyprus), ΣΥΝΑΞΗ=SYNAXIS (published in Athens by Orthodox Theologians). We shall only provide the English translation of the Contents for practical reasons. Readers who are interested in any of these articles could apply for photocopies to our Library here at Hellenic College Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, which is stocked with all of them.

ORTHODOXIA Vol. 3, Issue 3, July-September, (1996)

(A quarterly publication of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople)

PART I, MAIN ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS:

1) The demise of His Beatitude the Patriarch of Alexandria PARTHENIOS (23 July 1996), pp. 299-301 [It includes the Message of Patriarch Bartholomew to the Locum Tenens of Alexandria, Metropolitan Paulos of Ioannoupolis].

2) His All-Holiness the PATRIARCH, Honorary Doctor of the University of Edinburgh, pp. 302-303.

3) SYNAXIS of the Hierarchy of the Throne [It includes the Patriarchal Letter of Invitation, the Introductory Speech of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, the Response Speech by His Eminence the Geron Metropolitan Joachim of Chalcedon, the Address of His Eminence Metropolitan Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain and Ardamerion, the Closing Address of His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, and the Greetings of His Eminence the Geron Metropolitan Joachim of Chalcedon], pp. 304-334.

4) Canonical Acts:

a) Hierarchical elections [It includes a Press Release on the election of the Archbishop of America SPYRIDON (Papageorgiou), his Biographical Resume, the Laudatory Address of the Patriarch to the new Archbishop, the Response of the new Archbishop to the Ecumenical Patriarch;

b) Promotion of new Metropolitans, SOTERIOS of Toronto, GENNADIOS of Buenos Aires [It includes the Patriarchal and Synodal Tome of the Foundation of the Sacred Metropolis of Toronto, pp. 335-344.

5) Official Patriarchal Press Releases and Messages:

a) On the bombs placed in Atlanta (in English), pp. 345f.

b) On the Day of the Protection of the Environment (1 September 1996), pp. 346-349.

PART II, STUDIES AND REVIEWS:

George Dion DRAGAS, "Problems of Education in Modern Society: From a Christian Perspective" [A Lecture delivered at the 7th Moslem-Christian Dialogue, Amman Jordan July 1996 (in English)], 353-359.

Adamantios AUGOUSTIDES, "The Importance of the Church's Contribution to preventive psychiatry," [A Lecture delivered at the World Congress

of the World Federation for Mental Health: Dublin Ireland 17th August 1995 (in English)], pp. 360-366.

Hieromonk NEKTARIOS Stavroniketianos, "The Spiritual Treasures of the *Gerontikon* and the contemporary World," pp. 367-374.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, "The Church of the Dodecanese and the Sacred Theological School of Halki," pp. 375-406.

REVIEWS:

F. N. NIKETOPOULOS, Review of the *History of the Monastery of the Taxiarchs of Epidauros*, by Georgios Ath. Choras, Ekdosis Ieras Mones Pammegiston Taxiarchon of Epidauros, Athens 1991, 383p, pp. 407-410.

Nik. Lyk. FOROPOULOS, Review of the *Academic Presence of the Association (Estia) of the Theologians of Halki*, vol. iii, One Hundredth Anniversary of the Sacred Theological School of Halki (1844-1994), Athens 1994, xviii+845p, pp. 411-418.

PART III, ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLES:

1). The Ecological Seminar at the Sacred Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Halki, pp. 421-423.

2). The Youth of the City visit the Patriarch, p. 422.

3) The Ordinations of the Three Metropolitans of the Most Holy Church of Albania who had been elected four years ago [It includes the Salutatory Addresses of the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew on the occasions of the ordinations of the following Hierarchs: His Eminence Alexander Metropolitan of Argyrokastron, His Eminence Ignatius Metropolitan of Beration, Aulon and Kanine, and His Eminence Christodoulos Metropolitan of Korytsa. It also includes an Announcement on the Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania: Kisha Orthodhokse Autoqefale te Shqiperise], pp. 424-434.

4) His All-Holiness the Patriarch at the Paidopolis at the Prote Island, p. 434.

5) Official Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to Esthonia, p. 435.

6) Unofficial visit of His Beatitude Patriarch Ignatius of Antioch to the City, p. 435.

7) His All-Holiness the Patriarch at the Consecration of the Chapel of the General Consulate of Greece in the City (Istanbul), p. 436.

8) The ordination to the High Priesthood of the Bishop of Synadai [It includes the Salutatory Address of His Eminence Metropolitan Constantinos of Derkoi at the Ordination Service and the Address of Bishop Dionysios of Synadai who is to be assistant to the Patriarch], pp. 436-441.

9) A Response of Thanks of the Prime-Minister of Turkey Mr. Nicmettin Erbakan to the wishes of His All-Holiness on the occasion of his undertaking responsibilities as Prime-Minister, p. 442.

10) Messages of Sympathy and Solidarity on the occasion of the attempt

of bombing the Patriarchal House and Responses to them [It includes Messages from Patriarch Alexios of Moscow, Patriarch Teoktist of Romania, Cardinal Idris Cassidy of the Pontificium Concilium ad Christianorum Unitatem Fovendam, Dr Konrad Reiser, General Secretary of the WCC (to the Patriarch and to the Prime Minister of Turkey), Jean Fischer General Secretary of the European Council of Churches, pp. 442-448.

11) Official Representations of His All-Holiness on various occasions [It includes a list of the Hierarchs appointed as Patriarchal Envoys and relevant Patriarchal Addresses], pp. 448-453.

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(A quarterly publication of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople)

PATRIARCHAL MESSAGE FOR CHRISTMAS 1996, pp. 463-465.

PART I, MAIN ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS:

1) The completion of five glorious years of service as Patriarch of His All-Holiness [It includes a Salutory Address by His Eminence Chrysostomos Geron Metropolitan of Ephesus, pp. 468-472.

2) Official Visitations of His All-Holiness:

a) To the Church of Bulgaria on the completion of 1050 years from the falling asleep of St. John of Rila, pp. 473f.

b) To the Far East, Australia and New Zealand, pp. 474-477.

3) Canonical Acts: Elections of Hierarchs [Metropolitan Silas of Saranta Ekklesiai, Metropolitan Athenagoras of Panama, Metropolitan Niketas of Honk-Kong, Bishop Iakovos of Assos, Assistant to Metropolitan Gennadios of Buenos Aires], p. 478.

4) Official Patriarchal Message to the 19th Youth Congress at Stuttgart, pp. 479-480.

PART II, ARTICLES, STUDIES, REVIEWS:

Christmas Eve in Constantinople, pp. 483-485.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, "Episcopal Lists according to the Codices of the Memoranda of the Archives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate" [It includes: 1) A treatise on the Archivist of the Ecumenical Patriarchate Aimilianos Tsakopoulos of Miletos (1915-1985) who published a similar list covering the years 1801-1963 (cf. *Orthodoxia*, vol. 31, 1956, pp. 417ff to vol. 38, 1963, p. 86), as an Introduction to Stavrides' work which follows on from 1963 to 1995. 2) Other Authors who worked on Episcopal Lists. 3) The present Work of Prof. Stavrides. 4) Examples worthy of special notification: 1. The Carpatho-Russians of America; 2. The Archdiocese of the Orthodox Russian Provinces which are under the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the Sacred Metropolitanate of France; 3. The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Northern and Southern America; 4. The case of Methodios Fouyas of Thyateira and Great Britain who transferred from the Patriarchate of

Alexandria to the Patriarchate of Constantinople; 5. The Orthodox Church of Finland, the Orthodox Church of Albania; 6. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA and the Diaspora. 5) The Episcopal Lists: a) for the years 1963-1972 under Patriarch Athenagoras, b) for the years 1972-1991 under Patriarch Demetrios, c) for the years 1991-1995 under Patriarch Bartholomaios. 6) Indices: a) According to Patriarchs and b) According to Eparchies], pp. 487-616.

Metropolitan IERONYMOS of Rodopolis, Review of *Spiritual Triptych (A Collection of Articles and Homilies published in various periodicals and newspapers)*, by Metropolitan Symeon of Prinkeponnesoi, Athens 1994, 300p (in Greek), pp. 617f.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, Review of *Academic Presence of the Association (Estia) of the Theologians of Halki*, vol. iii, 150th anniversary of the Sacred Theological School of Halki (1844-1994), Athens 1994, 845p (in Greek), pp. 618-627.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, Review of *The Patriarchs of the Christian Nation, from the Fall of the City (Constantinople) to the Present*, by George Valsames, A publication of the Sacred Metropolis of Demetrias, Volos 1995, 251p (in Greek), pp. 627-630.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, Review of *The Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate*, by K. Sp. Staikos, Athens 1994 34p (in English), pp. 630-631.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, Review of *Istanbul'da Osmanlı Donemi Rum Kiliseleri (The Roman Churches in Istanbul during the Ottoman Period)*, by Zafer Karaca, Istanbul 1995, 360p (in Turkish), pp. 631-634.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, Review of *Fener Patrikhanesi (The Patriarchate of the Phanar)*, by Yorgo Benlisoy – Elçin Macar, Ayraç Basımevi, Ankara 1996, 174p (in Turkish), pp. 634-637.

PART III, ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLES:

1) His Excellency the Deputy Minister of External Affairs of Greece (George A. Papandreou) at the Patriarchates, p. 641

2) The Feast of the Foundation of the Throne of the Holy and Great Church of Christ [It includes the Address of His Eminence Metropolitan Meliton of Philadelphia, the Salutatory Address of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew to the Delegation of the Church of Rome, the Greetings of His Eminence Cardinal Edward Idris Cassidy, The Message of Pope John Paul II to the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew], pp. 641-658.

3) The Celebration of the Memory of Saint Nicholas at Myra in Lycia, pp. 658f.

4) The Visitation of the Delegation from the Holy Mountain [It includes the Salutatory Speech of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew to the Hagiorite Fathers and the Governors and Deputy Gov-

ernor of the Holy Mountain], pp. 659-665.

5) The Ordination to the High-Priesthood of the Metropolitan of Hong Kong Niketas (Loulias) [It includes the Salutatory Address of Metropolitan Constantinos of Derkoi, the Salutatory Address of Metropolitan Niketas and the Homily of His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew], pp. 665-672.

6) The Baptism of the Princess Maria-Olympia at the Patriarchates, pp. 672-673.

7) The Youth of the City (of Istanbul) visit the Patriarch, p. 673.

8) Official Representatives of His All-Holiness [It includes: 1. His All-Holiness' Message to Metropolitan Ieronymos of Thebai and Levadeia on the occasion of the Academic Symposium concerning the Sacred Monastery of Hosios Loukas. 2. The Salutatory Address of Metropolitan Michael of Austria, Representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch, at the enthronement of Metropolitan Gennadios of Italy. 3. The Enthronement Speech of Metropolitan Gennadios of Italy], pp. 674-688.

9) Conferral of "Officia" by His All-Holiness, p. 688.

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PART I, MAIN ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS:

1. The Election and Enthronement of His Beatitude the new Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria [It includes the Letter of Announcement, The Response of His All-Holiness, The Irenic Epistle His Beatitude and The Response of His All-Holiness], pp. 11-16.

2. Patriarchal Exarchia to the Holy Mountain, pp. 17-19.

3. Canonical Actions: Deposition of a clergyman, p. 20.

4. Official Patriarchal Letters, Press Releases and Messages:

a) To the Winners of the Olympics Games (Stadium of Peace and Friendship), pp. 21f.

b) Announcement on the "Panhellenic Historical and Philosophical Society" of Takis Alexiou, p. 22.

c) Catechetical Oration on the Commencement of the Holy and Great Lent by His All-Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew, pp. 23-25.

PART II, STUDIES – REVIEWS:

Metropolitan AIMILIANOS of Selybria, "Before the 3rd Millennium," pp. 29-73.

Metropolitan ATHANASIOS of Helioupolis and Theira, "On the notion, the character and purpose of Dialogue in general and of the Theological One in particular," pp. 74-82.

Metropolitan PANTELEIMON of Tyrolae and Serention, "Fifth Meeting of the Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Reformed (9-15 June 1996, Aberdeen, Scotland)," pp. 83-86.

Archimandrite Andreas NANAKIS, "Two Encyclicals (1898) of Dionysios of Rethymne for the Peaceful Co-existence of Christians and Moslems in Crete," pp. 87-100.

Prof. Ioannis M. FOUNDOULIS, "Liturgical Difficulties in a Common Ecumenical Vision: The case of Orthodox and Ante-Chalcedonians," pp. 101-108.

Metropolitan EUANGELOS of Perga, Review Article of *Seals of Constantinople (Parishes of the Most Holy Archdiocese)*, by Akylas Meellas, Athens 1966, pp. 109-112.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, "Bibliographical and Biographical Article on Parthenios III (Koinides) of Alexandria (1987-1996)," pp. 113-120.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDES, Review of the *Ecumenical Patriarchate, Sacred Metropolis of France, Exarchate of All Iberia, Commemorative Tome of the 100th Anniversary of the Sacred Cathedral Church of St. Stephanos of Paris*, by Alexios Chrysostales & Others, Paris 1995, 110p (in Greek and French), pp. 121-123.

ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLES:

1. New Year's Day at the Patriarchate (1997) [It includes the Salutatory Address of Metropolitan Gabriel of Koloneia to His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew," pp. 127-130.

2. The Head of Department for the Affairs of South-Eastern Europe of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USA, His Excellency Mr. C. Cabano visits the Patriarchates, p. 131.

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The Incarnation and the Holy Trinity: An Introduction to the Theme

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

1. Preamble

The Incarnation has to do with the union of God with man, in the sense that God has become human (inhominated) without ceasing to be divine and, *vice versa*, man has become divine without ceasing to be human. The inhomination of God and deification of man constitute the reality of the Incarnation. As St. Athanasius stated it in a classic way: "*He became human that we may become divine.*"¹ This reality is accomplished and fulfilled in and through our Lord Jesus Christ, God's Son and Word. It is God's Son and Word that actually became incarnate and inhominated and it is because of this that we speak of God's incarnation and inhomination.

The incarnation and/or inhomination of the Son and Word of God means that God has assumed human being and life in all its aspects and dimensions without sin. It also means that the Son of God has become in person a man, being all that we are by nature and experiencing all that we experience naturally, from birth to death and beyond death, but this was done in a way which is truly natural and sinless and therefore saving. Thus, the inhominated Son of God has fulfilled, through his incarnate life, the true destiny of humanity, its deification, which is appropriated by us, human beings, through our union and communion (*metousia* and *mimesis*) with him.

The Son's inhomination is an eschatological, i.e. final and irreversible, but also saving event, which actually involves the entire Trinity. Incarnation and Trinity are inseparable and we might say that they presuppose or reveal each other. In a real sense we cannot understand or speak about the one without the other. These two constitute a twin event as it were.

The Gospel begins with this event: *"In the beginning was the Word ... and the Word was God ...in him there was Life ... and the Word became flesh, and we have seen his glory, as of a Father's only Son, full of grace and truth... From his fullness we have all received grace upon grace;"* and it continues... *"God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him might not perish but have everlasting Life."*² God, the Word (Only Son) and Life, the divine Trinity, is the background to the Incarnation of the Word. But the Incarnate Word also incurs the revelation of the Holy Trinity, since in his glory the disciples see the divine Son and the Father and the fullness of divine grace and truth.

Other well-known expressions of this Gospel event come from St. Paul. And here again, the same connection between the divine Trinity and the Incarnation is observed: *"When the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children. And because you are children, God has sent his Spirit into your hearts crying Abba, Father;"* or *"God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself not counting their trespasses against them and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation;"* or *"Let the same mind be in you, that was in Jesus Christ, who, though he was in the form of God, he did not regard equality with God something to be claimed, but emptied himself, taking the form of the servant, and humbled himself, becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross ... Therefore God exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name, so that ... every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father."*³ In all these classic Gospel statements the Incarnation and the Trinity are intertwined in a context which is both eschatological and soteriological.

God's condescension to be with us in this eschatological and saving way through the inhomination of his Son has meant that God has fully disclosed himself to us. This full or final revelation of God entails the mystery of God's identity, the mystery of the Holy Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that we come to experience and to know this mystery as a saving event. Thus, in Jesus Christ, the inhominated God, we have been given the full disclosure of the Holy Trinity, as far as this is possible to our human capacities and limitations and as far as we are worthy to receive it.

St Athanasius stated in his *Contra Arianos* that now that Christ has come, "*Theology is perfect (complete) in the Trinity and this is the only true piety.*"⁴ In his first *Letter to Serapion* he pointed out that, "*The Lord Jesus Christ himself taught his disciples the perfection of the Holy Trinity existing undividedly in the one Godhead.*"⁵ The great Apostle Peter says in his first Catholic Epistle that in Christ we have been given "*everything we need for life and godliness through our knowledge of him who called us by his own glory and goodness... so that ... [we] may participate in the divine nature and escape the corruption in the world caused by evil desire.*"⁶

The interconnection between the inhomination of the Son of God and the mystery of the persons of the Holy Trinity needed clarification because of heretical misinterpretations. Thus the Fathers of the Church sought to provide it in their dogmatic teaching which is rooted in the apostolic tradition whose custodians they had been appointed to be. The Fathers clearly teach that it is not the Holy Trinity, nor the Godhead, but one of the persons of the Holy Trinity, the Son that *became* inhominated. In the biblical and patristic tradition it is clear that the other two persons of the Trinity, who fully share the one Godhead with the one who became inhominated, *do not personally participate* in the inhomination. The Father and the Spirit are not inhominated, although they are in fact, really involved in procuring and sustaining this event. As an Orthodox hymn puts it, "*The Father was well pleased*" and "*the Spirit collaborated.*"⁷

On the other hand, it was the *entire Godhead that was united* to manhood at the incarnation and inhomination of the Son of God. As the Apostle says, "*all the fullness of the Godhead dwells in him [in Christ] bodily.*"⁸ Since the Godhead equally exists in the three persons of the Holy Trinity, all three persons are equally connected with the incarnation, but this connection pertains to the Godhead (the divine nature) and not to the divine Persons. The crucial point here is that only the Son was personally (*hypostatically*, in patristic language) involved in the incarnation by *becoming himself inhominated*. Only the Son of God (*in person*) *became* man. As for the Godhead, *it did not become* inhominated, but *was united* with the manhood through the Son's inhomination. To quote St. Athanasius again, "*It was not the [divine] being (οὐσία) of the Word [the Godhead] but he himself (αὐτός) [his person] that became human,*"⁹ or as he says elsewhere, "*It was himself (ἑαυτόν) that the Word gave to condescend and be-*

come like his works."¹⁰

It is clear, then, that in the biblical and patristic tradition both the Godhead and the Trinity are involved in the Incarnation. The Godhead is involved by *being united* to the manhood. The Trinity is involved by having one of the persons (the Son) be personally (hypostatically) united with the manhood so as to *become* inhuman. The themes, then, of the Trinity and the Incarnation are clearly intertwined, but what is actually involved, always needs to be clarified by the two patristic distinctions: a) the distinction between the one *Godhead* and the *Trinity* of persons or hypostaseis, and b) the distinction between the Son of God's *becoming inhuman* in person and *assuming* true manhood naturally to himself *uniting* it with his Godhead. These distinctions are built into the patristic understanding of the interconnection between the doctrine of the Incarnation and the doctrine of the Trinity. They help to clarify, but not to explain away the mystery of the Gospel.

For the Orthodox Christians, who follow the Fathers, this twin Gospel mystery of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation or the Incarnation and the Holy Trinity is clearly stated in the Gospel and generally in the Scriptures, in the Divine Liturgy and in the Creed. Although this is not the place to give a full exposition of it as found in these three areas, it would be proper to give some indications at least as to what we mean.

2. *The witness of the Gospel and the Old Testament*

The Gospel, I mean the Book of the Gospels as arranged in the Lectionary and used in the Church's Liturgy, begins with John 1.1ff, which most clearly brings together, as we have already indicated, the Trinity and the Incarnation. It first refers to the Trinity under the names of "God," "Word," "Life" and, then, immediately proceeds to the Incarnation by means of that most solemn and most central evangelical statement; "*The Word became flesh.*"¹¹ Here the Trinity appears to be the *presupposition* to the Incarnation. In light, however, of the statement that follows — "*and we saw his glory, the glory of an Only-begotten of a Father, full of grace and truth*" — the Incarnation also seems to be the point of the *full manifestation* of the Trinity of the Father, the Only-begotten and the Spirit of grace and truth.

A little further on in the same Gospel, Trinity and Incarnation are brought together as the basis of human participation in God's life.

*"God [presumably the Father] so loved the world that he sent his Only-begotten Son that whosoever believes in him might not perish but have everlasting Life [in the Spirit]."*¹² God, the Only-begotten Son, and the Life, reveal the Trinity, but the context is the sending of the Son into the world, the Incarnation. The rest of the Gospel of St. John is a "mine," so to speak, from which the Fathers of the Church draw through their exegesis the materials for their Trinitarian and Incarnational doctrines.

St. Cyril of Alexandria, for example, in his Commentary on this Gospel, speaks extensively about the *relation of the Father to the Son*, their coexistence, co-inherence, consubstantiality and equality. He also speaks extensively about *the Son of God*, his birth from the Father and his perfect Godhead, his conception by the Holy Spirit and his true manhood, the unity of his (composite) person and generally his incarnation and its mediatory and saving meaning and significance. Similarly, there is plenty of doctrinal teaching about the Holy Spirit, his Godhead and consubstantiality, his procession from the Father and his intimate relation to and synergy with the Son. Although the Gospel of St. John is about *the Son*, St Cyril extracts from it a "complete" as it were doctrine of the Trinity, the distinction and equality of the divine Persons as well as their unity in being and act. John 14:1 "*Believe in God, believe also in me,*" seems to be at the heart of it all—a most succinct way of interpreting the interconnection between the Incarnate Son and the Holy Trinity. Here is an eloquent extract from St. Cyril, which illustrates this point:

"And this being the nature of the faith, we must further notice another point: Christ bade them believe not in God alone, but also on himself, not implying thereby that he is at all different from the one who is by nature God, I mean as regards identity of being (essence); but that to believe in God and to suppose that the province of faith must be wholly bound up in this one phrase, is rather a peculiar characteristic of the Jewish imagination, whereas the inclusion of the name of the Son within the compass of faith in God indicates the acceptance of an injunction of Gospel preaching. For those at least who are rightly minded must believe in God the Father, and not merely in the Son, but also in the fact of the Incarnation and in the Holy Spirit... I maintain therefore, that we must preserve accurately the definitions of our faith, not content with saying We believe in God, but fully explaining our confession, and attaching to each Person the

same measure of glory. For in our minds there should be no difference as to the intensity of our faith: our faith in the Father is not to be greater than our faith in the Son or even than our faith in the Holy Spirit. But one and the same are the extent and the manner of our confession, uttered in regard to each of the divine Persons with the same measure of faith; in such a way that the glory that herein again the Holy Trinity may appear in unity of nature, so that the glory that encircles It may be seen in unchallenged perfection, and our souls may display our faith in the Father and in the Son, even in his Incarnation, and in the Holy Spirit."¹³

Further on and in discussing John 14:7 (*If you had known me, you would have known my Father also*) and other verses in this context, St. Cyril makes another statement that is of direct relevance to our point of view here: "I am the Way and the Life, and the Truth; and again, No man comes to the Father but by me; thereby showing that if anyone willed to know the way which would lead to eternal life, he would strive with all diligence to know Christ. But since it was likely that some, who had been trained in Jewish rather than in Gospel doctrine, might suppose that a confession of faith in and a knowledge of One Person only out of all was sufficient for a right (orthodox) belief, and that it was needless to learn the doctrine concerning the Holy and consubstantial Trinity; Christ seems to absolutely exclude those who hold this opinion from a true knowledge concerning God, unless they would also accept himself. For it is through the Son that we must draw near to God the Father."¹⁴

This Gospel pattern of the Holy Trinity as the presupposition to the Incarnation and of the Incarnation as the manifestation of the Holy Trinity is recognized by the Church Fathers in the four-fold Gospel and in the *Apostle*, which consists of the Epistles of the Holy Apostles. To expound this we would need to survey the relevant patristic commentaries,¹⁵ but such a task goes beyond the scope of the present paper. A word or two, however, should be said about the rest of Holy Scripture, namely the Old Testament.

As regards the witness of the Old Testament to the link of these two themes we may recall here, first of all the fact that in the very beginning man was made in the image and likeness of the Trinity (*Let us make man in our image and likeness*"¹⁶) which is understood by the Fathers in terms of Christ who is the very image of God. There is a very striking passage in Tertullian's *De resurrectione*, which brings

this out in a very eloquent way in spite of a somewhat crude anthropomorphism and can serve as an illustration of patristic teaching: *"Indeed a great affair was in progress when that clay was being fashioned [into man]... Think of God as being wholly employed and devoted to it, whose lines he was determining by his hand, his eye, his labor, his judgement, his wisdom, his providence, and above all else, his love. In whatever way the clay was pressed out, he was thinking of Christ, the man who was one day to be; because the Word, too, was to be clay and flesh, as the world was then. Thus it was that the Father did say beforehand to the Son, Let us make man in our image and likeness; and God made man, that is, the creature which he fashioned, according to the image of God, of Christ, of course, he made him."*¹⁷

The belief that the entire OT bears witness typologically and often allegorically to the Incarnation of the second Person of the Trinity is a common place in OT Christian exegesis. Apostle Barnabas says, *"Moses and David and Isaiah saw the forthcoming Incarnation of the Son."*¹⁸ St. Ignatius of Antioch says that, *"The prophets lived according to Jesus Christ ... for they were his disciples in the Spirit ... and looked forward to him as their Teacher."*¹⁹ ... *"They too have announced the Gospel, which is the flesh of Jesus [the Incarnation] and hoped in him and awaited him."*²⁰ Justin Martyr refers to the OT prophecies in order to defend the Incarnation of the Son of God against the view that Christ was a magician. He claims for example, that *"Isaiah explicitly foretold [7.14] the Incarnation of the Son through the birth from a Virgin."*²¹ He also claims that *"in all the theophanies of God in the OT it was the Son who was in fact appearing-preparing thereby his way for the Incarnation."*²² One of the most conspicuous cases in this connection is the famous passage regarding the Wisdom of God in Proverbs 8:20ff, which is understood by the Fathers (especially in the context of the Arian controversy) in terms of the Incarnation. The post-Nicene Fathers in general, follow this line consistently. St. Cyril of Alexandria, to give an example from one who commented on most of the OT, starts his *Glaphyra* on Genesis by saying, *"that throughout the entire Scripture of Moses, the mystery of Christ is denoted in a concealed way."* His understanding of this is based on the Apostle's words: *"Christ is the end of the Law and the Prophets."*²³

In this light it is little wonder that Patristic Biblical Theology is usually summed up in the double theme of Theology (Θεολογία) and Economy (Οἰκονομία), the former referring to the Holy Trinity and the latter to the Incarnation.²⁴ From this perspective, the Incarnation was in no way an afterthought for God the Holy Trinity. Indeed the Faith of the Church has to do with the Trinity as the presupposition to the Incarnation and the Incarnation as the manifestation of and participation in the grace of the Trinity.

3. The Witness of the Creed

When we turn to the Creed we find the same pattern. The structure of the Nicene Creed, and of all the ancient baptismal creeds in general, is basically Trinitarian and Incarnational. "*We believe in One God, Father Almighty ... and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Only-begotten... who for us human beings and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate and became human... and in One Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life...*" The second article is by far the longest, precisely because it brings in the theme of the Incarnation with all its implications. It is important to observe that by starting the second article with the name *Jesus Christ* and then going on to explain that he is the Son of God who became incarnate and inhuman and suffered for our sake, the Creed has placed the theme of the Incarnation in the center of the theme of the Trinity. It does not speak of Father-Son(Christ)-Holy Spirit but of Father-Christ(Son)-Holy Spirit. This suggests both, that the Trinity is bound up with the Incarnation and that the Incarnation manifests and communicates the truth and grace of the Trinity. How do we interpret the second article of the Nicene Creed?

The second article of the Nicene Creed, which deals with Christology, follows closely the pattern of the Gospel inasmuch as it first presents Christ in terms of the eternal Son of God and then goes on to state the theme of his Incarnation. In fact we may distinguish three parts to this second article of the faith. The first part refers to the divine identity of Christ as the second person of the Trinity. The second part refers to his Incarnation, and the third, to his life as the Incarnate One, which is closely connected with the salvation of human beings and the consummation of the divine plan for the world. Each of these three parts seems to be the presupposition to the one

that follows. The Divine Person of Jesus Christ provides the ground for the Incarnation and the Incarnation, the ground for salvation. But let us look at these more closely.

First of all we are told who Jesus Christ is in relation to God (*and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God...*). He is the second person of the Holy Trinity, God's Only-begotten Son, who was born from the Father before all ages, who is homogeneous with the Father, like light from light, and, therefore, true God from true God, a natural offspring of God who is radically differentiated from God's creatures. He is consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father, i.e. *one in being and of the same being with the Father*, because he is both distinguished and united with him, inasmuch as he is born of and not made by God. The consubstantiality of the Son to the Father implies *both identity and distinction*. This is most clearly stated by St Athanasius in the East and St. Hilary in the West in their respective writings bearing the identical title *De Synodis*. These Fathers argue that if the Son is *like* the Father in being (ὅμοιος τῇ οὐσίᾳ, or ὁμοιοούσιος) and if God's being is *one*, then everyone should confess both truths by the word consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος).²⁵ In the patristic tradition which forms the particular context or *sitz-im-Leben* of this Creed, the identity implied by the term consubstantial refers to the one being (οὐσία), or the one nature (φύσις), of the Father and the Son and the distinction to their hypostases (ὑποστάσεις) or persons (πρόσωπα). The great Cappadocian theologians who both inherited and clarified Athanasius' authentic doctrine especially explain this. The radical difference of the Son from the creatures is to be seen primarily in the fact that *he is born* from the Father, whereas everything else *is made*, or *created* by the Father. Again in the tradition of Nicaea the birth of the Son, though incomprehensible, is understood to be from the very being of God the Father (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς), as contrasted to being out of nothing (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων). Here the being of the Father is both the Father's person (hypostasis) and the Father's being, i.e. the total existence (ὑπαρξις) of the Father. Being out of nothing characterizes all other things, which have been created through him. Really this first part of the second article of the Creed presents to us the divine identity of the Son as the presupposition to his Incarnation. It is he, the eternal, true and consubstantial Son of God who is the subject of the Incarnation.

The Incarnation of the divine Son is the second part of this second

article (*who for us human beings and for our salvation came down from heaven...etc.*). It involves the Son's descent from heaven, which is none other than his condescension to be with his creatures on their own level of created existence. More specifically it involves the Son's identifying himself with us through becoming incarnated and human. What is of crucial importance here is the fact that the eternal and Only-begotten Son of God is the *sole subject* of the Incarnation. It is he himself, in his person and hypostasis, who *becomes incarnated* (σαρχωθέντα) and *inhominated* (ἐνανθρωπήσαντα). The meaning of these terms has been clarified by what the Fathers have said mainly against three heresies, *Apollinarism* (4th century), *Nestorianism* (5th century), and *Eutychianism* (5th century), the first one being a sort of new docetism (new, because it does not contest the reality of the flesh of Christ as early *Docetism* does, which operates with a theological dualism, but denies its integrity—actually the reality of Christ's rational and 'mindful' soul); the second heresy being a sort of new *Ebionism* or new *Samosataeanism* (new, because it saw the Incarnation as the indwelling of a hypostatic Word in the man Jesus in contrast to a Word which was mere divine energy in a theological system of *Dynamic Monarchianism*); and the third being a sort of new *theopaschism* or *patripassianism* (new, because it accepts the integrity of the divine and the human natures before the Incarnation but confuses them afterwards).

Against Apollinaris' conception of the Incarnation as an assumption by the Son of God of mere human flesh or a soulless human body, the Fathers affirm that the Incarnation involves the assumption of complete or perfect human nature, *body and soul, reason and mind, and all that belongs to the human constitution* with the exception of sin which is παρὰ φύσιν. The true human identity of the nature which the Son assumed at his Incarnation has been particularly seen in the phrase *he was incarnated ... from the Virgin Mary* (σαρχωθέντα ἐκ... Μαρίας τὴν Παρθένου), whereas the true involvement of the eternal Son of God in the birth from the Virgin is brought out by the phrase *... from the Holy Spirit* (ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου).

Against *Nestorianism*, who taught that the Incarnation is but a *moral union* of the Son of God with a particular human being, the Fathers affirm that the Incarnation was a *natural union* of the Son of God with human nature. As they put it, it was not as if the Son of God entered into a particular man (an ordinary man called Jesus), as it

happened in the case of the prophets, but *he himself became man*. This means that in Jesus Christ we do not have a union of two persons or hypostases, one divine and one human, but an *hypostatic* or *personal union* of the Godhead and the manhood, i.e. an union of the two natures in the one person and hypostasis of the Son of God. This is what St Cyril of Alexandria meant when he spoke of an *hypostatic union* (ὑποστατική ἔνωσις) or *one nature of God the Word incarnate* (μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη), identifying here nature with hypostasis and person.

It is this same point that Leontios of Byzantium made in his doctrine of the *enhypostasia*, which was intended to stress the one divine person of Christ as the basis of the ontological completion of the human nature, which he assumed. In other words the human nature of Christ is not *anhypostatic* (ἀνυπόστατος) because it is *enhypostatic* (ἐνυπόστατος) in the divine hypostasis of the Son of God, which thereby has become human, while still remaining divine! This being the case, the claim of certain modern theologians that patristic Christology is *Docetic*, because it lacks human personality, is only a deceitful pretence for reintroducing *Neonestorian* heresies. Christ does not lack in human personality. It is his divine person that has also become human because he assumed human nature.

Against *Eutychianism* the Fathers affirm that the union of the infinite uncreated nature of the Godhead with the contingent created nature of the manhood, which was effected through the Incarnation/Inhomination of the Son of God, does not lead to a crashing extermination of the latter by the former. If that was the case, the whole basis of salvation would have been destroyed. The union of the divine and the human in Christ rather leads to a communication or transmission of certain properties (*idioms*) of the former to the latter which effect the latter's salvation and perfection in accordance with God's eternal plan as it becomes concretely revealed in the fullness of time. What are at stake here are the *deification* of the human nature and the reality of the exchange of properties (*communicatio idiomatum*).

Apollinarism and *Eutychianism* understood the Incarnation in a monistic way and Nestorianism in a dualistic way. By the condemnation of both *Apollinarism* and *Nestorianism* the Fathers understood the Incarnation as a unity in duality and duality in unity, *a unity of hypostasis in a duality of natures*. Thus in the Incarnation we have,

as it were, the reverse mystery to that which pertains to the Trinity. In the Incarnation, to use language from St Athanasius, St Gregory the Theologian and St Cyril, there is no ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, but ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, and εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός, i.e. not one and another person but one and another nature and one and the same person. In the Trinity, however, there is no ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, but ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, and ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό, i.e. not one and another being, but another [person] and another and another, and one being in three persons. In the Trinity, however, this understanding of Christology is most clearly stated in the *Διαλλαγαὶ* of St. Cyril of Alexandria with the Antiochians of 433 and in the Chalcedonian dogmatic statement of 451.

The Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Synods made further clarifications. The former condemned the dualism of the heretical teaching of the *three chapters*, which reopened the way to the Nestorian error, and stressed the *composite hypostasis* (ὑπόστασις σύνθετος) of Christ. The latter condemned the heresy of *monenergism* and *monotheletism*, which reopened the way to the Apollinarist mixture and the Eutychian monophysitic confusion. It stressed that in the Incarnation we have two *natural energies* and two *natural wills*, the divine and the human, and no personal energy and will which is abstract, twisted and evil. The dogmatic *Statements* (Ὅροι) of these synods are of perennial value for Orthodox Christianity and they are most eloquently formulated in the *Synodical (Dogmatic) Epistle* of St. Sophronius Patriarch of Jerusalem, which was incorporated into the minutes of this synod.

We may finally turn to the third part of the second article of the faith, which brings out the soteriological character of the Incarnation. It is very significant that at the very beginning of the second section of this second article of the Creed (the part that deals with the Incarnation of the Son of God) it is explicitly stated that all this takes place *for us and our salvation*. Both the union of the divine and human natures in the person and hypostasis of the eternal Son of God, which takes place by virtue of his descent from heaven, his incarnation (ἐνσάρκωσις) from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and his inhumanation (ἐνανθρώπησις), as well as his life culminating in the mighty acts of his Crucifixion, Suffering, Resurrection, Ascension, Sitting at the Right hand of the Father, Coming again in glory, Judgment of all people at the end of time and Reign eternal of the Son

constitute the basis of salvation.

All the above expostulations demand further consideration of the following most pertinent themes which seem to be embedded in them: i) The Incarnation as the link between creation and redemption. ii) The Incarnation and the fall, especially whether the former presupposes the latter or not. iii) The Incarnation as recapitulation of humanity, i.e. how Christ is the last Adam and especially how Christ's humanity includes the entire human race. iv) The Incarnation and eschatology, i.e. the time of the Incarnation as "fullness of time" and "completion of the ages," the "second glorious coming of Christ" and the "last judgment," and the "resurrection of the dead" and the "life of the world to come." The Church Fathers have given us ample teaching on these themes, but this is no place to attempt to expound them systematically. One thing should said here, however, that in Orthodox Patristic Theology Christology is inseparable from Soteriology, the Person and work of Christ are the two sides of the same coin, as it were, which includes anthropology and ecclesiology, cosmology and eschatology.

4. The witness of the Orthodox Liturgy

The combination of Trinitarian and Incarnational (Christological) themes constitutes perhaps the most typical feature in Eastern Orthodox liturgical practice, whether it is the daily Office, or the holy Sacraments, especially the Divine Liturgy. Perhaps its simplest expression is the gesture, which Orthodox Christians make with their fingers when they cross themselves. They join together their thumb with the index and the middle finger of the right hand while at the same time the other two fingers are joined and bent in the palm of the hand. This combination of three fingers and two fingers reminds them of the twin mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which is, made ours through Christ's redemptive work on the cross.

Different but similar in meaning is also the other quite familiar gesture of the Orthodox clergy when they confer God's blessing on the people. By joining their two fingers and leaving the other three fingers free in making the sign of the cross, Orthodox clergy bear vivid witness to the twin mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation! The three fingers signify the Trinity and the two fingers signify the unity of the divine with the human natures, i.e. the Incarnation. As

for the gesture of the cross, it signifies the act of redemption which is based on the descent and ascent of the Divine Son into the world through his incarnate economy consummated in his crucifixion and resurrection.

The same is solemnly and liturgically conveyed by the use of the *dikera* and *trikera* (one two-fold and one three-fold candlestick) by the bishops in the Divine Liturgy. The actual conferring of the blessing by the bishop is a threefold act done with the *dikera* and *trikera* held by two hands. The careful analysis of the elements of this act (what is done, how it is done over the Holy Gospel and towards the people, and what is said at the same time) fully and profoundly reveal the inner connection between the twin mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation on the one hand and of Redemption on the other.

All the Sacraments, which unite us to Christ and thereby bring us into the realm of the Incarnation, begin with a liturgical act, which brings out the Trinitarian and Incarnational basis of these sacraments. This act includes the opening Trinitarian acclamation, "*Blessed is the kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit always, now and ever and in the ages of the ages.*" This acclamation is pronounced while the priest makes the sign of the cross with the Holy Gospel (which is an Icon of Christ, God's incarnate and inhuman Son and Word) in his hands. Careful structural analysis of the liturgical ceremonies of the Orthodox Sacraments demonstrates that what is done at the beginning is also true at the center and throughout these sacred acts. All sacraments are accomplished with two basic prayers (τελεστικαὶ εὐχαί) and signify the two natures of Christ and the fact that Christ's sanctification offered to us embraces both soul and body, the inner and the outer man (St. Symeon of Thessalonica). The trisagion stands at the beginning of all offices, but at the end we have a Christological formula (*Christ our true God ... etc.*) with which the dismissal is made.

Baptism is properly and canonically performed in the name of the Trinity through a triple immersion, whereby one is joined to the Incarnate Lord and becomes member of his Body, the Church. There are lots of triadic patterns in it (e.g. the priest blows and blesses crosswise three times, there are three exorcisms, three renunciations of the devil, three proclamations of embarrassing, three acts of sealing and three acts of blowing on the water by the priest, three acts of pouring of oil, three cuttings of hair, three walks round the font) all

of which are set within a distinctly Christocentric and Incarnational context.

In the Marriage service, which typifies the union of Christ with the Church (the Incarnation), the betrothal blessings with the two rings and the marriage blessings with the two crowns, as well as the acts of exchanging these between the spouses, are threefold (Trinitarian). On the other hand there are two parts to the whole sacrament corresponding to the twin mystery of creation and redemption and to the twin relation of the Son of God to humanity in his discarnate and incarnate states. Trinitarian are also many other acts, such as the ceremonial "dance" around the table (throne) of Christ, the triple communion, the blessing of bridegroom and bride, etc. while the dismissal is distinctly Christocentric.

In the Ordination rite, which also draws its significance from Christ's union with humanity (the Incarnation), there is again a threefold ceremonial procession around the Holy Table for deacons, presbyters and bishops, and besides, three bishops are needed to consecrate a bishop. There are also two ordination or consecration prayers and a distinctive Christocentric dismissal.

Perhaps the most elaborate expression of this Trinitarian link with the Incarnation is to be seen in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy itself, which is regarded by many as the "sacrament of the sacraments."

The Divine Liturgy begins with the same solemn acclamation of the blessed Trinity, as we have noted above [*"Blessed is the kingdom...etc."*]. It then proceeds to the worship of the Trinity by means of repeated Trinitarian invocations, acts and acclamations, which are placed in a distinctly Incarnational context that unfolds the entire mystery of Jesus Christ. The Trinitarian pattern of the Divine Liturgy can be seen in its entire structure, the general pattern and the details. There are three main parts to it: the *Prothesis* or *Proskomide*, the *Liturgy of the Word* (or *Catechumens*) and the *Liturgy of the Sacrament* (or *Faithful*). In the first part we see several triadic structures, three acts of prostration, three acts of sealing, three covers, triple incensing, triple acclamations, etc. In the Liturgy of the Word, after the opening acclamation which is distinctly Trinitarian we have three Litanies, which are followed by three Antiphones or Anthems and which exhibit triadic structures and some of them even contents. The

Great Litany has twelve parts, three triads and one triad, which is a well known pattern reminding one of the divine Trinity and Unity—the same pattern is observed in the Anthems and in the Trisagion Hymn which is sung four times the last one preceded by the Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit ... The small litanies have three petitions each. All the litanies conclude with prayers which are Christological in content but have concluding acclamations which are distinctly Trinitarian. The rest of the Liturgy contains numerous triadic patterns and contents, which are not necessary to be recalled here in detail.

In the Divine Liturgy, the central act of Orthodox worship, we celebrate the whole saving economy of the Incarnate Son of God. His descent from heaven and his birth at Bethlehem is represented liturgically by the holy Prothesis. His public ministry is represented by the Liturgy of the Catechumens. His entry into Jerusalem, followed by his Last or Mystical Supper, his death, burial, resurrection and ascension, are represented by the Liturgy of the Faithful. These three parts constitute the context of the revelation of the mystery and glorification of the Triune God. Here we have the celebration or representation of the twin mystery of the faith, which rests on the two realities of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

5. By way of conclusion

This brief review of the Orthodox understanding of the relation of the Trinity to the Incarnation in light of the Gospel and the OT, the Creed and the Liturgy clearly shows that these two themes are inseparable. The Holy Trinity is the presupposition to the Incarnation and the Incarnation is the means for the revelation of the Trinity. The claim that the doctrine of the Trinity is a later doctrinal production of the intellectual reflection of faith on the data of revelation is as unthinkable for an Orthodox as the other claim that the “Christ of the faith” is different from the “Jesus of history.” This twin basis of the Orthodox faith is the heart of the Gospel, of the Church’s act of worship, of the experience of salvation and certainly of the Orthodox Creed. To put this to question on the basis of historical, or philosophical, or other epistemological considerations is to depart from the holy Tradition of the Fathers, which is rooted in their personal appropriation of this twin mystery of revelation and salvation. Far

from being open to such critical appraisals this twin mystery of the faith is for the Orthodox Church the criterion of human history, human wisdom, and human epistemology and method. To deny its axiomatic character is to fail to make an authentic entrance into the truth of Christianity, which is Christ himself and the glory of the Holy Trinity that shines on his sacred face. For the Fathers all the activity of God in creation and salvation begins with the Father, is accomplished by the Son and is completed or perfected (reaches its end) in the Holy Spirit. We may restate it here by means of short analytical statements.

Firstly, there can be no proper understanding of the Incarnation without presupposing the Father. It is the Father who initiates the Incarnation by ordaining its scope in his eternal divine counsel, which is the Word. The great Apostle Paul explicitly presents this view. *"Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places, even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. He destined us in love to be his sons through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will, to the praise of his glorious grace which he freely bestowed on us in the Beloved."*²⁶ St Athanasius explains this profoundly. He says that *"we were prefigured in him... that he was placed as our foundation taking up our economy... that we are being built upon him since he was made our foundation before the beginning of the world ... that our life was founded and prepared in Christ Jesus."*²⁷ Furthermore, the Father creates the presupposition of the Incarnation through the divine design of creation, whereby the world is created in, through and for his Son and Word. St Paul says, *"creation is through him and to him."*²⁸ As St. Athanasius explains, the one by whom God created it, namely the divine Word, is the one by whom alone creation can be regained.²⁹ Thus, it is the Father who sends the Son in the fullness of time to accomplish the Incarnation and its saving purpose.³⁰ It is also the Father who sends his Spirit to the Son and through the Son to the world to fulfill the purpose of the Incarnation.³¹ This pattern of Trinitarian action (*from the Father through the Son in the Spirit*), is seeing in the Baptism of our Lord, which marks the beginning of his public ministry, but also throughout all his actions described in the Gospel (actions which are wrought in the presence of the Father and

in the power of the Spirit), including those mighty ones at the end of his earthly life which relate to his crucifixion, resurrection and exaltation or glorification.

Secondly, the Son and Word of God is the presupposition of the Incarnation. The Son has been ordained in the eternal counsel of God to be the one to accomplish it. *"He chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. He destined us in love to be his sons through Jesus Christ according to the purpose of his will..."*³² He has been laid down as the presupposition to its accomplishment at creation. He accomplishes the Incarnation³³ and, finally, fulfills the aim of the Incarnation which is man's deification and the perfection of God's will in creation.

Thirdly, the Holy Spirit is the presupposition to the Incarnation. The Holy Spirit is well pleased along with the Father (συνευδοκεῖ τῷ Πατρὶ). The Holy Spirit collaborates (συνεργεῖ) with the Son in creation and in redemption. The Holy Spirit perfects the accomplishment of the Incarnation by the Word and Son. This is the pattern that we see, for instance, in the annunciation story. This is also the pattern of the Creed. The Spirit vivifies, i.e. applies the life which is in Christ. The Holy Spirit is the key to whole life of the Incarnate Son, as seen in the accounts of the Lord's birth, baptism, ministry, death, resurrection and ascension. The Holy Spirit is sent at Pentecost from the Father through the Son to fulfil the aims of the incarnation in the Church, in us.

Now the Trinity is not only the presupposition to the Incarnation, but also is revealed through it. The revelation of the Father by the Incarnate Son is seen not only in the way in which he prayed to God as "Father," or "his Father," but also in several explicit Gospel statements found in the lips of the Incarnate Son himself. *"He who has seen me has seen the Father,"* or *"No one has ever seen God, the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known,"* etc.³⁴ In the Gospel the Son not only reveals the Father, but it is in his name that the Spirit is sent.³⁵ Also the Son baptizes with the Holy Spirit.³⁶ Finally, the Son reveals the whole Trinity as this is seen in Baptism. Baptism is "in the Name of Christ", or "in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit." These two formulae are interchangeable because they point to the twin mystery of revelation and salvation.

Excursus

The relation of the Incarnation to the Trinity is also seen in a most distinct manner in the Lord's Prayer. According to Saint Maximus the Confessor and other Fathers the first petitions reveal both the mystery of the Trinity and the mystery of our adoption in Christ which is the result of his incarnate economy.³⁷ The *Father*, his *Name* and his *Kingdom* reveal the Trinity, while the privilege of addressing God as *our Father* is the distinctive gift of our divine *adoption* in Christ. The same can be said about the most famous of all prayers in Orthodoxy, the *Jesus Prayer* or *Prayer of the Mind* which lies at the heart of Orthodox spirituality. Through this prayer the Fathers constantly receive the grace of the Trinity which constitutes the foundation of their dogmatic teaching. For the Fathers the experience of the grace of the Holy Trinity forms their supreme criterion in maintaining the holy Tradition, which was given by the Lord Jesus Christ himself, predicted or foreshadowed by the holy prophets and preached by the holy Apostles. Because of this, it would be fitting to present here a brief statement of how this grace is experienced.

The Fathers speak of their experience of the grace of the Trinity in a variety of ways. They speak in terms of the prayer of the Spirit in the heart, or the vision of the glory of God (θεωρία), or the grace of adoption (υιοθεσία), or the gift of deification (θέωσις), or the fulfillment of the prayer of the mind (νοερά εὐχή). In this variety of presentations we can distinguish two primary aspects, one purely theological and another anthropological. The former is related to the divine energies—what God gives—, and the latter to the human activity and effort—what man achieves. Both aspects are conjoined and revealed in the risen and ascended Christ, the God-man. The humanity of the ascended Lord of glory (the Body of Christ) is absolutely crucial, because it is in and through this that the grace of the Trinity is appropriated, is realized and shines forth. It is from the Body of Christ (in the strict Christological sense) that the grace of the Trinity is transmitted to the Christians (the Body of Christ in the ecclesiological sense). This is done not only when the Christians are initiated through Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist, but continuously as they pray in secret at the altar of the mind and in the sanctuary of their heart.

God is holy and thrice holy. Man's participation in the Body of Christ reveals to him the mystery of the holiness and thrice-holiness

of God, i.e. the dogma of God's mysterious unity and Trinity. This revelation is a unique experience that could never be reduced to rational schematization. Its uniqueness rests on the fact that it is freely given by God (through his uncreated energy), and is free received by man (into his heart, spirit, mind).

Two things should be stressed concerning the Prayer of the Mind, especially when it is considered as the focus of the Christian experience of the Holy Trinity. In one sense the Prayer refers to what the Christian does in response to Christ and the Gospel, and in another sense it entails the totally gratuitous revelation of the Holy Trinity or the glory of the Trinity to the Christian.

In the first instance the Prayer of the Mind is connected with the Christian asceticism which constitutes the condition of the reception by man of God's revelation. This asceticism has a three-fold pattern corresponding to the three powers of the human soul (will, reason and mind). Evagrius spoke of the practical, the physical and the theological dimensions. Diadochos of Photice spoke of the dimensions of knowledge, wisdom and theology. The holy Neptics described these dimensions in their practical, gnostic and theological chapters. In these, as in all cases, the mind of the human soul was given a central place.

In the first instance the mind is liberated from being captive to the body and to materiality in general through desire—it does this by keeping the commandments, acquiring the virtues and combating the vices.

In the second instance the mind rises above to the contemplation of the rationality of the world—it achieves this by casting out evil thoughts and syllogisms and by realizing the theistic basis of the creatureliness of all things.

In the third instance the mind is gathered up in itself and is directed to the heavenly and divine realities beyond creation.

Through this three-fold asceticism the mind is purified, illuminated and deified by receiving the light of God's revelation. This revelation is a mystical event based on the energy of the Holy Trinity and cannot be translated into objective conceptual categories. It is also a gift of God given to the mind that prays to God in purity in the Name of Jesus Christ.

There are three ways of the Prayer of the Mind, which resemble three movements: (i) the straight one, (ii) the twisted one, and (iii)

the circular one. The former is connected with the body and its bodily senses, the second involves the syllogisms of the mind which arise from the conceptions of existing things, and the third movement is related to the mind itself and to the heart of the soul. Most of the Fathers, from Dionysius the Areopagite to Gregory Palamas, seem to prefer the third way as the most perfect and fruitful one. According to this the mind has to get rid of all corporeal and incorporeal images, to be gathered up in itself and finally to be wholly thrust upon God or God's memory. The principle, which governs this movement, is the realization that God is beyond all the sensible and intelligible things of this world and as such he can only be approached in a way of transcendence. As St. Neilos puts it, "in the time of your prayer you shall not allow yourself any shape of God nor shall you let your mind create any sort of form, but you shall be united with the immaterial God in an immaterial fashion."

Through the mind it is the entire soul that comes to be united with God in a direct manner, including, that is, mind and innate logos and will. According to St. Gregory Palamas, when the one mind takes its three-fold shape without ceasing to be one and comes into contact with the Triadic Monad then it prevents any entry of deceit into it and conquers every fleshly and worldly condition.

There are various 'techniques' as regards the way in which the integrated human mind thrusts itself upon God in order to receive the gift of his revelation. Perhaps the most famous of them all is that which bears the name 'the Jesus Prayer,' which is fully described by Nicephoros, Gregory of Thessalonica, Kallistos and Ignatios Xanthopouli, Gregory Sinaites and Nicodemos Hagiorites in the best collection of Orthodox ascetic writings, the *Philokalia* of St. Macarios of Corinth which was edited by St. Nicodemos in 1782. The same *Philokalia* contains other techniques connected with the various manners of purification (νήψεως) of the mind and the heart, all of which amount to the same experience. What, however, is particularly important for our present purposes is the Trinitarian content of this experience which is clearly and even "dogmatically" described in a number of cases. Here are some pertinent examples from St. Maximos and other Fathers of the *Philokalia*:

St. Maximos:

"When a mind is perfectly freed from the passions, then it travels straight on to the contemplation of creatures, making its way to the

knowledge of the Holy Trinity.”

“Through the doing of the commandments the mind puts off the passions; through the spiritual contemplation of the visible creation, concupiscent thoughts of things; through knowledge of the invisible creation, the contemplation of the visible; and this latter it puts off through knowledge of the Trinity.”

“The pure mind is to be found either with mere ideas of human things, or in the natural contemplation of the visible creation, or in that of the invisible, or in the light of the Holy Trinity.”

“He who anoints his mind for the sacred contests and drives bad thoughts from it has the characteristics of a deacon; of a priest, however, if he illumines it with knowledge of beings and utterly destroys counterfeit knowledge; of a bishop, finally, if he perfects it with the sacred myrrh of knowledge of the worshipful and Holy Trinity.”

“Who illumined you with the faith of the holy, consubstantial, worshipful Trinity? Or who made known to you the incarnate dispensation of one of the Holy Trinity? And who taught you about the natures of incorporeal beings and the reasons of the beginnings and consummation of the visible world? Or about the resurrection from the dead and eternal life? Or about the glory of the kingdom of the heavens and the dread judgment? Was it not the grace of Christ dwelling in you, the pledge of the Holy Spirit? What is greater than this grace?”

St. Makarios:

“The divine Trinity indwells in the soul which is in a state of purity by means of a conjunction between the soul and the divine goodness ...”

St. John Damascus:

“Thus, when the mind is liberated from the aforementioned passions and is raised up to God, it acquires the blessed life as it receives the betrothal of the Spirit; having been removed from these with impassibility and true knowledge, it presents itself to the light of the Holy Trinity, being illumined with the divine angels eternally. Also, having a three-fold soul consisting of reason, anger and appetite . . . and having the passions subjected to reason and contemplating the reasons of the creatures of God, it is led to the blessed and holy Trinity.”

St. Thalassios:

“According to the purity of the mind, the soul is given the knowledge of the divine realities ... These realities are not related to what

pertains to being, but to what is seen by the saints ... They see one essence of the Holy Trinity and they glorify three hypostaseis of the one Godhead. They perceive what is common and what is particular in the Trinity ..."

In these extracts we see clearly that the right unity of the Trinitarian structure of the soul in the mind has to be realized before the grace of the Holy Trinity reveals to it the transcendent and saving knowledge of Itself. The mind is that unifying aspect of the soul, which opens up to God and is fed with the transcendent and mystical gift of his Trinitarian revelation.³⁸

NOTES

¹ Athanasius, *De Incarnatione*, 54.

² John 1:1,16 and 3:16.

³ Galatians, 4:4-6 and 2 Cor. 5:19.

⁴ Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* i:18.

⁵ Athanasius, P.G. 26:605CD.

⁶ I Peter 1:3f.

⁷ "εὐδοκία τοῦ φύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαθῶς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος (From the third proeortion idiomelon of the Vespers of the Sunday before Christmas).

⁸ Colossians 2:9.

⁹ Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* i:11f

¹⁰ Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* ii:51. Cf. i:60, 62, ii:2,9, 11-2, 13, 45, 46, 51, 53, 67 etc. For a full study of this aspect of the Incarnation see my essay: "Inhomination, or he became man: a neglected aspect of Athanasius' Christology," in *Studia Patristica*, vol. xvi (1985) 281-293, or the same in Greek in *Theologia (Athens)*, 47 (1976) 47-70.

¹¹ John 1:14a.

¹² John 3:16.

¹³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on St. John's Gospel*, book ix, (P. E. Pusey's text vol. ii, pp. 400f, and ET vol. ii, pp. 233f).

¹⁴ Cyril of Alexandria, *op. cit.*, book ix, (P. E. Pusey's text vol. ii, pp. 411f, and ET vol. ii, pp 244f).

¹⁵ An easy way for doing this would be to look through such works as the Commentaries of P. N. Trembelas on the particular books of the NT which are also full of patristic exegesis and in this sense very useful for fulfilling such a task as the one suggested here. But for a more thorough study one could look through such formidable collections as J. A. Cramer's *Catena Patrum Graecorum in Novum Testamentum* i-viii, or J. Reuss' *Kommentares aus der griechischen Kirche* (TuU 61,89,130), H. Smith's six volumes of *Ante-Nicene exegesis of the Gospels*, London 1925 and even the patristic *Catena Aurea* on the Four Gospels of Thomas Aquinas which was translated into English and published in 8 volumes by John Henry Parker, Oxford 1841-1845. For a brilliant and detailed study of the patristic interpretation of Holy Scripture see, Ioannes Panagopoulos' *The Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the Church of the Fathers: The*

first three centuries and the Alexandrian exegetical tradition to the fifth century [in Greek], vol. 1, Akritas, Athens 1991.

¹⁶ Gen. 1:26.

¹⁷ Tertullian, *De resurrectione* 6:2.

¹⁸ *Epistle of Barnabas* 12:9.

¹⁹ Ignatius, *Epistle to the Magnesians*, 8:1.

²⁰ Ignatius, *Epistle to the Philadelphians*, 5:2.

²¹ *Ist Apology* 30, 33. Cf. also Tertullian *De Praescr. haeretic.* 9.1-3, Hippolytus *contra Noetum* 17, *Philosophoumena* 10.33, Origen *De Principiis* 1.Pref.4, 4.1.6, Eusebius *Preparatio evang.* 1.10, etc.

²² *Ibid.* 63. Cf. also *Dialogue* 11 and 100.

²³ Romans 10:4.

²⁴ See my little book *The Meaning of Theology: An Essay in Greek Patristics*, Printed at the Darlington Carmel, Darlington (England), 1980.

²⁵ Athanasius, *De Synodis*, chs. 41ff ; Hilary, *De Synodis*, chs. 72ff.

²⁶ Ephesians 1:3-6.

²⁷ Athanasius, *Contra Arianos* ii:76.

²⁸ Colossians, 1:16

²⁹ Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* 1:20.

³⁰ Gal. 4:4.

³¹ John 14:16, 26, 15:26, 16:7f.

³² Ephesians 1:4, but see also footnote 23 (above).

³³ Cf. John 1:14, Gal. 4:4, Phil. 2:8ff.

³⁴ John 14: 9, 1:18.

³⁵ John 14:16.

³⁶ John 1:23.

³⁷ Cf. my essays: "Saint Maximos the Confessor and the Christian life," *Church and Theology*, 2 (1981) 154-166; and "St. Macarios of Corinth on the Lord's Prayer," *Texts and Studies* (Thyateira House, London), iii (1984) 287-310.

³⁸ See more details in my essay, "Trinity and Prayer in the Orthodox Tradition," *Mount Carmel*, Summer 1984, pp. 83-91.

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The Incarnation and the Trinity: Two Doctrines Rooted in the Offices of Christ

DR. CHRISTOPHER B. KAISER

The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation have always been regarded as the two chief pillars of the Christian faith. Together they provide the framework for the entire Christian understanding of creation and salvation, as it pertains to both faith and life.

The foundational character of the two doctrines is seen from the fact that the first six ecumenical councils were largely devoted to them—the Trinity being the primary focus at Nicea (325 A.D.), and the Incarnation and the hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ being the focus at Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), and the Second and Third Councils of Constantinople (553 and 680). The pivotal First Council of Constantinople (381) was equally concerned with both the Trinity and the Incarnation: it stipulated the eternal rule and eternal hypostasis of Christ against the modalism of Marcellus of Ancyra;¹ it confessed the deity of the Spirit against the Macedonians;² and it stressed the Virgin Birth and the crucifixion and burial of Jesus against the Apollinarians.³

At the previous meeting of our theological consultation in Minsk (1990), we discussed the relationship between the teachings of Scripture and the patristic doctrine of the Trinity. We concluded that the teachings of the early Fathers and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed were well grounded in the teachings of the Apostles and the New Testament. The question before us today is how we should approach the doctrine of the Incarnation. In particular, what is the relationship between the two foundational doctrines? Is the doctrine of the Trinity a theological antecedent to the doctrine of the Incarna-

tion—the latter being a kind of corollary of the Trinity? Or is the Incarnation the basis of belief in the Trinity?

This question of the ordering of doctrines is important partly for purposes of orderly teaching. But it is also important for explaining the meaning of a doctrine. Our understanding of the Trinity, for instance, would be somewhat different if we derived it from an examination of the Incarnation than if we began with it as the pre-supposition of the Incarnation. We shall return to this question of meaning later when we treat the offices of Christ.

Many traditional presentations of theology have treated the Trinity before the Incarnation.⁴ Ontologically speaking, this procedure is correct: the Trinity is eternal and therefore takes precedence over the Incarnation, which began at a particular point of time. However, it would be wrong to conclude that our belief in the Incarnation is derived from the doctrine of the Trinity as a logical inference or that it originated in this way historically.

Modern presentations often prefer to follow historical lines. Historically speaking, it makes more sense to argue that belief in the Incarnation anteceded belief in the Trinity.⁵ It is very unlikely that Christians would have found the Trinity in the Hebrew Bible if they had not been convinced of it already on the basis of their knowledge of Jesus Christ. So it can be argued that Christians first came to the conclusion that Jesus was God in the flesh and only later realized that there was a Trinity of divine persons.

The problem with this second approach is that a strictly monotheistic faith would more likely view Jesus as a man through whom God's Spirit worked and in whom God was revealed (dynamic monarchianism)⁶ or else as the incarnation of God the Father (modalism). It seems unlikely that early Christians would have concluded that there was a Trinity of divine persons unless the relationship between Jesus and the Spirit and that between Jesus and the Father had already been recognized as transcending time.

I shall argue that it is best to treat the Trinity and the Incarnation as being two distinct doctrines, neither of which is derived from the other epistemologically or historically. Rather both doctrines are firmly rooted (epistemologically) in the person and work of Jesus Christ as they were apprehended (historically) in terms of the types or offices of the Hebrew Bible.⁷

To anticipate our results and put the matter succinctly: The doc-

trine of the Trinity stems from the realization that in *Jesus' relationship to God* (being sent from God, praying to God, returning to God) we have an eternal relationship in the divine being. In the terms of Nicea (and, later, Chalcedon), Christ is *homoousios* with God the Father. The doctrine of the Incarnation derives from the realization that in *Jesus' relationship to us* as his people, we have the Word or Wisdom of God among us in human form.⁸ In the terms of Chalcedon, Christ is *homoousios* with us. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are the twin pillars of Christian faith and life, but they can not be either derived or properly understood other than on the foundation of the relationships, and hence of the offices, of Christ.

First I shall review the meaning of the idea of the Incarnation in the New Testament and the Nicene Creed. On this basis, I shall show that belief in the Incarnation is not a deduction from the doctrine of the Trinity. This will lead me to a discussion of the foundational role of the traditional three offices of Christ (the *triplex munus*) in the definition of the two doctrines.

THE INCARNATION AND THE TRINITY

In the New Testament, the idea of the Word assuming flesh is stated explicitly in two texts. The best known of these is John 1:14, "And the Word became flesh [*sarx egeneto*; Latin, *caro factum est*] and lived among us." The same basic idea is found in an early hymn quoted in 1 Timothy 3:16, "He was revealed in the flesh [*ephanerôthê en sarki*; Latin, *manifestatum est in carne*], vindicated in spirit...." On the basis of these texts, the idea of the "Incarnation" takes its primary meaning from the initial event whereby the Word became (or was revealed in) flesh.

Presumably this initial event was the Virgin Birth⁹ although some scholars deny that either John or Paul ever had this in mind. However, the Incarnation, in the proper sense of the term, includes more than just an initial event. It is also the state of affairs established by that event—the hypostatic union of divine and human natures in the person of Jesus Christ. As John 1:14 goes on to say, "...and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a father's only son, full of grace and truth."

The dwelling of God in human flesh was something quite new—unprecedented in all the history of Israel. And it was something

permanent. The Incarnation included the entire life of the historical Jesus—the state of humiliation; it includes the present state of the exalted Christ—seated at the right hand of the Father; and it will include the future state of Christ's eternal rule.¹⁰ Hence, this state of affairs is quite unlike the temporary human appearances of Hellenistic Egyptian gods or the avatars of Vishnu.¹¹ It is unprecedented in all human history.

In the context of the Nicene Creed, the idea of the Incarnation is based on the Greek term *sarkôthenta* (an aorist passive participle in the accusative) meaning “was made flesh” or “became incarnate” and translated into Latin as *incarnatus est*, from which we get the Latin *incarnatio* and the English word, “incarnation.” In the Creed, there is a parallel Greek term, *enanthrôpêsanta*, meaning “was made man” or “became human” (Latin, *homo factus est*). Like the Johannine *sarx egeneto*, these terms define the initial event in which the eternal Word was united with human flesh: Christ “came down from heaven, and became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and became human.”

However, in the Creed as in the Gospel, the Incarnation includes more than just an initial event—the Virgin Birth. It is also the state of affairs established by that event. The Creed, in fact, describes four distinct stages in the life of Christ:

- (1) eternal sonship with the Father (prior to the Incarnation), for which there was no beginning;
- (2) the state of humiliation (from the Virgin Birth to the Cross);
- (3) the present state of exaltation (from the Resurrection to the Parousia)
- (4) the future reign of Christ, for which there will be no end. The Incarnation includes the second, third, and fourth of these stages:

For us and for our salvation, he came down from heaven, and became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and became human. He was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose from the dead on the third day... and ascended into heaven, and was seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge both the living and the dead. Of his kingdom there shall be no end.

All of these stages are accomplished in human flesh and are included in the Incarnation.

The primary focus of the second article of the Creed then is the Incarnation in the broad sense of the term. Still the Incarnation is prefaced by the first stage listed above, in which Christ is clearly identified as the second person of the Trinity, "of one substance with the Father." Does this mean that the Incarnation is a corollary of the Trinity?

Unlike the Latin *Quicumque vult*, traditionally referred to as the "Athanasian Creed," the Nicene Creed does not begin with a formal statement of the Trinity. Rather the doctrine of the Trinity is assumed as the framework for all three articles, a framework that had already been established in the New Testament as we agreed at our meeting in Minsk (1 Cor. 8:6; 12:4-6; Eph. 4:4-6).¹²

In the Creed, the trinitarian framework is portrayed, in an appropriately biblical manner, by means of parallelisms rather than by formal statement (as in the *Quicumque vult*). We may exhibit these parallels between the three persons of the Trinity as follows:

We believe...	
in one God	
the Father Almighty	
	Maker of heaven and earth
in one Lord	
begotten of the Father	
	by whom all things were made
in the Holy Spirit	
who proceeds from the Father	
	Lord and Giver of life. ¹³

According to the Creed, then, all three persons are the recipients of our faith; all three persons are Creator; and the second and third persons are derived from the Father (or, in the words of the Creed of the 318 Fathers of Nicea, "from the *ousia* of the Father"). But these truths are not stated in so many words; they are expressed by the overall trinitarian framework. That does not mean that the content of the articles can be deduced from the doctrine of the Trinity. Instead it fills out the doctrine and substantiates it.

In other words, the Nicene Creed exists as an organic whole, not as a series of logical deductions. The Creed should not be read as if the second article followed from the first and the third from the second. The second article focusses on the Son, but clearly the presence

and operation of the Spirit are already included (he “became incarnate by the Holy Spirit”).

Similarly, the first article focusses on the Father, but it describes the Father in such a way that the eternal presence of the Son is already assumed. When God is described as “Father” in the first article, it is understood that this is not just another title, like “Almighty” or “Creator of Heaven and Earth,” that relates God to creation, but a reference to the eternal presence of the Son. In patristic thought, God can not truly be Father without a consubstantial Son.¹⁴

And, when God is said to be the “Creator of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible,” the “things invisible” are understood to include heaven and all the angels and archangels, but neither the Son, who is “begotten, not made,” nor the Spirit, who “proceeds from the Father.”

The same organic character that characterizes the Creed as a whole applies to the second article of the Creed taken by itself. It too must be interpreted holistically. Just as there is no Father other than the one who is Father of the Son, so there is no Jesus Christ other than the one who,

...for us and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and became human. He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose from the dead on the third day....

Or—to put the same point in the words of the Gospel of John—there is no divine Word other than the one who “became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory...” (John 1:14). The Gospel was written, and the Creed was composed, for people who already knew Jesus as their Lord and Savior.

Therefore, the Incarnation is not a deduction from the pre-existence of the second person of the Trinity any more than the second person is a deduction from what the first article has to say about the Father. Rather, the description of the eternal nature of the second person presupposes our knowing that this is the one whose life, death, and resurrection are the basis of our salvation. This leads us to consider the subject of the Atonement and the roles that Jesus filled “for us and for our salvation” in the events of his life.

THE FOUNDATIONAL ROLE OF THE OFFICES OF CHRIST

In recent Western theology, there has been much discussion of the

proper starting point for Christology: do we start "from above" with the eternal Son of God and work our way downward to the human life of Jesus? Or do we begin "from below," start with the historical Jesus, and work our way upward (if possible) to the triune God?

Often the alternatives are understood in terms of the "two natures" of Christ. Starting "from above" is equivalent to starting with the existence of a second person in the Trinity (the divine Word) and trying to understand how this divine nature is united with the man Jesus. Starting "from below" is equivalent to starting with the human nature (the "historical Jesus") and trying to discern the divine.

We will probably never know just how the early disciples arrived at their faith in Jesus as Lord and Christ. According to Matthew 16, it was revealed directly by God the Father: "For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father in heaven" (Matt. 16:17; cf. Matt. 3:17; 17:5). So the disciples might not be able to reconstruct the steps they went through on the way to faith even if we could speak to them and ask them in person. In fact, the very idea of distinct steps of a sequential process—dear as it is to the hearts of modern, industrial folk—may not be an appropriate category in dealing with Scripture.

Even though we can not reconstruct a sequence of steps for the faith of the early disciples, it is important for us to ask about the meaning of Jesus in the context of the disciples' setting and experience. Our investigation must be historical in the sense that it takes seriously the "historical Jesus," even if it does not assume an evolutionary development.

What we do know is that, even in the earliest texts of the New Testament, Jesus was confessed as "Christ," "Lord," and "Son of God." "Jesus is the Christ," "Jesus is Lord," and "Jesus is the Son of God" were among the very earliest credal statements of the Church.¹⁵ Other early biblical confessions state that Christ died for our sins, was raised for our justification, and ascended into heaven to intercede for us in the presence of God.¹⁶

What we find, then, is that, even in the earliest stages of theological development which we can discern, Jesus was known and confessed in terms of the concepts or types of the Old Testament. Apparently, the Christian faith began neither "from above" nor "from below," but rather from the collective memory of the divine presence and promises and from the collective expectation of their fulfillment

in first-century Palestine.¹⁷ The promises and types were believed to have been fulfilled in Jesus, and Jesus was viewed in terms of the promises.

This conclusion is born out by what we know of the historical Jesus. For example, the narratives describing the calling of the disciples are generally accepted as authentic memories of the ministry of Jesus.¹⁸ The sparseness of Jesus' command, "Follow me!" and the immediacy of the disciples' responses¹⁹ indicate that Jesus was perceived, even at the earliest stages of his ministry, as a prophet like Elijah, or possibly the Messiah himself.²⁰ In other words, there never was an "historical Jesus" in isolation from the offices or types that Jesus was believed to fulfill.

Another point scholars are agreed on is that Jesus was a religious and social reformer.²¹ His teaching in public and his training of the disciples were both aimed at restoring the people of Israel in their relationship to God and to each other.

We know that there was widespread dissatisfaction with the temple-based administration in Jerusalem and its alliance with the Roman state.²² In response to this dissatisfaction, there arose a variety of movements and leaders, ranging from the new priesthood of Qumran to the popular prophets and messiahs of Judea. What these figures had in common was the revival of ancient promises and types. They hearkened back to the administration of the Zadokite priesthood, or to era of the canonical prophets, or to the time of David, or even to the exodus under Moses and Joshua.²³ Jesus, too, must have understood his ministry and others must have perceived his actions in terms of the same promises and types of the Hebrew Bible.

Sociological and anthropological considerations also play a role in our investigation. There are significant differences between the understanding of human nature in traditional (e.g., traditional Jewish) societies and that in modern, Western ones. As Peter Berger, Bruce Malina, and others have shown, members of traditional communities identify themselves with public social roles in a way that modern, secularized people do not. Their sense of personal identity and personal worth is based on the fulfillment of socially assigned responsibilities like upholding family honor or adhering to tribal mores, allowing for a certain latitude of personal interpretation.²⁴ These standards of behavior are often communicated through stories about guild founders or family ancestors, whose aspirations and ex-

periences community members relive in everyday life. The attention people pay to such stories may even be heightened in times of social or economic stress as in first-century Palestine.²⁵

The modern Western biblical scholar is at a distinct disadvantage in belonging to a culture that differentiates the individual from all the roles it takes on in public life. In constructing the “naked self,” we often abstract ourselves from all societal relations and even from family ties. We speak of “wearing hats” and “filling job descriptions” as something incidental to our inner natures.

In contrast, people in traditional societies were what they did in public. They owned their family names, their trades, and their inheritances as integral to their selves. To cite an historical example: If you were to write a biography of Charles I of Great Britain, you could not separate him from his being a Stuart or from being king of Scotland and England (by right) and try to think of him as an individual in the modern sense. In the same way, you can not reconstruct an “historical Jesus” by separating Jesus from the roles of Jewish prophet, messiah, and martyr that he filled. In theological terms, the “offices of Christ” are integral to an understanding of the “person of Christ.”

For this reason I believe we should regard the notion of a purely “functional” Christology as a modern idea that is unsuited to people of scriptural times. A functional Christology views Jesus as speaking for God in the role of prophet, or acting in the place of God in the role of messiah. It assumes that Jesus can be isolated from these roles as if they told us nothing about his inner character and nature. The loss of Jesus’ divine identity in many functional christologies is really a reflection of modern humanity’s loss of its own sense of identity. Difficult as it may be for us to extricate ourselves from the cult of the “naked self” in our own times, we have no reason to project this malaise back into the New Testament.²⁶

If we take the *offices* of Christ rather than the two *natures* as our starting point, we may find that the doctrines of the two natures and the three persons—the Incarnation and the Trinity—flow naturally (epistemologically, not as an historical sequence) from the witness of the New Testament—each in its own way. From a consideration of the traditional offices of Christ, we can show that Christ was the Word, Wisdom, and only Son of God (the basis of the doctrine of the Trinity). From the same offices, we can see that the Word of God has

become flesh, suffered, and died for us (the Incarnation and Atonement).

SOME METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

A great many Hebrew Bible types were utilized to describe the person and work of Christ in the New Testament. For various reasons, we shall consider only three. Happily, these three correspond in part to the classical *triplex munus* of prophet, king, and priest,²⁷ but they are selected on the basis of certain other criteria as well.

1. The three types we consider here are ones that were derived from well known promises associated with distinct heroes of the past (Moses, David, and Isaac) and that are known to have sustained a variety of expectations in the time of Jesus.²⁸ As such they provide a firmer basis for the investigation of early Christology than many other Hebrew Bible types that are not associated with such promises.²⁹

2. The three types chosen are ones embedded in social roles that were actually practiced in biblical Israel (prophet, sage-ruler, and sacrificial martyr). They were remembered as having been practiced even if they were widely believed to have ceased in their ancient forms. In other words they are not just ideal types of future expectation, but ones which had a concrete socio-historical meaning.

3. The three types we consider are ones that can be substantiated from the earliest strata of the Synoptic Gospels—Mark and Q³⁰—strata that derived most directly from the historical life of Jesus and the first (pre-Resurrection) understanding of that life by Jesus' associates.³¹ The three types of prophet, messiah, and martyr are commonly (though not universally) viewed by New Testament scholars as playing a role in the ministry of Jesus.³²

4. The three types chosen are ones that were adapted and developed by the early church in an effort to interpret the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. In other words, each of them had the potential of making sense of a wide range of the events of Jesus personal history including his humiliation and exaltation.³³

This fact might be taken as grounds for doubting the pre-Resurrection origin of the typologies (argued in 3 above). However, most would agree that Jesus experienced rejection and the possibility of martyrdom for some time before his actual trial and execution. Some of the most intense probings of Scripture promises must have occurred during the final days of his life. Therefore, a realistic approach to the life and ministry of Jesus must give some account of his own

thoughts on the subject. It makes sense to view the later theologizing of the church as developing themes already explored during the lifetime of Jesus.

5. The three types we consider are ones that could be seen to provide a role for the divine protagonist as well as the human. In the Hebrew Bible, the divine was quite distinct from the human, yet the two were closely related. The prophet was not personally the same as God's Word, but the Word was the foundation of all true prophecy: the prophet had access to the heavenly council³⁴ and functioned on earth as the instrument of the Word.³⁵ The king was not personally the same as God's Wisdom, but Wisdom was the foundation of all godly rule: the king too shared in the council of God and functioned on earth as the embodiment of divine Wisdom.³⁶ And though the sacrificial martyr was not literally God's own Son, Jewish martyrs regarded themselves as children of God by adoption (cf. Wis. 2:12-20).

Hence the "hypostatic union" of the two sides, human and divine, in the New Testament was an innovation to be sure, but it could be seen in retrospect, even in the Hebrew Bible types themselves. In fact, in Second Temple literature, the Wisdom of God was already said to have dwelt with Israel in the Torah and the Temple cult.³⁷ So the three offices of Christ that we treat here were Hebrew Bible types (prophet, sage-ruler, and martyr) that Jesus was believed to fulfill in such a way that they were clearly seen to be grounded in the divine being (Word, Wisdom, and Son of God).

6. Finally, the types we consider are ones that illuminated the ministry of the early Church—its own prophetic witness, practical wisdom, and faithfulness under persecution—as well as the person and work of Jesus. Similarly, Question 31 of the Heidelberg Catechism, "Why is he called Christ(?)" is answered with a brief description of the *triplex munus* and followed immediately by Question 32, "But why are you called a Christian(?)" So the three types discussed here have relevance for the understanding of Christian vocation in the world today, and our investigation into the person and work of Jesus is one of the best ways we have to understand that vocation.

To work this out in detail would be a mammoth undertaking, but I shall try to give an outline here.

1. Jesus as Mosaic Prophet and Word of God

First we consider the prophetic office of Christ.

Clearly, Jesus was viewed as a prophet by many of his contemporaries,³⁸ and he seems also to have understood himself as a prophet like Moses and Jonah.³⁹ In continuity with this early understanding, Matthew, Luke, and John all depict Jesus as fulfilling the role of the Moses-type prophet, the one for whom the Jewish people had long been waiting.⁴⁰

The prophetic type we are concerned with here was based on the Deuteronomic promise of a "prophet like Moses," whom God would raise up among the Jewish people:

The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own people; you shall heed such a prophet. (Deut. 18:15)

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that this promise was the basis for widespread hopes for liberation and covenant renewal in the time of Jesus.⁴¹

In the Deuteronomistic literature, Mosaic prophets were known by their deeds as well as by their words. For example, Moses not only proclaimed liberation to the people of Israel; he also led them out of bondage and healed and fed them in the wilderness.⁴² Elijah and Elisha not only spoke out against the political corruptions of their day; they also healed the sick and fed the hungry.⁴³

There is good evidence that Jesus presented himself as a Mosaic prophet. Like Elijah (and John the Baptist before him), Jesus recruited disciples from the ranks of the socially and economically marginal. Like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, he presided over this small band of disciples and taught them as a "master."⁴⁴ Like Elijah and Elisha he also healed the sick and fed the hungry.⁴⁵ Like Moses, he fed his followers in the wilderness, proclaimed a new freedom, and initiated a new covenant.⁴⁶ So there seems to have been several lines of continuity between the traditional models and the self-understanding of Jesus.

Even if initially there were only a few points of correspondence between Mosaic typology and the actual behavior of Jesus, the complete web of Mosaic and prophetic associations would immediately have become available for the interpretation of his life and actions. For example, the death and resurrection of Jesus could be interpreted

in this context, as we shall see below.

In spite of the continuity of prophetic office indicated by these parallels, the way in which Jesus presented himself as a prophet was unusual, to say the least. There were several "sign prophets" in the first century who patterned themselves after Moses, but none of them (to our knowledge) was ever worshipped by their followers as a divine being.⁴⁷ An appropriate way to express this difference would be to say that Jesus presented himself and was perceived by others as the very embodiment of God's lifegiving Word.⁴⁸ This perception was not just a matter of later reflection on the part of the church. As far as we can tell, he was perceived in this way from the very start. The evidence for this is as follows.

First, according to the New Testament, Jesus was raised from the dead, whereas classical prophets were normally preserved by God in the midst of their troubles and, in a few cases, either martyred⁴⁹ or taken up directly into heaven prior to death.⁵⁰ Jesus' prophetic ministry was thus validated in a more dramatic way, out of all proportion to the ministries of the classical prophets.⁵¹

But, secondly, even in his earthly ministry, Jesus spoke in a manner radically different from that of the prophets. The classical prophets spoke words they received from God—words normally introduced by the formula, "Thus says the Lord...." In contrast, Jesus spoke on his own authority: "You have heard it said... but I say to you..."; "Amen, amen I say to you...."⁵² Here divine authority is expressed in the first person ("I say") rather than in the third person ("the Lord says"). In both Mark and in Q, the criterion for divine judgement is said to be Jesus' own words, not some revelation he received from heaven.⁵³ As Raymond Brown states, "The presupposition seems to be that the word did not have to come to him, but rather that he already had it—to which John gives an even further formulation: he was the Word."⁵⁴

Third, the Hebrew prophets demanded repentance and promised that the people's sins would be pardoned.⁵⁵ Following the example of Moses, they also called on the Lord for forgiveness on behalf of the people.⁵⁶ Jesus also promised the Father's forgiveness to those who asked for it,⁵⁷ but he also forgave sins directly and explicitly claimed the authority to do so (Mark 2:5-11; Luke 12:8-10).⁵⁸

Finally, whereas classical prophets like Moses called on the people to follow them in renewing their allegiance to the the law of Moses,⁵⁹

Jesus called people to follow him even at the risk of ignoring particular precepts of the Sinai Torah.⁶⁰ As E. P. Sanders has put it, "...Jesus was willing to say that following him superseded the requirements of piety and the Torah."⁶¹ We might well conclude (with Bruce Chilton and others) that Jesus was understood to be above the Torah because he *was* the very Word of God.⁶² The fact that following him superseded the demands of the Torah set Jesus in a category above comparable Mosaic prophets like the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness.⁶³ The only alternative would have been to regard him as a false prophet.⁶⁴

Another way to put the contrast would be to say that Jesus spoke and acted as one who belonged, not to the age of the classical prophets, but to a future age, an age yet to come, when the Word and Spirit of God would be available to all.⁶⁵ The pericope on the ministry of John the Baptist in Q makes this point clearly: John the Baptist was a prophet and even "more than a prophet." John was the last and the greatest of the old order ("those born of women"), but Jesus (and his followers) belonged rather to the coming kingdom of God (Luke 7:24-28 [Q]).⁶⁶

Jesus filled the office of prophet in such a way that the divine prototype of all prophecy, the lifegiving Word of God, was experienced speaking to people and healing people directly (Mark 13:31; Luke 6:47-9; 7:7).⁶⁷ It was never said that the Word of God was just "with Jesus" as it was with the Old Testament prophets (2 Kgs. 3:12). It would be more accurate to say that the Word of God was Jesus. The comment of Jesus in Matthew and Luke (following Q) makes sense in this context: "something greater than Jonah [the prophet] is here!" (Matt. 12:41; Luke 11:32).

In short, Jesus was a prophet like Moses and yet more than just a prophet or even a new Moses. He was believed to fulfill the Hebrew Bible types of both human (healing) prophet and divine (lifegiving) Word. What are the implications of this office for our understanding of the church's teaching about the Trinity and the Incarnation?

On one hand, belief in Jesus as the divine Word provided a basis for the doctrine of the Trinity. In Jewish tradition, the Word was a direct emanation or extension of God and served as an instrument of creation as well as divine revelation and healing.⁶⁸ So Jesus, who spoke and healed as the Word of God, was aptly described, in the words of the Nicene Creed, as "God of God, Light of Light, true God

of true God, being of one substance with the Father, [the one] by whom all things were made."

What sort of Pneumatology would correspond to the prophetic office of Christ? Clearly the Spirit was one who spoke and healed the sick through Jesus and through Jesus' disciples.⁶⁹ In the words of the Nicene Creed, the Spirit was the "Giver of life" and the one "who spoke through the prophets" (and healed through the prophets) in ancient Israel.

From a pre-resurrection viewpoint, the Spirit might have been equated with the prophetic power (the Word) that was incarnate in Jesus. In fact, such an identification of Christ and the Spirit in Jesus did occur in some post-biblical texts.⁷⁰ However, in prechristian Jewish literature, the Spirit was never portrayed in a concrete human form the way the Word was.⁷¹ In any case, after the Cross and Resurrection, the church generally discerned two distinct divine principles to be at work: the Spirit of prophecy and Jesus Christ the Word.⁷² The Spirit was the same as that known in the classical prophets and in the life of Jesus, but s/he was experienced as having been poured out by the risen Christ (or by God in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ) and as inspiring the disciples to preach Christ as Lord.⁷³ So the two were not identical.⁷⁴ Apparently, there were three divine persons in the godhead. Hence, belief in the Trinity could be understood on the basis of Jesus' being a prophet and more than a prophet, the very Word of God.

Belief in Jesus as a prophet like Moses could also help the early church to explain the puzzling events of the Cross and Resurrection (as in Luke-Acts).⁷⁵ Jesus was rejected by the leaders of the Sanhedrin as being a false prophet and turned over to the Romans for trial and execution (note that Deut. 18:20 demanded the death sentence for false prophets).⁷⁶ But unlike other prophets who had met similar fates, Jesus was raised up by God in literal fulfillment of Deuteronomy 18:15: "The Lord your God will raise up [Greek, *anastêsei*] for you a prophet like me from among your own people." According to the Book of Acts, Peter argued this very point in his second sermon after Pentecost:

Moses said, "The Lord your God will raise up [*anastêsei kurios ho theos*] for you from your own people a prophet like me. You must listen to whatever he tells you. When God raised up [*anastêsas ho theos*] his servant, he sent him first to you, to bless you by turning

each of you from your wicked ways. (Acts 3:22-26)⁷⁷

The Crucifixion could thus be viewed as the ultimate test of Jesus as the Mosaic prophet. And the Resurrection could be seen as a vindication of Jesus as a true prophet (like Moses)—and the foundation of all true prophecy, the divine Word.⁷⁸

Hence, the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection could be understood on the basis of Jesus' being a prophet and more than a prophet, the very Word of God taking flesh, suffering, and rising again for us. In the words of the Nicene Creed:

He came down from heaven, and became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and became human. *He was crucified also for us* under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and *rose [anastanta]* from the dead on the third day, according to the Scriptures....

So the prophetic office of Christ is one theme in accordance with which the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation could emerge (epistemologically) from the witness of the New Testament. With respect to this theme, there is significant continuity from a category in terms of which Jesus understood himself, through that in terms of which the early church interpreted his life, death, and resurrection, to that in which classical Christian theology has understood him. But the Church needs to recover the full meaning of the prophetic life of Jesus in its ministry. Words about the Resurrection or the deity of Christ will seem empty if they are not accompanied by deeds of healing, feeding, and liberating in the tradition of the classical, Mosaic prophets.

2. Jesus as Son of David and Wisdom of God

The second major office in terms of which Jesus was perceived and portrayed was that of a sage-ruler like David and Solomon. The traditional offices of sage and king were distinct, but they also overlapped in many ways. Both figures were guided by divine Wisdom and could be viewed as embodiments of Wisdom.⁷⁹ Great Israelite kings like David and Solomon were known as sages, and the Jewish sages were also portrayed as "kings."⁸⁰ This overlap allows us to combine the two offices for the purposes of this essay.⁸¹

Early strata of the New Testament present Jesus as the "son of David" and "son of God" like the son promised to David in 2 Samuel 7:

...I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me. (2 Sam. 7:12-14a)⁸²

There is ample evidence that this promise was cherished in a variety of Jewish circles of Jesus' time.⁸³ In fact there was a variety of such expectations.⁸⁴ There is also evidence that the political risks such expectations could raise were appreciated and that messianic fervor was discouraged in some quarters.⁸⁵ Jesus and his followers were apparently aware of both expectations and risks and thought seriously about his own ministry in this context.⁸⁶

Although Jesus undoubtedly distanced himself from popular, nationalistic expectations of a Jewish king⁸⁷ and may have avoided using the title of "Messiah" in public discourse,⁸⁸ he seems to have modelled his ministry on the Davidic/Solomonic type in other ways. Among the more likely historical features of his life are the following: like Solomon and the sages, Jesus taught in proverbs and parables;⁸⁹ he contested the power of Satan in order to establish (or re-establish) the rule of God;⁹⁰ he promised his disciples a place in the coming kingdom;⁹¹ he rode into Jerusalem on a donkey (as Solomon had done and as the eschatological ruler or Messiah was expected to do);⁹² he referred to himself as God's son and the heir of God's kingdom;⁹³ he apparently claimed he would build a new temple (as Solomon, Zerubbabel, and the Herods had done);⁹⁴ and he was crucified as one who pretended to be "The King of the Jews."⁹⁵

As in the case of the prophetic office, there was some degree of continuity between the Jewish expectations and the ministry of Jesus. His selective appropriation of messianic roles seems to have focussed on sage teachings, conflict with satanic forces on earth, personal intimacy with God as his "Father," challenges to the Herodian dynasty in Jerusalem, and dramatic anticipations of a new order to be realized in the future.⁹⁶ But, even if initially there were only a few, tentative points of correspondence between Davidic/Solomonic typology and the actual behavior of Jesus, the complex web of messianic associations immediately became available for the interpretation of all of his life and actions. The baptism, death, and resurrection of Jesus could be interpreted in this context, as we shall see below.

But, unlike Solomon, who was remembered as having to pray to

God in order to receive wisdom,⁹⁷ Jesus is portrayed in his teaching ministry, even in the earliest strata of the New Testament, as the very embodiment of God's enlightening wisdom. See, for example, the Q saying in Luke 10:22: "...no one knows who the Son is except the Father, or who the Father is except the Son and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him." Here the mutual knowledge of Father and Son appears to be modelled on that of God and his Wisdom/child in the Old Testament.⁹⁸ At any rate, it is clear that Jesus, "the Son," unlike the known sages of Israel, spoke to his contemporaries *from God's side* of the revealer-receptor relationship, not just on the basis of Jewish tradition.⁹⁹ In fact, Jesus could be highly critical of the sages of his time who were the recognized leaders of his people.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, unlike the ancient kings of Israel, who were anointed by the Lord, the very earliest strata of the New Testament describe Jesus as Yahweh, *the Lord himself*, in human form.¹⁰¹ Whereas, the anointed king of Israel was expected to restore the political independence of Israel,¹⁰² Jesus announced the end of the Jerusalem-based state and pointed toward the universal kingdom of God.¹⁰³ And, whereas, the anointed king was expected to defeat the Gentile nations that oppressed Israel, Jesus assumed the task of doing battle with Satan himself, a task generally assigned either to supernatural agents of God or to Yahweh himself.¹⁰⁴ To use one of the traditional phrases adopted by Luke, he was the "anointed Lord" or "lordly Messiah."¹⁰⁵

Apparently, Jesus filled the role of "king" in such a way that the very ground of divine rule, the wisdom and power of God,¹⁰⁶ spoke to the people and ordered their lives directly. According to Mark, Jesus argued that even David called the Messiah "my Lord" (Mark 12:35-37, referring to Ps. 110:1).¹⁰⁷ The comment attributed to Jesus by Matthew and Luke (following Q) makes sense in this context: "something greater than [King] Solomon is here!" (Matt. 12:42; Luke 11:31).

In short, Jesus was a sage-ruler like David and Solomon and yet more than a sage or a king. Jesus was believed to have fulfilled the types of both ruler (ordering) and Wisdom (enlightening). What are the implications of this office for our understanding of the church's teaching about the Trinity and the Incarnation?

On one hand, belief in Jesus as divine Wisdom provides another approach to the doctrine of the Trinity. In Jewish tradition, Wisdom

(like the Word) was an emanation or extension of God and served as an instrument of creation as well as divine guidance.¹⁰⁸ So Jesus, who ordered life and taught as the Wisdom of God, was aptly described, in the words of the Nicene Creed, as "God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, being of one substance with the Father, [the one] by whom all things were made." The phrase, "Light of Light," in fact, comes directly from one of the attributes of Wisdom found in the Wisdom of Solomon ("she is a reflection of eternal light," Wis. 7:26) and Hebrews ("He is the reflection of God's glory," Heb. 1:3).¹⁰⁹

What sort of Pneumatology would correspond to the royal office of Christ? The Spirit was the one who anointed Jesus sage and ruler at his baptism,¹¹⁰ and who empowered him to perform exorcisms like those attributed to David and Solomon.¹¹¹ In the economy of modern logic, such dependence on the Spirit might seem to cast Jesus as merely a human sage-ruler. In the thinking of the first century, however, such dependence was not incompatible with a heavenly origin.¹¹² The Messiah and the Spirit, the Anointed One and the Anointing One, could be paired as divine persons.¹¹³ In the words of the Creed, the Spirit is "Lord" (*to kurion*), like Jesus, and "Giver of life," like divine Wisdom (cf. Prov. 3:16, 18; 8:35; 9:11).¹¹⁴ Evidently, there were three divine persons in the godhead. Hence, the Trinity could be understood on the basis of Jesus' being a sage-ruler and more than a sage-ruler, the very Wisdom of God.

On the other hand, belief in Jesus as sage-ruler further helped the early church to explain the puzzling events of the Cross and Resurrection. Jesus' being executed as a false messiah,¹¹⁵ would naturally be viewed as a scandal for many Jews.¹¹⁶ However, within the scope of Jewish typology, Jesus could be seen as fulfilling the tragic role of the Israelite king, the role of "servant" who suffered on behalf (and sometimes at the hands) of the people.¹¹⁷ In fact, the divine promise in 2 Samuel 7 actually stated that God would punish the descendant of David "with blows [*nig'ey*] of human beings" (2 Sam. 7:14). The punishment could also be understood as a vicarious one—one administered by God for the sins of the people as in Isa. 53:4 ("we accounted him stricken [*nagûa*']"). Given the messianic gestures of Jesus' life described above, the death of Jesus could also be understood in messianic terms.

In being raised from the dead and seated at the right hand of God,

Jesus was exalted and glorified as God's true servant¹¹⁸ and declared to be "Son of God"¹¹⁹ and Davidic messiah¹²⁰ in literal fulfillment of 2 Samuel 7:12: "I will raise up [Greek, *anastêsô*] your offspring after you... and I will establish his kingdom [*tên basileian autou*]."¹²¹ More than that the risen Christ filled all things as divine Wisdom¹²² and Lord,¹²³ the foundation of all just order.

Hence the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection could also be understood on the basis of Jesus' being Davidic messiah and more than a messiah, on the basis of his being the very Wisdom of God taking flesh, suffering, and rising again for us. In fact, the royal office nicely ties together the titles of Christ with the works of Christ as described in the second article of the Creed:

And [I believe] in one *Lord*, *Jesus Christ*, the only *Son of God*... who for us and our salvation came down from heaven and became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became human. He was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and *suffered* and was buried, and *rose* [*anastanta*] from the dead on the third day, according to the Scriptures, and *ascended* into heaven, and was *seated at the right hand of the Father*, and will come again with glory to judge both the living and the dead. Of *his kingdom* [*hou tês basileias*] there shall be no end.

The royal office of Christ is a second theme in accordance with which the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation could emerge from the witness of the New Testament.

3. *Jesus as Sacrificial Martyr and Son of God*

The Mosaic/prophetic and Davidic/messianic offices are the two types in the life and times of Jesus most often discussed by scholars.¹²⁴ The third major type Jesus was believed to fulfill is not so widely recognized—that of the *aqedah*, the "binding" of Isaac as described in Genesis 22:

God said, "Take your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there as a burnt offering on one of the mountains that I shall show you." (Gen. 22:2)

The promise associated with the *aqedah* was that God would provide a suitable means of atonement for Israel in every generation (Gen. 22:8, 14). Accordingly, the binding of Isaac was regarded as the foundation of the Temple cult of sacrifices offered to God: Mount Moriah was identified with Mount Zion, the location of Solomon's

temple.¹²⁵

In the Hellenistic era, the families of Jews who died as martyrs under tyrants like Antiochus Epiphanes viewed themselves (and were viewed by others) as reliving the experience of Abraham and Isaac. As Abraham had been willing to provide his son as a sacrificial victim, the parents of the martyrs encouraged their children to be faithful to their God, even at the expense of their lives. As Isaac had willingly submitted to the command of God and to his father, these Jewish martyrs were willing to give up their lives rather than forsake the teachings of the Torah. Such self-sacrifice was believed to have atoning value for the people as a whole at a time when the temple-cult and its priesthood were regarded by many as being corrupt.¹²⁶

In the New Testament, Jesus is portrayed as the antitype of Isaac, as a sacrificial lamb whose death would atone for the sins of the people.¹²⁷ It may even be the case that Jesus foresaw his death in these terms.¹²⁸ An attitude of filial obedience to God is reflected in the words of Gethsemane: "Abba, Father, ...not what I want, but what you want" (Mark 14:36), words that correspond to the words of Isaac to Abraham in Genesis 22 in Jewish tradition.¹²⁹ Again there was some continuity between earlier Jewish models and the ministry of Jesus.

But Jesus transcended the traditional terms of this "priestly" office,¹³⁰ just as he did those of the prophetic and royal offices. The "father" who handed Jesus over to his executioners was none other than God. The words of the baptismal declaration, "You are my Son, the Beloved" (*su ei ho huios mou ho agapêtos*, Mark 1:11) reflect those that God spoke to Abraham: "Take your son, the beloved one" (*labe' ton huion sou ton agapêton*, Gen. 22:2 LXX).¹³¹ Whereas the alternative to death for the Jewish martyrs would have been their personal denial of the Torah, the basis of the Temple cult, the alternative to death for Jesus would have been denial of the impending kingdom of God as he understood it (Mark 14:55-65; 15:2-5).¹³² And, whereas the Jewish martyrs committed their souls to God in hope of a future, general resurrection,¹³³ Jesus was raised on the third day signifying that he was one Jewish martyr whose bodily presence God could not bear be without.

Jesus was believed to fulfill the Hebrew type of the *akedah*, the sacrificial offering of the Jewish martyr, but he also transcended it. As Matthew put it in relation to the sacrificial cult as a whole, "some-

thing greater than the temple is here" (Matt. 12:6).¹³⁴

Like the prophetic and royal offices, this priestly or sacrificial office provides grounds for both the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. On the one hand, Jesus is the one in whom God's future was invested just as Abraham's and Sarah's future was invested in their son, Isaac (cf. Heb. 11:18). Jesus was the one true Son of the one true God.¹³⁵ So the priestly office points to Jesus' deity and the doctrine of the Trinity, albeit in a more subordinationist form than the prophetic and royal offices.

What sort of Pneumatology would correspond to the priestly office of Christ? In so far as the Spirit could be thought of as a third divine person, s/he would be the one who descended on Jesus and established him as the new temple, the new dwelling place of God (or God's *shekinah*/glory) in the world.¹³⁶

On the other hand, the *akedah* motif helped the early church to make sense of the Cross and Resurrection even more readily than the prophetic and royal offices did. Jesus is portrayed in the New Testament as God's own means of atonement for the sins of Israel. As the writer of Hebrews developed the idea, Christ was temporarily made lower than the angels and assumed a human body in order to suffer death on our behalf (Heb. 2:9; 10:5-10). Jesus' resurrection and ascension into heaven apparently indicated God's acceptance of the offering, the completion of the Atonement.¹³⁷

Hence, the Incarnation could be also understood on the basis of Jesus' being a Jewish martyr and more than just a martyr, God's own Son taking flesh, suffering, and rising again for us. Accordingly, the Nicene Creed states:

For us and for our salvation, he *came down from heaven*, and *became incarnate* by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and became human. He was *crucified also for us* under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose from the dead on the third day... and *ascended into heaven*....

So the priestly, sacrificial office of Christ is a third theme in accordance with which the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation could emerge from the witness of the New Testament.

CONCLUSION

I have argued that the most suitable starting point for both doc-

trines, the Trinity and the Incarnation, is the person and work of Christ as apprehended in terms of the types of the Hebrew Bible and recorded in the New Testament.

Belief in Jesus as the Word made flesh, the embodiment of divine Wisdom, and God's own Son, provides the basis for our understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity. The Word and Wisdom of God had been known only as divine energies or attributes (probably not hypostatically) in the Hebrew Bible: they were one way, perhaps, of describing God's immanence in the world.¹³⁸ As a result of the life and death of Jesus, however, they came to be viewed as a distinct divine person, coming from the Father and returning to the Father, but equal in deity to the Father. And, as a result of the resurrection of Jesus and the outpouring of the Spirit, a distinction of three divine hypostases was recognized in the New Testament.

Conversely, belief in Jesus as the Mosaic prophet, Davidic messiah, and substitute for Isaac provides the basis for our understanding the doctrine of the Incarnation and Atonement. In New Testament times, the legitimate prophetic, royal, and priestly offices were known to Israel only as memories from a distant past. As a result of the work of Christ, however, they came to be viewed as present realities, now so implanted in the history of Israel and in human nature that they could never cease to be effective.

The connecting link between the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation is found in the person and work of Christ. Only on the basis of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, do we understand that there is a Trinity of divine persons. On this basis, we also understand that the second person of this Trinity has been united with our human nature and will never forsake us. The gift of prophecy, the light of divine wisdom, and the obligation to live sacrificially are ours forever.

NOTES

¹The phrases, "[begotten of the Father] before all worlds" and "whose kingdom shall have no end," were not present in the Creed of the 318 Fathers at the Council of Nicea. The inclusion of the latter at Constantinople is generally understood to be aimed against Marcellus of Ancyra. It seems to me that the former is best understood as having the same target (thus extrapolating the hypostatic existence of Christ backward as well as forward into eternity) and not as "a recession from the strict Nicene standpoint" as

J. N. D. Kelly contends; *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 1972), 303.

²The phrases, "the Lord and giver of life," "who proceeds from the Father," and "who is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and Son," were likewise added at Constantinople.

³The phrases, "[became incarnate] by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary," "was crucified for us under Pontius," and "was buried" were likewise added at Constantinople. Again Kelly is too economical in allowing this purpose only for the first of these phrases and saying that the others have "little, if any, bearing on current theological discussion"; *Early Christian Creeds*, 303.

⁴E.g., John of Damascus, *De fide orth.* I.8 (on the Trinity), 10 (on the Incarnation); Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Ia.27-32; IIIa.1-6; Calvin, *Institutes* I.13; II.12-14.

⁵E.g., Hendrikus Berkhof, *Christian Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 280-93.

⁶See James D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1991), 199-201.

⁷Or, alternatively, both doctrines are rooted in the types or offices of the Hebrew Bible as they were fulfilled and integrated by Jesus Christ. Obviously, our understanding of the Hebrew types is altered by the fact that we find their fulfillment in Jesus.

⁸The Incarnation includes the entire life of the historical Jesus, not just his conception and birth. It also includes the present state of the exalted Christ—seated at the right hand of the Father. In fact, the purpose of the Incarnation was the effecting of atonement. In the words of the Nicene Creed: "For us and for our salvation, he came down from heaven and became incarnate...." And traditional theories of the Atonement have relied on the combination of the two natures, divine and human, in Christ.

⁹According to a variant reading of John 1:13 (itb, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen), Jesus is the one who was "born, not of bloods nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of a man, but of God." According to this reading, John would have believed in the Virgin Birth.

¹⁰Luke 1:33; Eph. 1:21; Heb. 1:8; 2 Pet. 1:11; Rev. 22:1-5.

¹¹Geoffrey Parrinder, *Avatar and Incarnation* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), 226-8.

¹²C. B. Kaiser, "The Biblical and Patristic Doctrine of the Trinity", in *Theological Dialogue between Orthodox and Reformed Churches*, Vol. 2, ed. Thomas F. Torrance (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1993), 161-92.

¹³The order of the last two attributes of the Spirit has been reversed in order to bring out the parallelism between the three articles more clearly.

¹⁴So Alexander of Alexandria: "But God is the Father, since the Son is always with him, on account of whom he is called the Father" (*Ep. to Alexander of Constantinople* 7; apud Theodoret, *E.H.* I.4. So also Athanasius, *De decretis* 7.31.

¹⁵E.g., Matt. 16:16; Mark 15:39; John 20:31; Rom. 10:9; 1 Cor. 8:6; 12:3; 2 Cor. 4:5. Interestingly, Pauline writings tend to cite confessions of Jesus as the "image of God," rather than "Son of God"; 2 Cor. 4:4; Phil. 2:6; Col. 1:15. This probably reflects Paul's Wisdom Christology; cf. Wis. 7:26; Philo, *Leg. All.* I.43; Conf. 148. It may also reflect an understanding of Christ as the new Adam; cf. D. Steenburg, "The Worship of Adam and Christ as the Image of God," *JSNT* 39 (June 1990), 95-109; Dunn, *Partings*, 193-5.

¹⁶Fragments of early confessional statements detailing the work of Christ are found

in Luke 24:46-47; Acts 4:10; Rom. 4:25; 8:34; 14:9a; 1 Cor. 15:3-4; 2 Cor. 5:14-15; Phil. 2:6-11; Col. 1:18-20; 1 Thess. 4:14; 1 Tim. 2:5-6; 3:16; 6:13; Heb. 1:3b-4; 1 Pet. 3:18-22.

¹⁷Hendrikus Berkhof refers to this option as a Christology "from behind;" *Christian Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 267. However, it might also be called a Christology "from before" or "from that which was "at hand." The Hebrew types, on which Jesus' ministry was based, were also promises of God's presence and reign in the age to come.

¹⁸E.g., Marcus J. Borg, *Jesus: A New Vision* (New York: HarperCollins, 1987), 47-8.

¹⁹Mark 1:16-20; Luke 9:59-62 (Q); cf. Matt. 9:9.

²⁰Martin Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* (London: T. & T. Clark, 1981), 16-17, 71-73, 86-8.

²¹E.g., John Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972); Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her* (New York: Crossroad, 1989 [1983]); Marcus Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teaching of Jesus* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984); Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987).

²²See, e.g., Horsley, *Jesus*, 279-92.

²³The issue is complex, but, generally speaking, legitimate claims to kingship were believed to have ceased with the death of Jehoiachin (mid-sixth century?) and/or the disappearance of Zerubbabel (soon after 520 BCE). True prophecy was believed to have ceased sometime after the Babylonian Exile (by the reign of Artaxerxes I [465-425 BCE], according to Josephus, *Against Apion* I.8.40-42, which is about the time of Malachi). In many circles, the legitimate (Zadokite) priesthood was believed to have ceased with the deposition of Onias III in 175 BCE. However, the authority of the reigning priesthood is affirmed in Mark 1:44; Acts 23:1-5; Heb. 8:4.

²⁴Peter L. Berger et al., *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness* (New York: Random House, 1973), esp. the excursus, "On the Obsolescence of the Concept of Honor"; Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World*, revised ed. (Louisville: WJKP 1993), esp. the discussion of the "dyadic personality" in ch. 3.

²⁵Samuel K. Eddy calls this use of typology in times of stress the "passive" type of resistance; Eddy, *The King Is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism*, 334-31 B.C. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 335-6. Note that T. Moses 6:6 draws a direct parallel between the tyranny of Herod and his heirs and the captivity of Israel in Egypt.

²⁶For an impressive defense of an ontological, as well as a strictly functional, interpretation of Paul's Christology, see L. Joseph Kreitzer, *Jesus and God in Paul's Eschatology* (Sheffield: JSNT, 1987), 116, 169-70.

²⁷The threefold office of Christ was first articulated by Eusebius of Caesarea (*Eccl. Hist.* I.iii.8). It was first explained in detail by John Calvin (*Institutes* II.xv), who may have borrowed it from Martin Bucer; cf. John Frederick Jansen, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ* (London: James Clarke, 1956), 24-5, 30, 36-8; John T. McNeill, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 495n.

²⁸The appeal to Hebrew Bible texts does not mean that the Jews of Jesus' time were all biblical scholars. As Richard Horsley has argued, some of the same ideals were

celebrated in popular Jewish oral traditions, and Jesus probably grew up and ministered in this popular context rather than in a rabbinic one; Horsley, "Popular Messianic Movements around the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 46 (July 1989), 474-8, 487, 494-5; idem, "Popular Prophetic Movements at the Time of Jesus," *JSNT* 26 (Feb. 1986), 15, 17, 21-24; idem, *Sociology and the Jesus Movement* (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 90-96, 141-3. Still, Jesus need not have conformed entirely to popular expectations, and, in the case of expectations about the Davidic messiah, he certainly did not.

²⁹Two types associated with such promises that we shall not consider are the eschatological high priest and the Son of Man. The former does not meet criteria 3 or 5. The latter is a variation of the Davidic messiah, but by itself does not meet criteria 2, 3, 4 or 6.

³⁰For a convenient listing of the passages in Q, taken from Matthew and Luke, and also the parallels in Mark which give added depth to the tradition, see Ivan Haverer, *Q: The Sayings of Jesus, With a Reconstruction of Q* by Athanasius Polag (Collegeville: Liturgical Press/Michael Glazier, 1979), 123-61.

³¹In general the simplest way to discern material mostly directly related to the historical Jesus is to look for themes that occur in both Mark and Q. Supporting material can sometimes be found in the early letters of Paul, the Gospel of Thomas, and the speeches of Peter in Acts (assuming this material to have Petrine sources even if modified by Luke). Such material, common to several early traditions, is not likely to be the invention of any particular author or community even if it has similarities to teachings of the synagogue or the early church. In some cases, the "criterion of embarrassment" can also be used. Notions that might be awkward or embarrassing for the early church are not likely to have been invented by the church and so probably derive from the historical Jesus.

³²E.g., James D. G. Dunn, "Messianic Ideas and Their Influence on the Jesus of History," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth et al. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 365-81. Dunn, however, plays down the role of messianic king in Jesus' thinking because he focusses on the explicit claims, rather than the symbolic acts, of Jesus.

³³Jesus' life, death, and resurrection could be viewed in terms of the humiliation and exaltation associated with several Jewish types. The prophetic pattern of humiliation and exaltation is exemplified in texts describing the persecution of the prophets by ruling authorities (1 Kgs. 22:24-28; 2 Chron. 16:10; Jer. 38:4-6; cf. Mark 12:2-5; Luke 11:49-51; 13:34 [both Q]); the Servant songs (Isa. 52-53); the Martyrdom of Isaiah; and (with regard to martyrdom) the Lives of the Prophets (first cent. CE). The royal pattern is exemplified in Saul's persecution of David and various Psalms (e.g., Ps. 18). The martyrological pattern (akedah) is found in 4 Macc. 8-18 (first cent. CE); As. Mos. 9-10 (first cent. CE); and possibly the tradition behind Josephus, Ant. XIV.iv.5 (429-30). All three of these patterns are attested in early strata of the NT (criterion 3) as we shall explain below.

³⁴On the prophet's access to the council of God, see 1 Kgs. 22:19-22 (Micaiah); Isa. 6:1-9; 40:3-11; Jer. 23:18-22. Compare the role of the Word an agent of the divine council in Ps. 147:15-19; Isa. 55:10-22.

³⁵E.g., 1 Sam. 3:21-4:1; 2 Kgs. 3:11-12.

³⁶On the access of temporal rulers in the council of God, see 2 Sam. 14:20; Pss. 2:7-9; 82:1-7 (cf. Ezek. 28:1-10); 110:1-7; Lam. 2:1 (cf. Isa. 14:12-15; Ezek. 28:16-17);

Ezek. 28:11-14; Dan. 7:9-14; Zech. 3:7 (Joshua assumes royal functions in 6:11-13); 1 Enoch 46:1-3; 48:2-7; 51:3. Compare the role of Wisdom as a member of the council in Ps. 43:3; Prov. 8:22-30; Wis. 9:9-11; Sir. 24:1-8. Texts that identify the king directly with (or as the embodiment of) Wisdom include Job 15:7-8; Pss. 2:5-6 (cf. Prov. 8:22-25); 89:25-27; 1 Enoch 49:3; 51:3.

³⁷Job 28:28; Sir. 24:4, 7-12, 23-25; Bar. 3:36-4:1; 1 Enoch 42:2. Yahweh was believed to have dwelt in the Tabernacle according to the Priestly strata of the Pentateuch (Exod. 25:8; 40:34-38, where the Hebrew verb "dwell" is *shakan*, and the term for tabernacle is *mishkan*, "dwelling" or "abode," from which we get the rabbinic term *shekinah*); cf. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (London: DLT, 1961), 295.

³⁸E.g., Mark 6:15; 8:28; 14:65; Luke 9:59-62 (Q). Cf. Luke 7:16 (cf. 1 Kgs. 19:19-21); 24:19; John 4:19; 6:14; 7:40; 9:17; Acts 2:22; 10:38; 1 Thess. 2:15 for other early witnesses. For a convenient summary, see David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 153-5.

³⁹Mark 2:17; 3:29-30; 6:4 (cf. Luke 4:24-7; John 4:44); 9:37 (cf. Matt. 10:40); 12:1-8 (eschatological prophet?); Luke 6:12, 17 (new Moses), 20-21 (eschatological prophet; cf. Isa. 61:1-2; Luke 4:18-21); 7:22-3 (eschatological prophet), 33-4 (son of man, like John); 10:16; 11:30, 32 (like Jonah), 49-51; 12:10 (son of man, eschatological prophet?). Jesus probably never spoke of himself as a prophet (*nabi*), but then neither did any of the classical prophets whose books we have (Isaiah to Malachi). Micah distanced himself from the prophets of his time, and Amos completely disavowed the title (Mic. 3:5-8; Amos 7:14).

⁴⁰Matt. 4:1-2 (Q); 5:1-8:1 (following Q); 17:1-8 (following Mark); Luke 4:1-2 (Q); 6:17-49 (Q); 7:18-23 (Q); 9:28-36 (following Mark); 11:29-32 (Q); John 1:14-17; 4:25-6; 6:14, 30-34; 7:40; Acts 3:22-26; 7:35-37; 2 Cor. 3:7-18; cf. Aune, *Prophecy*, 155-6; A. D. A. Moses, *Matthew's Transfiguration Story and Jewish-Christian Controversy* (Sheffield: JSNT, 1996), chs. 4-7. The interpretations of the Moses typology in these traditions differ sharply. But the very existence of the typology in such different NT traditions indicates very early roots.

⁴¹Elsewhere in the NT, the promise of a prophet like Moses is alluded to in Luke 7:16, 19 (Q); 9:35; John 1:21; 4:25; 6:14; 7:40; Acts 3:22-26. Evidence of the pre-Christian expectation of such a prophet is found in *T. Benj.* 9:2; 1QS 9:11; 4QTest. 5-8; and possibly 1 Macc. 4:46; 14:41. Extrabiblical evidence from the first century includes the expectations surrounding the "sign prophets" or "action-oriented prophets" described by Josephus (B.J. II.13.4.259-5.262; Ant. XX.5.1.97; 8.6.168-70; 8.10.188); cf. Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets of Old": Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (July 1985), 455-60. Even if expectation of a Mosaic prophet was not universal, it was available to first-century Jews and could easily have spread as the result of early speculations about Jesus.

⁴²Exod. 15:25-27; 16:4-36; Num. 12:13-16; 21:7-9; Hos. 12:13. On Moses as the mediator of God's healing power, see George W. Coats *The Moses Tradition* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 136-40. Moses, Elijah, and Elisha were classical types of the prophetic office for the Deuteronomistic school; Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 171, 197-203, 206. Richard Horsley provides evidence that this charismatic line survived at the level of popular tradition into the early Common Era; Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets," 435-63; *idem*, *Sociology*, 92-94, 141-3.

⁴¹1 Kgs. 17:8-24; 2 Kgs. 5:1-14; Luke 4:25-27; cf. Lester L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1995), 70-72, 95 (on Neuer prophets), 117. The vitality of these traditions about Elijah and Elisha in the first century CE is confirmed by the accounts of their exploits in the "Lives of the Prophets" (*Vitae Prophetarum*) 10:6; 21:4-7; 22:4-16.

⁴²Cf. 1 Sam. 10:12; 19:20; 2 Kgs. 2:12; 4:38; 6:1; 13:14; Isa. 8:16. The social role of such bands in economically depressed situations is discussed by Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet* (Louisville: WJKP, 1995), 133-8.

⁴³Mark 1:40-41; 5:22-43; 6:7-15; 8:1-9, 28; Luke 7:11-16, 19-23 (Q); cf. 1 Kgs. 17:17-24; 2 Kgs. 4:18-44; 5:1-14.

⁴⁴Mark 6:35-44; 8:1-9; (cf. Exod. 16:1-3 [Ps. 107:4-5 attributes the feeding to Yahweh]); 14:24; cf. 1 Cor. 11:25. Michael Goulder argues for a "prophet like Moses" Christology, based on Deut. 18, in the pre-Markan gospel; Goulder, "The Pre-Markan Gospel," *SJT* 47 (1994), 466.

⁴⁵Recent studies on the Jewish sign prophets include P. W. Barnett, "The Jewish Sign Prophets—A.D. 40-70," *NTS* 27 (1981); R. Horsley, "Popular Prophetic Movements," 3-27; *idem*, "Like One of the Prophets of Old," Rebecca Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 114-44.

⁴⁶The inner connection between the Word and the prophet is based on the OT formula, "The word of the Lord came to the prophet... saying..." (e.g., Isa. 51:16). The "divine word" might be nothing more than a verbal message from God, but it could also be conceived as a messenger or angel of the Lord, as in Philo; see Ronald Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), ch. 2. In Wis. 18:15-16, the divine Word is portrayed as a warrior carrying a sword, very much like the angel of the Lord in Num. 22:23; Josh. 5:13-14 (cf. Rev. 19:13; Ignatius, Magn. 8:2).

⁴⁷At the time of Jesus, the classical prophets were closely associated with the themes of rejection, death, and vindication; John Downing, "Jesus and Martyrdom," *JTS* n.s. 14 (1963), 285-6, 292; T. E. Pollard, "Martyrdom and Resurrection in the New Testament," *BJRL* 55 (Autumn 1972), 248-9.

⁴⁸Enoch and Moses were translated into heaven in the Hebrew Bible. Other traditions celebrated the ascension before death of Phinehas, Elijah, and Ezra (Pseudo-Philo, LAB 48:1; 4 Ezra 14:4-9, 49 Syr/Eth/Arm).

⁴⁹It follows that belief in the death and resurrection of Jesus had to be independently established. It could not simply have been derived from the promises of Deut. 18 (prophet), 2 Sam. 7 (king), and Gen. 22 (martyr).

⁵⁰Such texts in Q include Luke 6:27; 11:51; 12:4, 5, 8, 22, 27, 44, 59; 13:35; 15:7, 10; cf. Ernst Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London: SCM Press, 1964), 37-38, Joachim Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1967), 112; *idem*, *New Testament Theology, Part One* (London: SCM Press, 1971), 35-36; J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1975), 79. See David Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979), 64-66, for a review and (positive) evaluation of Jeremias' arguments regarding the authenticity and distinctiveness of the amên formula on Jesus' lips.

⁵¹Mark 8:38; 13:31; Luke 6:46-47 (Q); cf. Matt. 28:20; John 5:24; 6:68; 8:31, 37, 43, 48; 14:23-24; 15:3.

⁵⁴Raymond E. Brown, "Did Jesus Know He Was God?", *BTB* 15 (April 1985), 77b. The quote alludes to John 1, where Christ is described as the divine Word. Cf. Athanasius, *Or. con. Arianos* III.30, for the same idea.

⁵⁵Isa 33:24; 40:2; 43:25; 55:7; Jer. 31:34; 33:8; 36:3; 50:20; Mic. 7:19.

⁵⁶Exod. 32:32; 34:9; Num. 14:19; Amos 7:2; cf. Dan. 9:19.

⁵⁷Mark 3:28; 11:25; Luke 6:37; 11:4; 15:7, 10 (all Q).

⁵⁸In the Qumran Prayer of Nabonidus, a Jewish exorcist (probably Daniel) is said to have forgiven the sins of the king of Babylon who had appealed to God for healing (4Q242 frags. 1-3). The connection between healing and forgiveness is similar to that in Mark 2:3-12, but, in the Gospel, the appeal of the sick is directly to Jesus and forgiveness and healing come directly from Jesus.

⁵⁹E.g., Deut. 17:19; 27:26; 28:58; 31:12; 32:46; Isa. 42:24; Jer. 9:12-13; 16:10-11; 26:4-6; Ezek. 44:24; Dan. 9:11; Hos. 8:1; Amos. 2:4; Zech. 7:12; Mal. 4:4.

⁶⁰Mark 2:15-17, 23-28 (where the type is David); 7:15; Luke 9:59-62 (Q); 14:21-24, 26 (Q); Acts 6:13; cf. Exod. 20:12; Tob. 6:13-15; m. Ber. 3:1; and the comments of Howard Kee on Mark 7:33; 8:23 in *Religion, Science, and Magic*, ed. Jacob Neusner et al. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 136-38.

⁶¹E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1985), 255; idem, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 1993), 235-7.

⁶²"Only God Incarnate can have proposed not only to affirm but also to revise, not only to intensify but also to excise, the ancient teachings"; Bruce Chilton and Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the New Testament* (London: Routledge, 1995), 135 (Chilton discusses the basis for this conclusion in Jesus' own ministry on p. 115).

⁶³On the Teacher of Righteousness (second century BCE) as a prophet like Moses, based on Deut 18:15-18, see CD 1:11; 4QTest. 5. But the Teacher of Righteousness was strictly a "seeker" or "interpreter" of the Law; CD 6:7; 7:18.

⁶⁴On the discernment of false prophets, see m. Sanh. 11:5-6; b. Sanh. 90a. The concern about judgements on Jesus as a false prophet come only in later strata of the NT (Luke 7:39; John 3:2; 7:52; 9:16).

⁶⁵Deut. 18:15-19; Isa. 44:3; 61:1-2; Joel 2:28-29; Sir. 24:33.

⁶⁶Cf. Luke 3:16; 7:19, 35 (where Jesus' disciples are the children of Wisdom); 10:9; 11:20, 32; 16:16, all from Q.

⁶⁷According to the Deuteronomist, the divine word was the basis of all prophecy (2 Kgs. 3:11-12). According to the prophet Jeremiah, the divine word presided at the divine council (Jer. 23:18). For the healing role of the Word of God, cf. 1 Kgs. 17:21-24; Ps. 107:20; Isa. 55:10-11.

⁶⁸For the Word as an emanation from God, see Isa. 55:11. For the role of the Word in creation, see Ps. 33:6; Sir. 43:26; Jub. 12:4; Philo, *Plant.* 8-10, *passim*; m. Ber. 6:2-3; Tg. Isa. 44:24 (*memra*); Tg. Jer. 27:5 (*memra*).

⁶⁹Luke 4:14-21; 5:17; 6:19; 11:20 (Q); 12:11-12 (Q); 24:48-49; John 3:34-35; 6:63; Acts 1:8; 2:4, 16-21; 4:8, 29-31; 5:32; 6:10; 9:17-20; 13:9-12.

⁷⁰E.g., Hermas, *Sim.* 5:6.5; 9:1.1; *Gospel of the Hebrews*, frag. 2 (dated to the 1st half of the 2nd cent.); Justin, *I Apol.* 33.6; 36:1-2; 38.1; 59.1.

⁷¹The Holy Spirit is represented by an angel (like the Son of God), e.g., in Hermas, *Mand.* 11:9; *Mart. Isa.* 9:27-40. In nonchristian Jewish texts, however, the Spirit, unlike the Word and Wisdom, is never given a visible form.

⁷²Thomas G. Weinandy suggests a helpful schema that integrates the theologies of

the Old and New Testaments. As at creation the ruach of God prepared the elements to receive the divine word (Gen. 1:2-3), and as the ruach of God enabled the prophets to receive the prophetic word, so at Jesus' baptism the pneuma of God prepared the people of Israel to receive the divine declaration ("You are my Son...") and anointed Jesus as the Word incarnate (Mark 1:10-11; Luke 3:21-2); Weinandy, *The Father's Spirit of Sonship* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995), 26-9, 48.

⁷³Early texts attesting to the belief that we receive the Spirit from (or in the name of) Christ include Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16 (Q); 1 Cor. 6:11; Gal. 3:14; 4:6. The Spirit inspired the confession and proclamation of Christ in Luke 24:48-9; John 14:26; 15:26-7; 16:12-15; Acts 1:8; 1 Cor. 12:3; Rev. 22:17.

⁷⁴The spirit that empowers the prophet Ezekiel is similarly differentiated from the glory-man he sees in his vision; Ezek. 1:28-2:2; 3:23-24; 8:2-4; 11:22-24.

⁷⁵Clearly this theologizing took place after (and in light of) the Resurrection, but it must have been rooted in the types and promises in terms of which Jesus had already been understood in his earthly life.

⁷⁶Evidence for the rejection and condemnation of Jesus as a false prophet is found in Mark 14:53-15:2; Matt. 27:63-4; John 7:12, 47, 52; 10:20; cf. Graham Stanton, "Jesus of Nazareth: A Magician and a False Prophet Who Deceived God's People?", in *Jesus of Nazareth, Lord and Christ*, ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 175-80.

⁷⁷That Luke's focus in Acts 3:26 is on the resurrection of Jesus and the subsequent preaching of the gospel is evident from Acts 2:24, 31-32, 36, 38-40; 3:19-20; cf. Lloyd Gaston, *No Stone on Another* (NovTSup 23, Leiden: Brill, 1970), 279-80.

⁷⁸In terms of the related divine categories of life and lifegiving, the Crucifixion and Resurrection could be understood as the killing and revival of the divine principle of life (cf. Acts. 3:14-16).

⁷⁹On the conventional association between wisdom and kingship, see 2 Sam. 14:20; 1 Kgs. 3:9, 28; Job 29:21-5; Prov. 8:15-16; Isa. 11:2-5; 19:11; Wis. 1:1-5; 6:9, 21, 24; 9:1-4, 11-12; 10:1-2; Sir. 10:1; Pss. Sol. 17:21-23; 29, 35, 37; 18:7; 1 Enoch 48:7; 49:1, 3; 51:3; Philo, *Opif.* 148; Conf. 62-63; cf. E. R. Goodenough, "Kingship in Early Israel," *JBL* 48 (1929), 169-205; Ben Witherington III, *The Jesus Quest* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 186.

⁸⁰Jewish sages were portrayed as kings in Dan. 2:48-49; Eccl. 1:1; 12:9; Wis. 6:20; 7:1-22; 8:9-9:12; 10:1-2, 10, 13-14).

⁸¹Josephus refers to Jesus' reputation as a sage and teacher as well as Messiah (*Ant.* XVIII.iii.3 [63]). On the other hand, Jesus was not trained in the schools of the rabbinic sages, and he apparently criticized the sages of his time who were so trained (Luke 6:27-42; 7:9; 10:21, all Q).

⁸²Early New Testament allusions to the fulfillment of the Davidic promise in Jesus are found in Mark 1:11; 10:57-51; 11:10; 12:6-9; 14:61-62; Luke 3:22; 4:3, 9 (all Q); Acts 2:29-36; 5:31; 13:32-33; Rom. 1:3-4; 9:5; Gal. 3:19.

⁸³Other prechristian and first-century texts (mostly based on 2 Sam. 7) that uphold this Davidic expectation in various ways include 1 Kgs. 2:4; 8:25; 1 Chron. 17:11-14; 22:10; 28:6-7; 2 Chron. 6:9, 16; 7:18; 13:5; 21:7; 23:3; Pss. 2:6-9; 89:3-4, 19-29; 132:11; Isa. 9:6-7; 11:1-5; 16:5; 52:13-15; Jer. 23:5-6; 30:9; 33:14-26; Ezek. 34:23-24; Amos 9:11; Mic. 5:2; Zech. 3:8; 6:12-13; 9:9-10; LXX translations of Gen. 49:10 and Num. 24:7, 17; Sir. 45:25; 47:11-22; Pss. Sol. 17:4, 21-25, 42; Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 60:3; 62:9;

4 Ezra 12:32; 13:10; 1 Enoch 49:2-4; 62:2-3; and various Qumran texts. See Evald Loevestam, *Son and Saviour* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961), 11-15, 55-71, and, on a more cautionary note, particularly with respect to the possible messianism of Chronicles and Sirach, Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 88-111, 131-50.

⁸⁴The absence of a consistent picture does not invalidate the common point of reference in 2 Sam. 7 and related biblical texts. The tendency of some scholars to minimize messianic expectations in the first century CE has been adequately answered by John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1995), pp. 12, 49 65-67.

⁸⁵Ellis Rivkin discusses the avoidance of messianic expectation among the Pharisees; Rivkin, "The Meaning of Messiah in Jewish Thought," *USQR* 26 (1971), 394-5.

⁸⁶The probability of Jesus' own awareness of royal messianic expectations is nicely argued by J. G. D. Dunn, "Messianic Ideas," 372-4.

⁸⁷Dunn, "Messianic Ideas," 375-6.

⁸⁸The primary evidence that Jesus avoided referring to himself as Messiah is the absence of the title in Q; see, e.g., Petr Pokorny, *The Genesis of Christology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), 84, 88. The title is also absent in the sayings material in Paul, special Matthew, special Luke, John, and the Gospel of Thomas; Nils Dahl, "Messianic Ideas and the Crucifixion of Jesus," in *The Messiah*, ed. Charlesworth et al., 397. J. C. O'Neill argues on the basis of texts like 4 Ezra 13:52 and 1 Enoch 62:7 that the Messiah was expected to be concealed until God revealed his identity in a dramatic way. In keeping with this reliance on God, Jesus refused to make messianic claims for himself; O'Neill, *Who Did Jesus Think He Was?* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 46-8, 116-9.

⁸⁹E.g., Mark 2:17, 19-22, 27-28; 4:1-34; 6:47; 7:14-23, 27; 8:15-21; 9:35-37, 39-50; 10:14-15, 25, 38-40; 11:22-26; 12:1-9; and (from Q) Luke 6:20-23, 31, 36-45; 7:31-35; 11:9-13, 21-26, 33-36; 12:2-10, 22-46, 54-59; 13:18-21, 24-27, 30; 14:16-24, 34-35; 15:4-10; 16:13, 18; 17:1-4; 19:12-26 (all Q). In several early midrashim, the Messiah was expected to be a teacher of Torah, either for Israel or for the Gentiles; Gen. Rab. 98:9; Eccl. Rab. 11:8; cf. Urbach, *The Sages*, 310-12. Belief in a teaching Messiah was probably based on Isa. 11:2; 42:4.

⁹⁰In Mark and Q, Jesus is a pneumatic "son of God," who casts out demons and contests the power of the devil (Mark 3:23-30; Luke 4:1-13 [Q]; 11:14-22 [Q]; cf. 1 Sam. 17:50-54). On Jesus' performance of exorcisms as possible historical grounds for the popular perception of him as "son of David" (one like Solomon), if not the Messiah (Mark 10:47-8; Matt. 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 25:15; cf. Acts 10:38), see Loren Fisher, "Can This Be the Son of David?" in *Jesus and the Historian*, ed. F. Thomas Trotter (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), 89-97; Marinus de Jonge, *Christology in Context* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 167, 211; *idem*, *Jesus, The Servant-Messiah* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1991), 70-72. But see also the cautionary note of Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist* (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 183-4.

⁹¹Mark 10:29-30, 37-40; Luke 6:20b (Q); 22:28-30 (Q?); cf. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 146-7, 153, 234.

⁹²Mark 11:7-11; cf. 1 Kgs. 1:32-40; Ps. 118:19-26; Zech. 9:9. Regarding the promise in Zech. 9:9, S. L. Edgar states: "This was so widely understood as Messianic by the Jews that it seems almost certain that, when Jesus rode into Jerusalem on an ass, he was deliberately fulfilling prophecy as a means of announcing his messiahship"; Edgar, "New

Testament and Rabbinic Messianic Interpretation," *NTS* 5 (1958), 48-49; cf. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 306-8; Collins, *Scepter*, 206-7; Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 455-6.

⁹³Mark 8:38; 12:6 (cf. Gos. Thom. 65); Mark 13:32; 14:61-2; Luke 10:21-22 (Q); cf. James H. Charlesworth, *Jesus Within Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 135-53.

⁹⁴Mark 14:58-61; 15:29-32 seem to assume a direct relationship between the promise to build a new temple and the claim to be the Messiah; cf. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 61, 69-76, 153. The Davidic Messiah is portrayed as the one who would restore the Jerusalem Temple in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:30-31 (first century BCE); the Sibylline *Oracles* 5:422; the *Pseudo-Jonathan Targum* (on Isa. 53:5 and Zech. 6:12-13); and rabbinic writings of later date; cf. Don Juel, *Messiah and Temple* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 171-203.

⁹⁵Mark 15:26; cf. Nils Alstrup Dahl, "The Crucified Messiah" (1960), reprinted in *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974), 23-28; and *Jesus the Christ* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), Jesus, 36-40. Dahl suggests that even if Jesus never openly claimed to be the Messiah (in so many words), he must have understood himself as such in view of his refusal to deny claims to messiahship before the leader of the Sanhedrin; *idem*, *Jesus*, 42-44.

⁹⁶We have interpreted certain aspects of Jesus' ministry as being "messianic." We may suppose the general outline to reflect Jesus' own interpretation of the messianic role, but should keep an open mind about the details. The availability of new texts and the reinterpretation of known texts will continue to alter the picture somewhat.

⁹⁷2 Kgs. 3:9; Pss. 51:6; 72:1-4; Prov. 8:15-16; Wis. 8:21-9:4; T. Sol. 1:5; 3:5.

⁹⁸The parallel text, also based on Q, is Matt. 11:27. Cf. Job 28:23, 28; Prov. 8:30-31; Bar. 3:32-4:4 on the relationship between God and Wisdom.

⁹⁹Elsewhere in Q, possible identifications of Jesus with Wisdom are found in Luke 7:35 (if the "children" are primarily the disciples of Jesus); Luke 9:58 (cf. Sir. 24:7-12; 1 Enoch 42:2; John 1:10-11); Luke 11:31, 49 (keeping in mind that Jesus is the one who sends out prophets and apostles in Q; cf. Matt. 23:34); and Luke 13:34-35 (where Jesus speaks as the departing *shekinah* or Wisdom of God; cf. Prov. 1:28; Sir. 15:7; 24:4, 10-12; 1 Enoch 42:1-2). See Witherington, *Christology*, 51-53, 222-8, 248-50; *idem*, *Jesus the Sage*, 202-3, 219-22, 226-30; *idem*, *Jesus Quest*, 183-4, 187-9. As many as five other early Christian traditions appear also to have identified Jesus with Wisdom: Paul, James (the risen Christ), special Matthean material, John, and Thomas. Therefore, even if the issue of the Christology in Q itself may still be unresolved, we have good reason to agree with Charles E. Carlston and Ben Witherington that the source of Wisdom Christology was Jesus himself; Carlston, "Wisdom and Eschatology," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jesus*, ed. Joel Delobel (Leuven: Leuven Univ. Press, 1982), 117-18; Witherington, *Christology*, 51-53, 55, 223, 227, 248, 250, 268, 274-5.

¹⁰⁰Mark 12:24, 35-40; Luke 7:29-35; 10:21; 11:39-52 (Q); cf. Martin Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995), 79-82.

¹⁰¹For Jesus as Yahweh/Lord in Q, cf. Luke 3:4 with Isa. 40:3; Luke 3:16b with Isa. 4:4; Luke 7:6-7 with Psalm 107:20; Luke 7:27 with Mal. 3:1; Luke 13:34b with Deut. 32:11; and possibly also Luke 13:35 with Ps. 118:26. For Jesus as Yahweh/Lord in Paul, see Kreitzer, *Jesus and God*, 113-29, 168-9; David B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 90-159; *idem*, "YHWH and His

Messiah: Pauline Exegesis and the Divine Christ," *HBT* 16 (Dec. 1994), 121-43. For Jesus as Yahweh/Lord in Mark, see Barry Blackburn, *Theios Anēr and the Markan Miracle Traditions* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 133-82. Jesus was differentiated from the Lord only when he was identified as the "Anointed of the Lord" in reference to Psalm 2:3 as in Acts 4:24-30.

¹⁰²David had established the political independence of Judah (and Israel?), and the "son of David" was expected to do so again (2 Sam. 8; 10; 1 Chron. 18 19; Jer. 23:5-6; 33:15-16; Ps. Sol. 17:21-31; cf. Luke 1:68-75; 24:21; Acts 1:6).

¹⁰³Jesus' vision of the kingdom clearly transcends the framework of a Jerusalem, temple-based state in Mark 1:15; 3:34; 4:30-32; 9:39; 11:12-14; 12:9-11; 13:1-2; 24:7; 14:58; Luke 6:20b; 7:28; 9:58; 10:9, 22; 11:2-4; 13:18-21; 14:16-24; 26:7; 17:24 (all Q); cf. John 4:21-23; Acts 6:14; Rom. 1:3-4; 9:4-5.

¹⁰⁴The task of Jesus was not just a therapeutic one of restricting the activity of demons and treating the demon-possessed, but the apocalyptic one of rooting out the hidden source of evil; cf. Mark 3:22-27; Luke 4:1-13 (Q); 11:21-22 (Q); 10:17-18; John 12:31-32; Gos. Thom. 35. In Jewish tradition, battle against the angelic powers of evil was normally undertaken by a supernatural agent of God or even by Yahweh himself.

¹⁰⁵Luke 2:11 (*Christos Kyrios*); cf. Lam. 4:20 LXX (*Christos Kyrios*); Pss. Sol. 17:32; 18:7 (*Christos Kyrios*); Matt. 15:22 (*Kyrie huios David*). The idea that the Messiah was also *Kyrios* is probably based on Ps. 110:1.

¹⁰⁶There was also an association between the first human (Adam) and the royal-wisdom motifs considered here; cf. Gen. 1:26-28; Sir. 17:3 with Wis. 1:6-7; 7:26; Philo, *Opif.* 148; *Leg. All.* I.43; *passim*.

¹⁰⁷In Mark 12:35-37, the point is not just that the Messiah is called "Lord" (David, too, was called "Lord," e.g., in 1 Kgs. 1:37), but that King David called him his "Lord." Jesus is also assumed to be greater than David in Mark 2:23-28; Daniel J. Antwi, "Did Jesus Consider His Death to be an Atoning Sacrifice?", *Int* 45 (Jan. 1991), 21-22.

¹⁰⁸For Wisdom as an emanation from God, see Wis. 7:25-26; Sir. 24:3. For the theme of creation through God's Wisdom, see Job 28:20-28; 38:36-37; Pss. 33:6; 104:24; Prov. 3:19-20; Jer. 10:12; 51:15; Wis. 7:17-24; 8:1; 9:1-2; Sir. 1:1-10; 24:1-12.

¹⁰⁹The images of light and glory are equivalent here; cf. Isa. 58:8 (chiasm); 60:1; Wis. 7:25-6; T. Abr. 16:8; Luke 2:32; 2 Cor. 4:6; Rev. 21:11, 23; Odes Sol. 36:3-4.

¹¹⁰Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22 (Q); Acts 10:38; cf. Ps. 2:7. The idea of the Messiah being anointed by the Spirit is based on 1 Sam. 16:13; Isa. 11:2; 42:1; 61:1; cf. Zech. 4:1-14.

¹¹¹Matt. 12:15-32; cf. note 90 above on Jesus as exorcist.

¹¹²In the Parables of Enoch, for instance, the heavenly Son of Man is anointed by the pluriform Spirit of God promised in Isa. 11:2 (1 Enoch 49:3; 62:2; cf. J. C. O'Neill, "An Introduction to a Discussion with Dr Maurice Casey about his Recent Book," *Irish Biblical Studies* 14 (1992), 197-8.

¹¹³Among NT texts that portray parity between the Christ and the Spirit, see Acts 9:31; Rom. 15:30; 1 Cor. 6:11; Phil. 2:1; 3:3; Heb. 10:29; cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. Orat.* XXI.1; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* XXXIX.16.

¹¹⁴From a pre-resurrection viewpoint, the Spirit might simply have been understood as the divine power (Wisdom) that was embodied in Jesus (cf. note 36). However, there may also have been a triadic model for the transcendent ground of the royal office. For example, the Similitudes of Enoch differentiated three heavenly hypostases: the Lord of Spirits, the royal Son of Man, and the Wisdom/Spirit of God (1 Enoch 42:1-2; 48:2-7;

49:1-4). Hence, "...it is easy to see that a reader of 1 Enoch could draw the conclusion that the heavenly Messiah, the *Kabod*, when he should manifest himself, would be accompanied by Sophia or the Spirit"; Jarl Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism," VC 37 (1983), 280.

¹¹⁵Mark 14:61; 15:2, 9, 18, 26, 32; cf. Nils Dahl, *Jesus*, 36-40.

¹¹⁶Luke 24:19-27 (prophet and Messiah); 1 Cor. 1:23; Justin, *Dial.* 10.3; 90.1; Origen, *Contra Celsum* II.9, 35, 68; VI.10, 34, 36.

¹¹⁷Mark 8:31; 9:12b, 31; 10:33-34, 45; 12:6-8; 15:34; 1 Cor. 15:3; Phil. 2:6-8. The Hebrew Bible background on the suffering and vindication of the Israelite king is found in 2 Sam. 7:14b; 22:5-7; Pss. 18:4-6, 16-19; 22; 30; 35; 40:6-8; 42:7; 63; 69:1-29; 71:20-21; 88; 89:38-52; 118:5-18; Isa. 50:6-9; 52:13-53:12; Zech. 12:10; 13:7; 4 Ezra 7:29; 1QH 3:7-10. See Aage Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), 25-29, 50-53, 64-67; C. K. Barrett, "The Background of Mark 10:45," in *New Testament Essays*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1959), 8-14; J. H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms* (London: SCM Press, 1976), 129-34, 178-81; John Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 85-106, 281-93, 337-8.

¹¹⁸Acts 2:33-35; 3:13; 5:31; Phil. 2:9-11; cf. Isa. 52:13 LXX; 53:10b-12a.

¹¹⁹John 17:5; Acts 13:33; Rom. 1:3-4; Col. 1:18; Heb. 1:2, 5-9; Rev. 1:5.

¹²⁰Matt. 28:18-20; Mark 16:19-20; Acts 2:30-36; 5:31; Eph. 1:10, 21-22; Phil. 2:10-11; Col. 1:18-20; 2:10; Rev. 3:21; 5:5-14.

¹²¹The verb *anistēmi* is used to refer to Jesus' resurrection as royal messiah in Acts 2:24, 32; 13:33, and the noun *anastasis* is used in Rom. 1:4; cf. Dennis Duling, "The Promises to David and Their Entrance into Christianity," NTS 20 (1974), 75-77.

¹²²1 Cor. 1:30; 8:6; Eph. 1:10, 22-23; 4:10; Col. 1:17b; Heb. 1:3b; the latter two texts refer to Christ's eternal role as Wisdom in light of the Resurrection.

¹²³Mark 14:62; 16:19; Acts 2:32-36; 5:31; Rom. 10:9-13; 14:9; 1 Cor. 1:30-31; Eph. 2:8; Phil. 2:9-11; Heb. 1:3, 13.

¹²⁴E.g., Aune, *Prophecy*, 122-6.

¹²⁵Gen. 22:14; 2 Chron. 3:1; Jub. 18:13. For a helpful review of the debate and the biblical evidence, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah* (2 vols., New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1994), 2:1435-44.

¹²⁶The most extensive treatment is found in 4 Macc. 8-18 (earlier than 54 CE); cf. de Jonge, *Christology*, 181-4. The idea of atonement being effected by the suffering and death of the righteous is also found in Isa. 53:6, 10-12; Wis. 3:6; 1 Enoch 47:4.

¹²⁷Texts include Mark 1:11; 9:8; John 3:16; Rom. 8:32. See Robert Daly, "The Soteriological Significance of the Sacrifice of Isaac," CBQ 39 (Jan. 1977), 66-74. The clearest reference to the akedah in Paul's writings (Rom. 8:32a) is one he assumes to be familiar to the Roman church and, therefore, is pre-Pauline.

¹²⁸John Downing ("Jesus and Martyrdom," 286, 291-2) argues that Jesus first thought of his death as that of a rejected prophet and only later came to understand it as that of a sacrificial martyr like those of Maccabean times. Luke 13:32-33 could be cited in support of this reconstruction and is probably an authentic saying of Jesus; cf. Hill, *New Testament Prophecy*, 61-62.

¹²⁹Pseudo-Philo, LAB 32:3; Aramaic Targums to Gen. 22:7; cf. John 12:27-28. According to P. R. Davies and B. D. Chilton, the tradition that Isaac consented to the sacrifice can be traced to the late first century CE, beginning with Josephus, Pseudo-

Philo, and 4 Maccabees; Davies and Chilton, "The Aqedah: A Revised Tradition History," *CBQ* 40 (Oct. 1978), 521-9, 541. The Targums are generally believed to preserve earlier traditions.

¹³⁰Strictly speaking, Jesus viewed himself as a sacrificial martyr like Isaac, not as a priest like Aaron (or a king-priest like Melchizedek). The combination of the types of priest and sacrifice in Christian theology probably dates from the book of Hebrews (possibly influenced by the tradition the martyr Eleazar in 4 Maccabees 6-7); Sam K. Williams, *Jesus' Death as Saving Event* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 241.

¹³¹Another possible allusion in the baptismal declaration is to the royal declaration in Psalm 2:7 (*huios mou ei su*), but this does not account so well for the words, *ho agapētos*. Most Western texts of Luke 3:22 follow the LXX of Ps. 2:7 word for word, so this may have been the original reading of Q (cf. Havener, *Q*, 124). If so, Mark's version clearly shifted the focus away from kingship to the *akedah* in Gen. 22 and the servant of Yahweh in Isa. 41:8-9; 42:1; 43:10. The shift in meaning from kingship to suffering would be in line with Paul's emphasis on the cross of Jesus (e.g., 1 Cor. 1:22-31). However, the interpretation of Jesus' death in terms of the *akedah* and the Isaianic servant is clearly pre-Pauline as evidenced by Rom. 8:32; 1 Cor. 15:3.

¹³²The tradition of the Jewish martyrs' faithfulness to the Law under penalty of death is found, e.g., in 2 Macc. 6:18-30; 7:1-38; T. Moses 9:4-6.

¹³³2 Macc. 7:14, 22-23, 29; cf. Heb. 11:18-19.

¹³⁴Matt. 12:5:7 amplifies the pericope in Mark 2:23-26. The "something greater" (*meizon*) in Matt. 12:6 may refer to the new service of God or the new community which Jesus had established, but, for Matthew, the indwelling *shekinah*/glory would still be Jesus himself (Matt. 18:20).

¹³⁵There may have been a tradition concerning a divine "Son of God" in Israel just as there were traditions concerning the divine Word and Wisdom of God. In 4 Ezra, for example, the Son of God/Messiah pre-exists in heaven much as the Son of Man or Righteous/Elect One does in the *Similitudes of Enoch* (4 Ezra 7:28-29; 12:32-34; 13:52; cf. 1 Enoch 38:2-3; *passim*).

¹³⁶The baptismal scene in Mark portrays Jesus as the new temple, the new dwelling of the *shekinah*/Spirit in the world; cf. Chronis, "The Torn Veil: Cultus and Christology in Mark," *JBL* 101 (1982), 112. Jesus' vision of the descending dove also parallels Isaac's vision of the *shekinah* in the Aramaic targums to Gen. 22:14; cf. William Richard Stegner, *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity* (Louisville: WJKP, 1989), 21, 24-25.

¹³⁷Cf. Judg. 13:19-23, where ascent into heaven is viewed as a sign of God's acceptance of a sacrificial offering. In Wis. 3:6-7, future resurrection is viewed as the sign of God's acceptance of the self-offering of martyrs. Some Jewish midrashim interpreted Gen. 22 as implying that Abraham actually sacrificed Isaac (cf. Gen. 22:19, where Abraham appears to return without his son) and that God rewarded this offering with the promise of a future resurrection; Jon D. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1993), 192-6.

¹³⁸Without the hindsight of the NT perspective, it would be difficult to know whether to take the personifications of the Word and Wisdom as more than literary images; Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (London: SCM Press, 1980), 176; *idem*, *Partings*, 198-9.

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Book Reviews

The Lenten Liturgies In the original Greek with a new English translation by Dr Leonidas C. Contos, Archimandrite (Northridge; Narthex Press, 1995) ii+219 pp.

The Liturgikon In the original Greek with a new English translation by Dr Leonidas C. Contos, Archimandrite (Northridge; Narthex Press, 1996) 210 pp.

These two handsomely-produced service books for the use of celebrant and reader are excellent in parts. *The Lenten Liturgies* contains the Liturgies of the Presanctified and St Basil with all requisite material from the Triodion, readings included. *The Liturgikon* adds to this the services of Vespers and Matins, the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, troparia and special services. The layout is largely clear and easy to follow, though some rubrics will sound strange to those familiar with English terminology. In a notable advance, all Psalms are translated from the Septuagint (since the source, *The Septuagint Psalter*, is published separately by Narthex Press, its eccentricities will not be discussed here); other readings are from the Revised Standard Version, which has the disadvantage that Proverbs readings in particular are often wildly divergent in Greek and English. The foreword to the *Liturgikon* tells us that "extraneous detail has been omitted;" but a liberal interpretation of "extraneous" has resulted in the enshrining of liturgical minimalism, even where the result is nonsensical as with the exclamation "That ever guarded by Your power..." (It p. 76) - a subordinate clause - in splendid isolation. Again, one might question the justification for not emending the Greek text where emendation has been felt necessary in translation (e.g. the restoration, in the English text only, of the participle in the phrase "Offering

You these gifts from Your own gifts" - *Liturgikon* p. 85). For a more satisfactory alternative to this piecemeal approach, compare the translation of the Liturgy recently published for the Greek Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain (*The Divine Liturgy of our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom: The Greek Text together with a Translation into English*, Oxford; OUP, 1995).

The style aspired to in these volumes is dignified but contemporary (modern pronouns are used everywhere except, curiously, the Lord's Prayer). The results, however, are uneven. The fixed material for the services - and most of the *Liturgikon* - is often accurate, decorous and quite usable, and occasionally inspired. Here most of the passages which are bizarre, ungrammatical or plain inaccurate are easily amended. There is a bewildering contrast, however, between the best and worst of these translations - the latter, including much of the Triodion material, being often lacklustre and turgid and at times plain wrong.

The translator shows commendable honesty towards his text, attempting a rendering of obscure phrases where others paraphrase or omit. Although he has in places improved on his predecessors, judicious reference to earlier versions could have prevented several new mistakes. But where the translation is poor, the main problem is insensitivity to language. This is not a question of aesthetics or finer points of style. It has to do with versions that are unusable ("come into... my rhenal internals" or "Christ, the tri-star light" - *Liturgikon* pp. 99, 126), or where the balance and parallelism which give our hymns much of their incisiveness and depth vanish completely. While it is sometimes impossible to reproduce all the overtones of the original text, it is not always evident that the translator is bothering to try; whereas his forced use of English sometimes produces spurious echoes which blur the main point. His capacity for obscuring allusions is at times spectacular. The sinful woman who anoints Christ "assumes a perfumer's role" (*myrrhophorou taxin*; *Lenten Liturgies* p. 152); the raising of Lazarus is a "prelude to the new creation" (*palingennesias* - i.e. "regeneration," as in Tit. 3:5 - *Lenten Liturgies* p.56). One might wonder how far the translator is aware of the constraints, or the potentialities, of working within a tradition of sacred English going back a good 400 years.

The Lenten services are the prime occasion when we are introduced to the Church's ascetic vocabulary in parish worship; it is

therefore particularly disturbing that key terms such as *logismoi* (troublesome thoughts), *ameleia* (negligence) - even "passions" - are several times mangled beyond recognition (e.g. "Going down to the calamity [literally "the passions"] of Jericho,... I fell among the thieves of the reason" [literally "of my thoughts"] [*Lenten Liturgies* p.102].)

Misprints in these volumes are mainly harmless, although "Mercy, peace..." is omitted in both English and Greek in the *Liturgikon* (p. 84), and the entrance hymn for the Transfiguration reads "in Your life shall we see light" (*Liturgikon* p. 114). On several occasions the Greek text printed is not what has been translated; and some of the outlandish versions of names in the Synaxarion of the *Liturgikon* could also have benefitted from editorial attention.

With these publications, Narthex Press has no doubt made a contribution to liturgical life and the use of English therein, and for this they deserve our gratitude. Unfortunately, those convinced that English is not an adequate medium for Orthodox worship will find plenty here to confirm their prejudices. Further, there is a real danger that the convenience of the format will dissuade users from seeking better translations for some of the material. Whereas the Foreword to the *Liturgikon* expresses the hope that these versions will set a standard, those inclined to use them might do better to treat them as a working draft.

Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff

Andrew Walker and Costa Carras (ed.s), *Living Orthodoxy in the Modern World*. London; SPCK, 1996. Pp. x+246.

"There is a view... that Orthodox Christians spend so much time in Church services that they never face up to the great issues of the day..." (1). And observers of Orthodoxy in North America might be inclined to add that when they do address "great issues," it is not infrequently an undistinguished echo of Western Christian approaches.

If ever there was a single volume able to dispel such impressions, this is it. Originating from a symposium in London in 1992, this collection of 12 essays ranges from "The Eschata in our Daily Life" to "Orthodox Tradition and Family Life" or "The Holy Trinity, the Church and Politics in a Secular World." The authors are bishops and laypeople of assorted traditions, including both such well-known names as Bishop Kallistos (Ware) and Metropolitan Anthony (Bloom),

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two tendencies existing in the Greek world, that of the conservatives and that of the liberals, and with the wider ideological and general context, as well as with the activity of the foreign missionaries and the Bible Societies.

Apart from the tendencies and the currents, one encounters the pioneers, directly or indirectly, and the servants of the above-mentioned parties with all the biographical and bibliographical material relating to them.

The author likes to make hypothetical sentences (p. 101 and elsewhere in the book), questions and answers (p. 140), with regard to the related careful characterizations of persons, writings, etc. (pp. ix-x, xiv, 6, 169-170, 176, 180-181, 186, 192, 202, 211) or to whatever takes place for the first time (pp. 1, 129, 196, 210-211) and the conclusions for each chapter, including the special chapter dedicated to this (pp. 13-14, 30, 54-55, 84, 99-100, 121, 142-143, 164, 165-168).

The author uses the term "canonization" (p. 181) in order to point to the entry of Nikodemos the Hagiorite into the hagiological book of the Church by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The author, whose surname is Vriennios, is called Philotheos and not Philaretos (p. 247). Typographical errors are minimal (pp. 46, 116, 173).

Fr. Vaporis has, with the present work and his general scholarly activity, placed himself among the ranks of those Greek Orthodox clergymen, theologians, people of culture and authors in America, who began to accentuate the presence of the Orthodox Church in many dimensions of the English-speaking world.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

K.S. Staikos, (*The Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate*). Athens, 1994, 34 pp.

This luxurious publication appeared at the completion of the refurbishment of the Patriarchal Library in the Phanar in 1994. "The renovation of the Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate began in 1991, under Patriarch Demetrios of blessed memory. It was undertaken on the basis of a donation from the Great Logothetes of the Great Church of Christ Panagiotis Angelopoulos and his sons Theodore and Constantine. It was completed under Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, who celebrated its inauguration in the year 1994"

(p. 7). The author is the architect who oversaw the entire work with the collaboration of Demetrios Raitsanofsky.

The book is divided into two parts: a) the Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (pp. 9-32), and b) the building of the library (pp. 33-34). The first part, a brief history of the library, is offered from its foundation to our days on the basis of certain witnesses and inferences. The various items, which constitute the library, are presented in a harmonious manner and in combination with the archives and the Patriarchal press. Among other things, the author mentions the (great) Chartophylax and Bibliophylax as well as the two institutions: the Chartophylakion and the Bibliothek (pp. 14-16) during Byzantine times. He does not know the precise nature of the organization and the administrative structure of these institutions or of the person who was responsible to the Patriarch for their operation. On these matters, specific information can be gleaned from my books: *The Synodical Institution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (in Greek), Thessaloniki, 1986, pp. 197-215 and bibliography (pp. 627-657); *History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate: 1453 to Today* (in Greek), 2nd edition, Thessaloniki, 1987, pp. 198-209 and bibliography; *The Ecclesiastical Offices in the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (in Greek), Vol. 1, Thessaloniki, 1992, bibliography (pp. 278-283).

Although this book has no footnotes or bibliography, it does provide valuable general information and is luxuriously decorated with beautiful icons and photographs.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavrides
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Akylas Mellas, *Seals of Constantinople. Parishes of the Most Holy Archdiocese (Churches, Schools, Associations, Guilds)*. Athens: Mnemosyne/Agra, 1996, 767 pp. Pictures, maps, designs.

The author was born in Constantinople in Turkey in 1934 and became a medical practitioner, practicing medicine successfully in his birthplace. He provides an example of the medical philosophers (*iatrophilosophoi*) of our race, who flourished after the capture of the city. Along with his profession, he became interested in the study of medieval Hellenism and specialized in Byzantine numismatics. He compiled a photographic archive of the Orient and collected sealed documents from communities and parishes in Asia Minor. He

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The Limits of the Church in an Orthodox Perspective

PROF. VLASSIOS I. PHIDAS

I shall try to use in this brief paper only the canonical language, which is proper to the Orthodox tradition, and to avoid using the kind of language, which is more familiar to modern ecumenical circles. This is because I have become fully aware that language is in itself part of the ecclesiological problem, which exists within the ecumenical movement. The usual theological obscurities or ambiguities of ecumenical terminology, especially with respect to ecclesiological questions, are intended to facilitate a growing convergence or agreement of different theological terminologies, in order to move beyond the present traditional frames and to express with the same terms different realities.

It is impossible, however, to do this with the established canonical terminology, which expresses a specific ecclesiological background and clearly describes the same ecclesial reality. Real unity can not be based on a compromise, or on a mere accommodation to pluralism, because unity can not be regarded as a goal to be reached regardless of the principles involved. That is why the purpose of this paper is neither to offer an apology for our Orthodox ecclesiological tradition, nor to cover up the real ecclesiological difficulties in contemporary ecumenical dialogue. It represents an honest effort to describe more clearly and to point out more fully the deep rooted theological causes of the historical divisions. In the following lines we shall try to show the main ecclesiological problems and their great importance for our theological dialogue and within the ecumenical movement.

I. The canonical meaning of the “*boundaries*” or “*limits of the Church*” is indissolubly connected with the teaching concerning the Church’s nature, essence and mission, since the latter describe the inner unity of the ecclesial body. What is usually meant by the term “*boundaries of the Church*,” on the one hand, is derived from the *ecclesiological* peculiarities of each Church, while on the other, it affects the content of their soteriological teachings. The fact that a variety of ecclesiologies exists (e.g. *Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant*, etc.) means that there also exists a corresponding differentiation as to the understanding of the boundaries of the Church, while the relationship between *the boundaries of the Church and the range of the action of divine grace* determines the soteriological dimension of the meaning of these boundaries. It is true that the variety of ecclesiologies derives from the obvious difference in the understanding of the Church’s nature, essence and mission, as it is also true that the ecclesiological teaching of the ancient and undivided Church was, in spite of certain divergencies in Church practice, common to all local Churches.

The nucleus of this traditional ecclesiology was the common understanding of the Church as *the historical Body of Christ (Corpus Christi)*, which is extended and is realised in the history of salvation. This common Apostolic tradition was expressed in the teaching of the great Fathers and was lived and experienced continuously as a common faith of the Church both in the East and in the West during the period preceding the great Schism (1054). On this common basis, related Church practice was developed and corresponding decisions were taken by local and ecumenical councils. To this body of the Church belong “*the faithful throughout the world, those who are such, those who become such and those who enter into such a condition...*”¹ They do not become “*many bodies but one body*,” because “*there is no other body*” “*than the one which is nourished*” through the holy Eucharist.² The unity is actualised by the Holy Spirit only in this one body of the Church, because “*to be or not to be the body is to be united or not be united with the body.*”³ It is quite clear that this ecclesiology of the Body of Christ describes the Church’s Christocentric ontology and reveals the respective ecclesial conscience concerning the boundaries of the Church.

After the great Schism (1054), however, Christological differen-

tiations came about, which shaped new presuppositions for approaching the delicate ecclesiological question concerning the Church's boundaries. Thus, a positive or negative evaluation of any ecclesiological development is possible only on the basis of the authentic relationship of *Ecclesiology to Christology*, as this was expressed in the entire patristic tradition and in the ecclesiastical praxis of the undivided Church. Theologically, it is self-evident that any differentiation, whatsoever, in the patristic understanding of the relationship between Ecclesiology and Christology leads to a different understanding of the mystery of the Church itself and, consequently, to either a gradual or an immediate ecclesiological differentiation. However, every ecclesiological differentiation affects either *qualitatively* or *quantitatively* the corresponding teaching concerning the limits of the Church. This *springs from* the fact that every Ecclesiology predetermines the identity of its own ecclesiastical body and that of the ecclesiastical bodies outside itself. At the same time it also determines the acceptable framework within which the related practice is to function:

(a) The progressive alienation of western scholastic theology from the ecclesiological criteria of the common patristic tradition reduced, in a progressive way, the importance of the *Church's Christocentric ontology* and led to a *hierocratic* understanding of the constitutional basis of the ecclesiastical body (*papacy and hierarchy*). The theoretical searching of scholastic theologians shaped even the conscience of the Roman Catholic Church, which came more and more to be expressed in the Church's respective praxis. At the same time, however, along with the weakening of the patristic ecclesiology of the *Body of Christ*, it advanced the Ecclesiology of the "*People of God*" in order to facilitate this hierocratic interpretation. It is quite clear that anti-reformationist theology has influenced deeply all Roman-Catholic theology until recent times. Thus, even in the official theological literature of the 18th and 19th centuries one can see that the patristic doctrine of the Christocentric ontology of the Church has been almost completely forgotten. Despite all this, however, the Christocentric ontology of the Church, at least according to the scholastic interpretation, was preserved in a *latent manner* within the structures and the conscience of the Roman Catholic Church, as this is clearly expressed in the new Roman-Catholic theology of recent times (*Neo-thomism*).

(b) Protestant theology, by rejecting the entire ecclesiological structure of scholastic theology, simultaneously rejected the concept of the Church's Christocentric ontology and stressed, in opposition to Roman-Catholic theology, the absolute authority of the *Word of God*, the individual character of the experience of the faith, the eschatological perspectives of the saving act of God, etc. Therefore, the rejection of the Church's Christcentric ontology made the notion of the boundaries of the Church *imperceptible* and even a matter of indifference. Hence, in Protestant ecclesiological teaching the specific historical boundaries of the "visible" Church are realised and in no way do they coincide with those of the "invisible" Church. This is because those who constitute the invisible Church, on the one hand, are known only to God, while, on the other hand, they could very well be members of the "visible" Churches, even different ones, as for example the Roman Catholic or the Orthodox Church, etc. The differentiation of protestant ecclesiology vis-a-vis that of Roman-Catholicism can be clearly understood through the following diagram: According to *Roman Catholic* (and Orthodox) Ecclesiology, *the Church pre-exists and precedes the believers*; thus we have the following figure: *Christ → Church → Believers*. According to the *Protestant* ecclesiological teaching, the believers pre-exist and precede the Church, which they also constitute; thus we have the following pattern: *Christ → Believers → Church*.

c. Orthodox theology, despite some partial and periodical influences from Roman Catholic or Protestant theologies, has remained faithful to the patristic tradition and has fought to preserve the traditional ecclesial experience. According to the Orthodox Ecclesiology, the Church is the *one and only Body of Christ* in the history of salvation. This one Body of Christ, which is the Church, is realised in history *as one and not as many ecclesial bodies*. It is fully manifested in the sacraments of the Church, since the Church is "marked" (*σημειοῦται*) in the sacraments. Thus, Orthodox Ecclesiology excludes the manifestation of this one Body of Christ in other ecclesiastical bodies outside it, since the Body of Christ is only one and not many. These strict ecclesiological presuppositions predetermine the content and define the specific character of the traditional orthodox ecclesiology.

II. In this spirit, it is possible to interpret the established differ-

ences between the Churches with reference to the ecclesiological presuppositions of their practice of mutually accepting the *validity* of one another's *Baptism*, or their practice of *Intercommunion*, or even their acceptance of a unilateral practice of Eucharistic hospitality etc. It is indeed quite characteristic that the above-mentioned practices refer to the *restoration of sacramental communion*, the absence of which manifests the rift in the unity of the Church. This inner relationship between *Ecclesiology* and *Sacraments* is an indissoluble one, because, according to the Patristic tradition, the sacraments manifest and indicate the whole ecclesial body. Hence, any differentiation whatsoever in Ecclesiology is fully expressed in the specific sacramental praxis of the Church, which, in its turn, expresses the corresponding awareness of the Church's limits.

Thus, the main issues concerning the contemporary ecumenical dialogue, i.e. mutual recognition of *Baptism*, *Intercommunion*, *Eucharistic hospitality*, etc., are approached with good reason by the theologians of the various Churches in a variety of ways, depending upon the various ecclesiological presuppositions of their respective Churches. In this case, the whole question of the *validity of the sacraments* performed outside the Orthodox Church is a broader theological issue and is deeply connected, not only with the inner relationship between the Sacraments and the Church, but also with the indissoluble unity between the *Paschal mystery* and the *mystery of Pentecost*. The ecclesiological differentiations precisely spring from the different interpretations of the relationship of the Paschal mystery to that of Pentecost, *especially with regard to the variety of ways in which the saving grace of God is related to these two mysteries*.

During the period prior to the great Schism (1054), the common patristic tradition teaches that *Christ*, through His overall redeeming work, is the *Source* (πηγή) of divine grace and the *Holy Spirit* is the *Bestower* (χορηγός) and the *Operator* (ὁ ἐνεργῶν) of divine grace in the faithful. Scholastic theology developed S. Augustin's view concerning the relationship between the Paschal and Pentecostal mysteries. Thus, it put forth Christ as *both Source and Bestower* of the divine grace, while ascribing to the *Holy Spirit* only the *mere* role of the *Operator* of the already granted divine grace, thereby emphasising the strong *Christomonistic* tendencies which already existed in Western theology. The *ecclesiological consequences* of such a theological differentiation were decisive for the process which led

to the Schism between the Churches of the East and the West, as well as to the two divergent tendencies within the western Christianity (Roman-Catholicism and Protestantism). Eucharistic debate was in the center of all those historical fermentations.

So, if Christ, through His overall redeeming work, is not only the *Source* but also the *Bestower* of the divine grace, then it stands to reason that, because of the *universality* of the work of Christ, the divine grace is *automatically granted to all*, irrespective of their relationship to the Church, within which the already bestowed divine grace is active through the Holy Spirit. If, however, this divine grace is granted to all, because of the *universality* of Christ's redeeming work, then it stands to reason that it is bestowed also *in those believers outside the Roman-Catholic Church*, even if such persons belong to a heresy of schism. Thus, the sacraments performed outside the Church are not only *real* (ὕποστατά), but also *valid* (ἔγκυρα), because they only lack the *efficacy* (ἐνέργεια) of the bestowed divine grace, which is operative through the Holy Spirit only within the Roman-Catholic Church.

The Orthodox Church, accepting Jesus Christ only as the *Source* and the Holy Spirit as the *Bestower* and *Operator* of the divine grace, in no way denies the universality of Christ's redeeming work. It simply holds that this divine grace is perpetuated in the historical Body of Christ, which is the Church, and is granted to the faithful by the Holy Spirit, which also effects the divine grace *in the Church* for the continuous realisation of the Body of Christ in time and space. The ecclesiological consequences of such a theological tradition is also decisive for the question of the canonical boundaries of the Church. On the basis of this Christocentric Ecclesiology the Church's limits *are exhausted only within the Orthodox ecclesial body*. It is only within this ecclesial body that the Holy Spirit *bestows* and *effects* the divine grace, which flows from Christ's redemptive work.

Through such a teaching concerning the Church's nature, essence and mission in the world, one finds himself face to face with the well-known *soteriological* and *ecclesiological* principle of "*extra Ecclesia nulla salus*," which strictly determines the canonical limits of the Church. Thus, the Orthodox Church, while accepting the canonical possibility of recognising the *existence* (ὕποστατον) of sacraments performed outside herself, it *questions their validity* (ἔγκυρον) and *certainly rejects their efficacy* (ἐνεργεῖν). It is al-

ready well-known that in the ecclesial praxis, the Orthodox Church moves, according to the specific circumstances, between *canonical "acribeia"* and *ecclesial economy*, recognising by *economy* the validity (*κῆρυξ*) of the sacraments of those ecclesiastical bodies. Yet, such a *practice of "economy"* does not overthrow the *canonical "acribeia,"* which also remains in force and expresses the *exclusive character* of Orthodox ecclesiology.

This observation is really important, because it reveals that the canonical recognition (*ἀναγνώρισις*) of the validity of sacraments performed outside the Orthodox Church: *a) is done by economy, b) covers only specific cases in certain given instances, and c) refers to the validity of the sacraments only of those who join the Orthodox Church, and not of the ecclesiastical bodies to which belong those who join the Orthodox Church.* There is, of course, a variety of opinions or reservations concerning this question. No one, however, could propose or support the view that the mutual recognition of the validity of sacraments among the Churches is an ecclesiastical act consistent with Orthodox Ecclesiology, or an act which is not rejected by the Orthodox canonical tradition. Therefore, we can say that Orthodox Ecclesiology, being an "*exclusive*" one, lays special emphasis on the inner unity of the Paschal and Pentecostal mysteries.

In this light, we can also say that the definition of a given Church's canonical limits varies as well as by the peculiarity of its interpretation of the inner relationship between the Paschal and the Pentecostal mysteries. *Roman Catholic Ecclesiology*, not being openly an "*exclusive*" one, lays special emphasis on the Paschal mystery of Christ. *Protestant Ecclesiology*, being a *very loose* one, lays special emphasis on the Pentecostal mystery.

It is obvious that these different ecclesiological positions spring from different understandings concerning the *Bestower* of the divine grace and the work of the Holy Spirit within the Church. This variety also indicates the related ecclesiological difficulties concerning mutual recognition of the validity of sacraments. *Protestant Churches* have no ecclesiological problem for proposing or supporting *any kind* of mutual recognition of the validity of sacraments performed outside their respective ecclesiastical bodies. *The Roman Catholic Church*, even though it identifies the canonical limits of the Church with her own ecclesiastical body, is able to proceed *to a kind of mu-*

tual recognition of the validity of sacraments, without abrogating her fundamental ecclesiological principles. *The Orthodox Church* can not proceed to any kind of mutual recognition of the validity of sacraments without a further development of her fundamental ecclesiological teaching on the canonical boundaries of the Church.

However, it is quite clear that in the ecumenical dialogue the *absolute ease* of Protestant theologians, the *relative ease* of Roman Catholics and the *limited ease* of the Orthodox flow from their respective ecclesiological presuppositions, which are not the result of their personal theological preferences. Thus, the *mutual recognition* of the validity of certain sacraments, which for a Protestant or a Roman-Catholic theologian could be considered as an ecclesologically consistent position, it is for an Orthodox an act of *inconsistency*, when it is assessed with Orthodox ecclesiological principles. These ecclesiological principles manifest in a strict fashion the organic unity of the Orthodox ecclesial body and differentiate those who do not belong to its body as either *schismatics* or *heretics*.

The relation of schismatics or heretics to the body of the Orthodox Church is strictly defined by the canonical tradition. However, Orthodox canonical tradition and praxis *appraises* and *classifies* these ecclesiastical bodies into various categories, analogous to their distance from the Orthodox Church or to their deviation from the traditional true faith. This *classification* concerns only those beyond the boundaries of the Orthodox Church and is clearly expressed by the differentiation in the ecclesiastical praxis for their entrance into its bosom. If, for example, the Orthodox Church stands for a particular circle which determines the boundaries of the Church, then those found outside the boundaries are said to belong to external circles, in which some form of *ecclesiality* is recognised. This type of ecclesiality is not easily determined, because the Orthodox tradition by accepting the Holy Spirit as the *Bestower* of the divine grace, which flows from the saving work of Christ, does not recognise the efficacy of the divine grace outside the canonical boundaries of the Orthodox Church.

III. The new theological discussions within the ecumenical movement are demonstrating that the mutual recognition of certain sacraments (*Baptism, Eucharist* and *Ministry*) is the basis for the view that different Christian traditions simply represent various formulations of the same apostolic faith. It means that those outside the

Orthodox Church hold the same essential faith, despite its diverse expressions in different cultures, languages and religious contexts. Thus, the ecumenical dialogue puts forth as its specific goal a mere theological *agreement* or *compromise* only in those areas, where the division is clearly expressed in the life of the Church. The Vancouver Assembly proposed, for example, the reception of BEM as an expression of a common understanding of the Apostolic faith, "*for what the Churches are asked to receive in this text is not simply a document, but in this document the Apostolic Faith, from which it comes and to which it bears witness.*"

This vision of unity is based on the following requirements: *a) full recognition of Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry, b) common understanding and expression of the Apostolic Faith, and c) common ways of decision-making and teaching that faith authorities.* In any event, it becomes clearer that the cause of unity is poorly served through these ecumenical discussions, because there is no agreement on *how many theological issues there are, on which consensus should be reached before a genuine unity is realised.* Some Churches propose that just a *basic agreement* on certain sacraments (*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*) could be considered as *sufficient* theological foundation for restoring full communion. Others regard every theological document of convergence as simply a *first step* toward a deeper theological consensus. In reality, there is no clear vision of the goal which should guide theologians and Church leaders, because, by putting various theological traditions into a common document, numerous fundamental theological questions are left open. If ecumenical dialogue is really a "*spiritual battle for truth,*" then it can be better served through the spirit of the tradition of the undivided Church, which offers the key to distinguishing between the *essential* and *secondary* elements of the Apostolic faith and reconciling the existing diversities through the recovery of the integrity of true faith.

The question of mutual *recognition of Baptism* is a crucial ecclesiological perspective toward full communion. In the BEM document mutual recognition of Baptism is encouraged as "*an important sign and means of expressing the baptismal unity given in Christ.*" But, this "*mutual recognition should be expressed explicitly by the Churches.*" What does this mean in ecclesiological perspective? Logically, mutual recognition of *Baptism* leads to the mutual recognition of members, as mutual recognition of *members* leads to the *full com-*

munion. If we recognise that all those baptised are incorporated *into Christ*, it is very difficult to avoid the consequence that they are also incorporated *into the Body of Christ*. But, if they belong to the Body of Christ, then it is more difficult to deny that they belong to the Church, "*which is his body*." If it is so, the Baptism, as *incorporation into the Body of Christ*, points by its very nature to the *eucharistic sharing* and leads to the full communion.

Thus, *Baptism* and *membership* in the body of the Church, of every Church, are interrelated through the bond of the *incorporation* of baptised persons "*into the Body of Christ*." But this presupposes a common understanding of both *Baptism* and *membership*, which is not the case in the respective traditions of the Orthodox and the Protestant Churches. For the Orthodox tradition, *membership* means *incorporation* through Baptism into the one Body of Christ, "*which is the Church*." For the Reformed tradition, it is the right to participate constitutionally in ecclesiastical governance. A possible agreement on the *nature of Baptism* could serve as a very important ecclesiological achievement towards a common understanding of the "*membership*" into the Body of Christ. This could lead to a new approach of the full participation in eucharistic communion. It is quite clear that a possible agreement on the doctrine of *Baptism* could lead to a possible recognition of the *membership* in the one Body of Christ, "*which is the Church*."

It would, in fact, be very difficult to reach a common understanding of *Baptism* and *membership*, without a serious convergence in the ecclesiology of the Body of Christ. In the light of an ecumenical approach, Baptism is studied as the unifying *first event* in all Churches. In the BEM document there is an exploration into many of the dividing issues in a new way. It is obvious that real agreement shall only be achieved when the Churches feel prepared to recognise that the agreement on Baptism is fundamental and constitutive for *membership* in the Body of Christ and cannot be conceived apart from the confession of the true Apostolic Faith. In fact, the central ecclesiological meaning of Baptism is the *participation* in the death and resurrection of Christ and the *incorporation* of the baptised persons into the Body of Christ. Since the Body of Christ is One, Baptism must be also One, because it is Baptism "*into Christ*" and, as such, it unites the baptised with Christ and his Body, which is the Christ of every time and every place.

Vatican II was unable to propose a new and ecclesiological consistent formula in order to combine mutual recognition of Baptism with full eucharistic communion. In *Lumen Gentium* it is stated that baptised persons are incorporated *into the Church*, but in the *Decree on Ecumenism*, referring to non-Catholic believers, it is declared that "all those justified by faith through Baptism are incorporated into Christ," which effectively means that they are not incorporated also "into the Church." The *Decree on Ecumenism* clarifies this distinction: "The ecclesial communities separated from us lack that fullness of unity with us, which should flow from Baptism, and we believe that, especially because of the lack of the sacrament of orders, they have not preserved the genuine and total reality of the Eucharistic mystery." However, the validity of Baptism of those ecclesial communities is fully recognised as an "incorporation into Christ," which introduces a *specific relationship* with the ecclesial reality.

In this sense Baptism is really the fundamental sacrament of unity and opens the way toward a full participation in eucharistic communion, i.e. toward full communion. We agree that on a baptismal basis "incorporation into the Body of Christ" and "membership into the Church," which is the Body of Christ, could lead to a serious convergence in ecclesiologies. But, if we confess in common that we are members of the one Body of Christ, I can not see any possibility to deny the Christocentric ontology of the Church. Thus, *mutual recognition of Baptism* could serve as a basic step toward the full communion, although it is not in itself a direct means toward the full communion. This means that we must place our understanding of Baptism in the *dynamic perspective* of the *ontological relationship* between Christ and His Church, which is fully manifested in the holy Eucharist. Through Baptism and Faith baptised persons are incorporated into the Body of Christ as well as into the body of the local Church. Since we agree that we are baptised "into the Body" of Christ (1 Cor. 12:13), it is quite obvious that our failure to restore eucharistic communion and to live as an ecclesial body reflects a *serious lack of agreement* as to the meaning of the fellowship into which Baptism introduces us.

The reassessment of the Orthodox tradition concerning the work of the Holy Spirit in relation to the boundaries of the Orthodox Church could offer a *theological support for a more flexible interpretation of the canonical tradition* regarding the precise content of the notion of

the boundaries of the Church. In this context, it would be useful to employ as criterion the 66th canon (Greek 69th) of the Synod of Carthage, which accepts as possible the “*communion*” with those having different views (*Donatists*) for the *benefit of the Church and for a more effective repentance* (μετάνοια) and salvation of those existing outside its boundaries. In this way, *converging tendencies of Christology* in more recent times better serve the cause of unity and could be made the basis for a *converging movement in Ecclesiology*, where constant criteria would be the common understanding of the *Christocentric ontology* of the Church and of the work of the Holy Spirit within the Church.

NOTES

¹ St. John Chrysostom's, Homilies, Ephesians, 10:1.

² St. John Chrysostom's, Homilies, 1 Cor. 24:2.

³ St. John Chrysostom's, Homilies, 1 Cor 30:2.

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Book Reviews

The Lenten Liturgies In the original Greek with a new English translation by Dr Leonidas C. Contos, Archimandrite (Northridge; Narthex Press, 1995) ii+219 pp.

The Liturgikon In the original Greek with a new English translation by Dr Leonidas C. Contos, Archimandrite (Northridge; Narthex Press, 1996) 210 pp.

These two handsomely-produced service books for the use of celebrant and reader are excellent in parts. *The Lenten Liturgies* contains the Liturgies of the Presanctified and St Basil with all requisite material from the Triodion, readings included. *The Liturgikon* adds to this the services of Vespers and Matins, the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, troparia and special services. The layout is largely clear and easy to follow, though some rubrics will sound strange to those familiar with English terminology. In a notable advance, all Psalms are translated from the Septuagint (since the source, *The Septuagint Psalter*, is published separately by Narthex Press, its eccentricities will not be discussed here); other readings are from the Revised Standard Version, which has the disadvantage that Proverbs readings in particular are often wildly divergent in Greek and English. The foreword to the *Liturgikon* tells us that "extraneous detail has been omitted;" but a liberal interpretation of "extraneous" has resulted in the enshrining of liturgical minimalism, even where the result is nonsensical as with the exclamation "That ever guarded by Your power..." (It p. 76) - a subordinate clause - in splendid isolation. Again, one might question the justification for not emending the Greek text where emendation has been felt necessary in translation (e.g. the restoration, in the English text only, of the participle in the phrase "Offering

You these gifts from Your own gifts" - *Liturgikon* p. 85). For a more satisfactory alternative to this piecemeal approach, compare the translation of the Liturgy recently published for the Greek Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain (*The Divine Liturgy of our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom: The Greek Text together with a Translation into English*, Oxford; OUP, 1995).

The style aspired to in these volumes is dignified but contemporary (modern pronouns are used everywhere except, curiously, the Lord's Prayer). The results, however, are uneven. The fixed material for the services - and most of the *Liturgikon* - is often accurate, decorous and quite usable, and occasionally inspired. Here most of the passages which are bizarre, ungrammatical or plain inaccurate are easily amended. There is a bewildering contrast, however, between the best and worst of these translations - the latter, including much of the Triodion material, being often lacklustre and turgid and at times plain wrong.

The translator shows commendable honesty towards his text, attempting a rendering of obscure phrases where others paraphrase or omit. Although he has in places improved on his predecessors, judicious reference to earlier versions could have prevented several new mistakes. But where the translation is poor, the main problem is insensitivity to language. This is not a question of aesthetics or finer points of style. It has to do with versions that are unusable ("come into... my rhenal internals" or "Christ, the tri-star light" - *Liturgikon* pp. 99, 126), or where the balance and parallelism which give our hymns much of their incisiveness and depth vanish completely. While it is sometimes impossible to reproduce all the overtones of the original text, it is not always evident that the translator is bothering to try; whereas his forced use of English sometimes produces spurious echoes which blur the main point. His capacity for obscuring allusions is at times spectacular. The sinful woman who anoints Christ "assumes a perfumer's role" (*myrrhophorou taxin*; *Lenten Liturgies* p. 152); the raising of Lazarus is a "prelude to the new creation" (*palingennesias* - i.e. "regeneration," as in Tit. 3:5 - *Lenten Liturgies* p.56). One might wonder how far the translator is aware of the constraints, or the potentialities, of working within a tradition of sacred English going back a good 400 years.

The Lenten services are the prime occasion when we are introduced to the Church's ascetic vocabulary in parish worship; it is

therefore particularly disturbing that key terms such as *logismoi* (troublesome thoughts), *ameleia* (negligence) - even "passions" - are several times mangled beyond recognition (e.g. "Going down to the calamity [literally "the passions"] of Jericho,... I fell among the thieves of the reason" [literally "of my thoughts"] [*Lenten Liturgies* p.102].)

Misprints in these volumes are mainly harmless, although "Mercy, peace..." is omitted in both English and Greek in the *Liturgikon* (p. 84), and the entrance hymn for the Transfiguration reads "in Your life shall we see light" (*Liturgikon* p. 114). On several occasions the Greek text printed is not what has been translated; and some of the outlandish versions of names in the Synaxarion of the *Liturgikon* could also have benefitted from editorial attention.

With these publications, Narthex Press has no doubt made a contribution to liturgical life and the use of English therein, and for this they deserve our gratitude. Unfortunately, those convinced that English is not an adequate medium for Orthodox worship will find plenty here to confirm their prejudices. Further, there is a real danger that the convenience of the format will dissuade users from seeking better translations for some of the material. Whereas the Foreword to the *Liturgikon* expresses the hope that these versions will set a standard, those inclined to use them might do better to treat them as a working draft.

Dr. Elizabeth Theokritoff

Andrew Walker and Costa Carras (ed.s), *Living Orthodoxy in the Modern World*. London; SPCK, 1996. Pp. x+246.

"There is a view... that Orthodox Christians spend so much time in Church services that they never face up to the great issues of the day..." (1). And observers of Orthodoxy in North America might be inclined to add that when they do address "great issues," it is not infrequently an undistinguished echo of Western Christian approaches.

If ever there was a single volume able to dispel such impressions, this is it. Originating from a symposium in London in 1992, this collection of 12 essays ranges from "The Eschata in our Daily Life" to "Orthodox Tradition and Family Life" or "The Holy Trinity, the Church and Politics in a Secular World." The authors are bishops and laypeople of assorted traditions, including both such well-known names as Bishop Kallistos (Ware) and Metropolitan Anthony (Bloom),

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The Nature of the Church: An Orthodox View

PROF. AUREL JIVI

I shall start my attempt to highlight the Orthodox understanding of the nature of the Church by quoting two major twentieth century theologians: "The essence of the Church is the divine life revealed in the life of creatures; it is the deification of creature by the power of Incarnation and Pentecost" (S. Bulgakov)¹ and "God has revealed himself clearly as Trinity in the work of salvation and hence this revelation is clear only in Christ in whom God has come down among men in order to save them" (D. Stăniloae).² Such statements echo biblical and patristic testimony about the Church's Trinitarian dimension. For the New Testament phrase "the Church of God" was a relational connotation expressed also by the text in 1 Peter 1:4 about the Christians becoming "partakers of the divine nature." The same was professed by patristic authors such as Origen³ ('the Church is filled with Trinity'), St. Cyprian of Carthage⁴ (the Church is "the people gathered in the unity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit") and St. Maximos the Confessor⁵ (the purpose of the saints is "to express the very unity of the Holy Trinity"). It was not by chance that the ancient rules of faith placed the Church immediately after the Trinitarian persons.⁶

Enlightenment on the meaning and content of the unity of the Trinity, in which the people of God are gathered and which the saints are called to express, is offered by the Lord himself who said: "I made known to them thy name, and I will make it known, that the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them and I in them" (John 17:26). It is thus the inner life of God, the intratrinitarian love that is by itself also economic. For through love God the Father not only establishes

the Son in existence from all eternity,⁷ but out of the same love "he gave his only Son, that whoever believes may not perish but have eternal life" (John 3:16). Consequently, at any time and in any situation the entire Church's or the individual Christian's relationship cannot be thought of with one person of the Trinity alone, separate from the other or without the characteristics that define the identity of the other divine persons.⁸ This need of simultaneity in approaching the teaching about the nature of the Church helps avoiding one-sided conclusions.

Having said that we can move to the presentation of the theandric constitution of the Church⁹ understood as a union between Christ and humanity by virtue of him being the head of the Church (cf. Eph. 1:22-23; 4:15-16; 5:23; Col. 1:18), while the latter is His body, "the body of Christ" (Rom. 12:4-8; 1 Cor. 6:15-16; 12:12-27; Eph. 1:22-23; 4:15-16).

The first act by which the trinitarian life expanded into the world, whereby the Church stepped into the world, was the Incarnation.¹⁰ In order for that to happen it was necessary for the Logos to have something in common with those whose nature he assumed in order to achieve their salvation. "The Word of God has to have in himself something that makes him adequate to open up in himself the infinite horizons of divine life, while humanity must have in herself something that enables her to sense these horizons in the Word of God and partake of them."¹¹ This adequacy of the Word of God and of humanity was the first foundation for the union of the two natures in Christ, for the Incarnation.

But Incarnation itself would have not been sufficient if it had not been followed by the other moments leading to Christ's full glorification. By the Incarnation the Word of God re-established himself as head of humanity on the way to salvation. The human nature in Christ had to participate in the overcoming through his death on the cross of humanity's weaknesses produced by sin,¹² weaknesses which obscured people's vision of God and hindered their progress towards salvation. "For Emmanuel died enhancing our entrance into the Holy of Holies and opening the doors of the Church in heaven to us who believe in him."¹³ It was out of love for humanity that Christ chose not to stand alone in offering his sacrifice to the Father, but to associate us to it so that the limits that encircle us may be broken and we may appropriate the benefits of his death and resurrection. And it is

in Christ's resurrection and ascension that the Church, his body, receives the seal and promise of resurrection for her members as the Church is the *locus* in which people progress towards resurrection, she is the "laboratory of resurrection."¹⁴ The world was made aware of this new reality of the Church — "a body more perfect than the world"¹⁵ — at the Pentecost, the event that revealed the Church as the work of Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit.

It has become almost a cliché in the modern ecclesiological discourse to point to emphases on Christology or Pneumatology as defining the teachings on the Church of some of the major Christian denominations (Roman Catholic and Protestant) with the resulting preeminence of the institutional side of the Church or of the personal experience of her members. At the same time, of the Orthodox Church it is said that "preoccupation with Christ has not only been kept in balance by a similar preoccupation with the Holy Spirit, but it has always been the Orthodox judgment that the union with Christ can be lived only in the Holy Spirit, and that the experience of being in the Holy Spirit is nothing other than union with Christ. The more vividly one knows Christ and the more one comes to live in Him, the more one knows and lives in the Holy Spirit. The more spiritual life one leads the more lovingly is one bound to Christ. By its own uninterrupted experience Orthodoxy confirms the words of St. Paul: 'No one can say Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit' (1 Cor. 12:3)."¹⁶

Thus in presenting the doctrine on the Church Orthodox theologians of recent times have tried to avoid any unilateral emphasis on Christology or on Pneumatology and have adopted a cautious approach even with respect to language that distinguishes "the economy of the Son" from "the economy of the Holy Spirit."¹⁷ Those who have taken the latter course talk — based on the scheme "nature versus person" — of an objective aspect of the Church (Christology) and a subjective one (Pneumatology), constantly accompanying each other. What Christ has achieved objectively in Himself is being realized by the Holy Spirit in each person through deification.¹⁸ According to other interpretations Christ has redeemed humanity potentially while the Spirit personalizes the grace of salvation. A third group holds the view that the history of salvation is divided into an age of the Son, the period when the Church was founded, and the age of the Spirit, when the Church was consolidated and expanded.¹⁹ Such distinctions may be useful as long as they do not lose sight of the proper

and organic synthesis between Christology and Pneumatology, as the two unquestionably belong together.

Another problem that has arisen is that of priority between Christology and Pneumatology. And this is being based on the New Testament writings which seem to justify both views: that the Spirit was given by Christ and that only after the Spirit was at work (at conception and baptism) one could speak of Christ.²⁰ Arguments in favour of one view or the other were also drawn from differences in practice concerning baptism and chrismation (confirmation). In Syria and Palestine confirmation, which was seen as the rite of the "giving of the Spirit," preceded baptism, while the sequence baptism-confirmation was common elsewhere. The belief that baptism was also imparting the Spirit shows that in the mind of the early Church the two were united in one synthesis both liturgically and theologically.²¹ Therefore, such a problem could arise only there where the two aspects are separated theologically or liturgically.

More relevant for our discussion of the synthesis between Christology and Pneumatology is the question of the content of the two. This is made easier by the fact that there is common agreement in seeing God's economy as one and indivisible. Which does not imply any lack of distinctive characteristics of the divine persons in this economy, that are directly relevant for ecclesiology. And this concerns mostly the divine persons' relationship to history. While "both the Father and the Spirit are involved in history, ... only the Son becomes history"²² as only he became incarnate. For even an event such as Pentecost, which seems to have an exclusively pneumatological character, is closely related to Christ, in the fourth Gospel Pentecost being seen as a return of Jesus. This interpretation is also present in St. Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on John*.²³

Another aspect of the relationship between Christology and Pneumatology has been expressed through the idea of Christ's *corporate personality*, coined by modern exegetes²⁴ to designate the reality of Christ, who is "one" and "many" since the Spirit is a spirit of *koinonia*. This means that Christ is an inclusive, a relational being. The idea is present in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (10:16-17) in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. But its roots go back to a time earlier than Paul's and is related to the "servant of God" and the "Son of Man" figures. Such a solid background in the Hebrew tradition of the Bible explains its use by first

and second centuries Christian writers.²⁵ In the sphere of ecclesiology the relationship of the “many” and the “one” is that between the “head” and the “body.” “The ‘head’ without the ‘body’ is inconceivable. The Church is the body of Christ because Christ is a pneumatological being, born and existing in the *koinonia* of the Spirit.”²⁶ In fact the very being of Christ is also *koinonia* which means that the identity of the Church is relational. The term “church” in the New Testament always appears accompanied with the genitive “of”. It is first referred to as the Church of God or of Christ and then the Church of a certain place, meaning the world around her.²⁷ The term “the Church of God” or “of Christ” indicates her relation to the triune God, on whom her identity is based, and whose very being she must reflect as communion of persons. Of particular relevance here is St. Basil of Caesarea’s preference for the term *koinonia* to describe the unity of God. Instead of the term “one nature” he speaks of the unity of God as communion of persons, communion being for him an ontological category. This does not presuppose any ontological priority of persons over substance but only indicates that in God substance coincides with the communion of the three persons.²⁸

How does this apply to the structure of the Church, to its local and universal dimensions? *Koinonia* is essential to both levels and to the way they relate to each other, as the debate about the local and the universal is a debate about the nature of the Church not about the organizational structure of it.²⁹

On the local level, the first implication of *koinonia* is that expressed by the Latin saying: *unus christianus nullus christianus*, meaning that the way to God of the individual Christian passes through the “neighbour,” that is in *koinonia* with the fellow members of the respective local community.³⁰ This emphasis on *koinonia* in relation to the local Church does not mean a rejection of “oneness,” of the identity of the individual member. The two things go together as in the case of the Trinity, the icon of which remains the icon of the Church,³¹ both universal and local. Diversity in fellow members is not exclusive. It belongs to the nature of the Church as body, as the body of Christ, in which there is variety of gifts, all of which fortify the body, enhance the unity of the Church, in this case, too, unity and diversity should be seen as simultaneous, not excluding one another but being conditioned one by the other, “one” by the “many” and the “many” by the “one.” When one speaks of the Church as the body of Christ

one just permanently envisage it as an icon of the Trinity so that the idea of an organism is balanced with that of a symphony of persons.³² This is best revealed and experienced in each local Church in the eucharistic communion,³³ as shown by St. Paul who writes: "We being many are one bread and one body for we are all partakers of that one bread." (1 Cor. 10:17)

The local Eucharistic community contains in its very composition and structure signs of catholicity, as the early Christians spoke not only of the "catholic Church" but also of "catholic Churches."³⁴ Early evidence significant for our discussion talks about the "whole Church" (Rom. 16:23) "dwelling in a certain city" (1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Cor. 1:1; 1 Thess. 1:1; Acts 11:22) "coming together" (1 Cor. 11:20, 33, 34) "to break bread" (Acts 2:46; 20:7). The *koinonia* of the "whole church" in a certain place was nor based on principles that created cohesion in societies, religious or otherwise, by virtue of race, profession, sex or age of the world around the Church. For in Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek neither slave or free, there is neither male or female" (Gal. 3:28). This transcendence of social or natural divisions characterized the Eucharistic community,³⁵ "just as it will happen in the Kingdom of God, of which this community was a revelation and a real sign."³⁶

Koinonia is also reflected and strengthened by the structure of the eucharistic community, in the centre of which stands the bishop, surrounded by the presbyters and deacons and in front of whom are the people of God. The ministry of the bishop as the one who presides over at the eucharist is a ministry of unity, of *koinonia*. He is the one who offers the eucharist to God in the name of the Church for which he was understood as the living "image of Christ." Through the bishop the "many" become "one" and are offered up to God in Christ, in the eucharist, in the highest moment of the Church's unity.³⁷ The pre-eminence of the bishop in the local Church is thus intimately connected with the Eucharist. This is evidenced also in the fact that ordination is the exclusive right of the bishop "not as an individual but as the head of this eucharistic community"³⁸ and that ordination takes place only in the eucharistic context. The ordination of the bishop himself takes place in the community. This makes the community constitutive of the Church and on the other hand there is no episcopacy without a community, which makes the community, that is mentioned in the prayer of ordination, part of the ontology of the episcopacy.

The eucharistic character of the local community does not define it in an exclusivistic way, as something that distinguishes it from, the "catholic church in the world." It is rather something that transcends the antithesis between local and universal. The body of Christ, of which the local community partakes in the eucharist, is not a part of Christ but the whole Christ. Hence, in the eucharistic context, the local and the universal are not mutually exclusive but are involved in each other.³⁹ This consciousness was expressed in the *Didache* 9: "As this brazen bread was scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom."⁴⁰

The same eucharistic context of the relationship between the local Churches and the Church universal appears in the act of ordination. The ordination of a bishop as head of a local eucharistic community takes place during the liturgy and is done by two or three bishops from neighbouring local Churches. The manifestation of the relationship between the local and the universal Church is not limited to the moment of ordination. In general, "through its bishop, or rather in its bishop, every particular or local Church is included in the catholic fullness of the Church., is linked with the past and with all ages. In its bishop every single Church outgrows and transcends its own limits and is organically united with the others."⁴¹

St. Ignatius of Antioch, the first of the early writers who used the term "catholic Church," connected it with the episcopal structure and the latter with the divine life and mind (Eph. 3). And it was the same Antiochian bishop who so clearly conditioned the validity of the Eucharist on the bishop: "Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is celebrated by the bishop or by one whom he appoints."⁴² This position derives from the bishop's being the main criterion of Orthodoxy.⁴³ Any understanding of ecclesiology presupposes a close connection between the eucharistic communion and the communion of faith.⁴⁴ The confession of the common faith through the reading of the creed is done within the liturgical context and not outside it.

At the institutional level, the "ministry" that best expresses the relationship between the local and the universal Church is the synod. As for the proper understanding of the role and function of the synod, reference is being made to the thirty-fourth Apostolic Canon, which states that in each province the unity is achieved in the one head. There is no provision in this canon for rotation as head or for collec-

tive ministry. There is, according to it, a perfect balancing between the one and the many, for the local bishops or Churches cannot do anything without the many.⁴⁵ Such an understanding of the relationship between the local and the universal Churches excludes from the start any possibility of interpreting the local Church in a congregational way or the universal Church in a monarchical sense.

An essential feature of the Church is her eschatological dimension, her "iconic" character. The fact that both baptism and ordination take place within the eucharistic context is already indicative of the eschatological character of the Church for the eucharist is an eschatological event,⁴⁶ since it is the eucharist that achieves our union with Christ in the most concrete way. The body of Christ that we receive in the Holy Communion is the beginning of our own pneumatization. Made up of such limbs in process of pneumatization the Church becomes more transparent of Christ's presence. This pneumatization leads to a higher degree of freedom and to a greater intimacy with the Father, to a more intense sharing of the divine life.⁴⁷ "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God. For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the spirit of sonship. When we cry, 'Abba! Father!' it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God" (Rom. 8:14-16).

The Church is, thus, a pilgrim to heaven, an icon of the Kingdom. Its iconic character does not presuppose any lack of reality. It is only an indication of the fact that it is a reality that points to a reality beyond itself, as the Church has not gotten an hypostasis of her own but the hypostasis of Christ.⁴⁸ The iconic nature of the Church consists in her being the firstfruits and the permanent and ever increasing revelation of the Kingdom to come.

This revelation of or transparency to the Kingdom does not mean a demeaning of this life or/of the world in which we live. It does not require Christians to be less active in the world, as the Church is *in statu viae* but also *in statu patriae* already here on earth. For *to eschaton* does not mean primarily *final* in the temporal series of events; it means rather *ultimate* (decisive) and the ultimate is being realized within the stress of historical happenings and events. What is not 'of this world' is here 'in this world,' not abolishing this world, but giving to it a new meaning and a new value.⁴⁹

By way of conclusion it must be said that the attempt to under-

stand the nature of the Church, to come as close as possible to the mystery of the Church is helped when ecclesiology is looked at in a wider theological context with proper reference to the Trinitarian dogma, to Christology and Pneumatology, to the eucharist and to eschatology.

NOTES

¹ S. Bulgakov, *Orthodoxia*, trad. N. Grossu, Ed. Paidia, Bucuresti, 1994, p. 9.

² D. Stăniloae, *Theology and the Church*, transl. By R. Barringer, St. Vladimir Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York, 1980, p. 74.

³ *Selecta in Psalmos*, 23, 1 P.G., 12, 1265B.

⁴ *De orat. Dom.*, 23 P.L. 4. 553.

⁵ *Ambigua*, P.G. 91, 11930-11960.

⁶ I. Bria, *Aspecte dogmatice ale unirii Bisericii Crestine*, Teză de doctorat, Bucuresti, 1968, p. 20.

⁷ D. Stăniloae, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

⁹ D. Stăniloae (*Teologia Dogmatică*, vol. II, Bucuresti, 1978, p. 208) avoids the use of the term *nature* in this case in order to preclude any monophysite interpretation of the union of divinity and humanity in the Church.

¹⁰ N. Chitescu et al., *Teologia Dogmatică Specială si simbolică*, vol. II, Bucuresti, 1958, p. 775.

¹¹ D. Stăniloae, *Teologia Dogmatică*, II, p. 214.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 219.

¹³ St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphira*, P.G., 69, 545 D.

¹⁴ D. Stăniloae, *Teologia Dogmatică*, II, p. 226.

¹⁵ V.I. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, James Clarke & Co. Ltd., Cambridge and London, 1968, p. 156.

¹⁶ D. Stăniloae, *Theology and the Church*, p. 14.

¹⁷ J.D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion. Studies in Personhood and the Church*, St. Vladimir Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York, 1985, p. 125.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ I. Bria, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

²⁰ Zizioulas, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 128.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 130.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 130.

²⁴ Metropolitan John Zizioulas, "Le mystère de l'Église dans la tradition orthodoxe," *Irenikon*, 1987, 3, p. 331.

²⁵ *Idem*, *Being as Communion*, p. 145-146.

²⁶ *Idem*, "The Church as Communion; a Presentation on the World Conference Theme" in T. F. Best and G. Gassmann (ed.), *On the Way to Fuller Koinonia*, Faith and Order Paper no. 166, WCC Publications, Geneva, 1994, p. 104-105.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

²⁸ *Idem*, *Being as Communion*, p. 134.

²⁹ I. Bria, *The Sense of Ecumenical Tradition. The ecumenical witness and vision of the Orthodox*, WCC Publications, Geneva, 1992, p. 35.

³⁰ I. Zizioulas, "The Church as Communion," p. 106.

³¹ I. Bria, *The Sense of the Ecumenical Tradition*, p. 35.

³² G. Florovsky, "The Church: Her Nature and Task" in *Bible, Church, Tradition; An Eastern Orthodox View*, Nordland Publishing Company, Belmont, Mass., 1972, p. 67.

³³ I. Bria, *The Sense of the Ecumenical Traditions*, p. 36.

³⁴ I. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 143.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 151.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 135.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

⁴⁰ In J.B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970, p. 126.

⁴¹ G. Florovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁴² Smyr., 8,2.

⁴³ Archbishop Basil of Brussels, "Catholicity and the Structure of the Church," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 17, 1973, 1-2, p. 47.

⁴⁴ I. Bria, *Aspecte dogmatice*, p. 37.

⁴⁵ I. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 135.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

⁴⁷ D. Stăniloae, *Teologia Dogmatică*, II, p. 228.

⁴⁸ I. Zizioulas, "Le mystère de l'Église," p. 333.

⁴⁹ G. Florovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

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The Nature of the Church: Reformed View

REV. PROF. EDGAR MOROS-RUANO

It is a privilege and great honor for me to be here as a member of the Presbyterian Church of Venezuela, and of the Reformed family in Latin America, in this important bi-lateral dialogue with our Eastern Orthodox brethren.

I have been asked to deliver one of the papers on the Nature of the Church, subject about which much has been said and written through the years. Instead of trying to repeat or summarize what is found in classic and well known texts, I want to reflect with you from my Latin American perspective on some of the themes regarding the nature of the church, which appear to us as particularly important today. In this reflection I will make use of some of the contributions of Latin American theologians, in particular that of Leonardo Boff.

We find in our reformed Tradition insights and theological positions which seem to be not only valid as intellectual formulations, but fundamentally relevant to the life and mission of the Church of Jesus Christ, *una, sancta, catholica, and apostolica*. The reformed Tradition, with all its relevancy, needs to be revised, enriched and completed by the emphases brought to the dialogue by other churches and families of churches, and that is precisely why we are here at this bi-lateral dialogue.

In our area of the world, the reformed Tradition is being enriched by the insights of ecumenical and liberation theologies. The enormous contribution of Catholic liberation theologians, such as Leonardo Boff and Ignacio Ellacuría is leading us to a greater appreciation of our own tradition, where many of the new insights were already present, found by Luther, Calvin and other theologians. But

the new insights are leading us also to correct some of the views of the reformed Tradition.

In spite of the fact that our reformed and presbyterian churches in Latin America are not highly structured with complicated hierarchical institutions, and that we preserve the Calvinistic presbyterian form of government, which allows for a good measure of democracy, we have fallen prey to the pitfall of centering our attention on the institution itself. Our small presbyteries and synods can become ends in themselves, as seats of ecclesiastical power and prestige, due to the forgetfulness of the true nature of the church and her reason for being. In a smaller proportion, we seem to be repeating the course followed by the Roman Catholic Church in its development as an institution, rather than an *ekklesia*, in Brunner's line of thought.¹

In what follows I shall attempt to deal with some of the fundamental aspects of the question about the nature of the Church, from the Latin American reformed perspective.

1. In the first place, we need to rediscover, together with our fellow Christians of other church families, that the Church is fundamentally "the People of God"—called by God, and sent by Our Lord Jesus Christ with the mission of announcing the Kingdom of God. Important gatherings have taken place in Latin America in recent years, which have stressed this fundamental understanding of the Church as the People of God.

The Church constitutes a "chosen people," the people of the "new covenant," elected for a purpose and with a mission. This fact, should do away with the misconception that the Church is or can be some sort of private club or ingrown fraternity or sorority, for members only and for their enjoyment. This biblical and theological insight needs to be understood anew by our churches, particularly in Latin America, where the pietistic and fundamentalist influences have led us to become isolated from society at large, and from the secular economic, social and cultural dimensions of human life.

2. A second aspect which becomes challenged by the understanding of the Church as the People of God is the individualistic stance which is prevalent in many of the protestant churches, including the reformed and presbyterian ones.

According to Emil Brunner, this individualist element is one of the aspects which has to be revised in our reformed understanding of the Church. This applies, according to Brunner, not only to Calvin,

but to the reformed Tradition as a whole. He tells us that for Calvin and reformed Protestantism in general:²

Between faith and the Church there is no inner necessary relation, but only an accidental subsidiary one, in which faith is essentially regarded as something individual, the fellowship of faith being added to it as something which does not belong to its nature. That is to say that although Calvin in practical matters was in the highest degree a Churchman and a founder of churches, he makes an individualistic separation of faith from the Church. Believers indeed require the Church, but they are believers even apart from it. That is also the customary conception of reformed Protestantism.

This strong emphasis on the individual and on individualism denies the basic character of the People of God, which is communal, since it is the Body of Christ on earth.

In Latin America our churches, in many instances, are mere aggregations of individuals, but are not a "people," not a community. The New Testament shows clearly that the Early Church was a community of prayer and worship, a community of love, a forgiving and healing community, which proclaimed the Kingdom of God and lived within its reality, a Kingdom which was in their midst, even if it was to be fulfilled in the "parousia."

In this community, human relations are of the I-Thou kind. Martin Buber, and more so Emmanuel Levinas and the Latin American liberation philosopher and theologian, Enrique D. Dussel, have rescued for us the tremendous insight of "otherness" or "alterity" as the key to human existence in community. There is no individualistic salvation, in the modern sense of the word. The individualistic idea of salvation which is strongly present in many of our churches is one of the by-products of Modernity and the Cartesian "cogito." The rediscovery of the fundamental reality of the Church as the People of God, and as the Body of Christ, frees us from the error of individualism.

In the Pauline teaching regarding the Church as the Body of Christ, the organic aspects of community are shown with great clarity and insight. The Body is dependent upon, and has its direction from Christ, who is its head. In the Body there is an inter-dependence and inter-relation between all its members. The diversity of "charisma" takes place for the sake of the fulfillment of ministry or service and the upbuilding of the body. The "charisma" and the upbuilding of the body take place for the sake of the fulfillment of the mission of the Church in the world.

3. Another aspect which seems to be of vital importance for our churches today, has to do with the problem we already referred to of the institutions and structures of the Church and their function within the missionary nature of the Church.

In the New Testament accounts, the Resurrected Christ confirms the sending of the disciples, now apostles, with a mission to the world. He gives them the Holy Spirit, as their helper and source of power for service and ministry.

The community of the Resurrected Christ is born as an *ekklesia* in Pentecost, fundamentally as a missionary church. The structures and basic organization, emerge according to the needs of the mission of the Church, by means of the "charisma" given by the Holy Spirit.

But human sin is present in individuals and in the Church as a community. Fundamentally the whole matter of power distorts the true nature of community. Instead of being moved by *exousia* or power for ministry and service, the church falls prey to *potestas*, power for domination. The profound realization that the believer is *simul iustus et peccator*, one of Luther's important insights, applies also to the Church as a whole. The temptation of worldly power or *potestas* which the Devil presented to Jesus in the desert, seems to be always present with the Church. The structures and institutions become ends in themselves. The institution takes the place which belongs to Christ only. The power of the Holy Spirit is substituted by human and worldly power and greed for material possessions and wealth. The Church becomes an idol and the focus of religious attention. As a direct result of this idolatry, the Church overlooks, or worse yet, justifies the practice of injustice on the part of the worldly powers, governments and empires. The Church forfeits her mission as herald of the Kingdom of God, by keeping silent before situations of injustice, oppression, torture, and other violations of human rights, or even worse, by aiding unjust regimes in their practices.

We protestants, particularly in catholic Latin America, tend to see fault and to condemn the Roman Catholic Church for falling prey to the temptation of worldly power. But certainly we seldom see the "log in our own eye." I am afraid that our churches, in many instances, have become infatuated with achieving great numbers, enormous evangelistic organizations, powerful ecclesiastical enterprises, and successful institutions. In Brazil, Guatemala and Colombia, for instance, some of the protestant and reformed churches have been

in connivance with dictatorial and repressive regimes. Obviously in such cases the proclamation of the Kingdom of God and its justice, takes a secondary place or gets almost entirely forgotten.

The Reformers were perfectly aware of the fact that the Church must always be in a process of reform, repentance and renewal, if it is to be the Church, for the *ecclesia est reformata et semper reformanda*. The realization that the justification of sinners depends exclusively on divine Grace, prevented the Reformers from giving divine character to what is only finite, or from giving absolute character to what is relative and fallible. The profound experience of Grace allows also for a profound understanding of the reality of human sin.

In our recent past, Paul Tillich has developed these insights into what he has called the "Protestant Principle."³ This is the critical vision which leads the prophet to denounce that which would pretend to usurp the place which belongs to God only, be it the Papacy, Rome, protestantism itself, the Bible, human culture, governments or worldly empires, or the institutional Church.

I believe that God has raised a prophet in today's Latin America, who embodies the "protestant principle" and who has been persecuted as the prophets of old, by his own church, but whose message cannot be overseen or forgotten very easily. I am talking about Leonardo Boff, the Brazilian catholic theologian, who, I believe, has much to teach us who stand in the Reformed tradition.

The influence of Boff in Catholic circles and the interest which he has awakened amongst protestants in Latin America, is considerable, even after leaving his order and assuming the status of a layperson.

Strong criticism leveled by Boff's book, *Church: Charisma & Power*, regarding the power structure and the violation of Human Rights in the Roman Catholic Church, brings to mind Martin Luther's prophetic criticism in the 16th Century.

Boff not only makes a profound analysis of his church and denounces the pitfalls of the institutional organization, but he also has become a prophet who announces a process of re-creation or "re-invention" of the Church, which he calls "*ecclesiogenesis*." This is a profound "evangelical" (that is close to the Gospel) process which is taking place in Brazil and in many other countries in Latin America, at the grass-roots level, in the so called Ecclesial Base Communities.

The importance of the this process has to do precisely with the

question of church structures. Boff offers an analysis of the types of relations which can take place between *structure* and *function*, between the mission of the church and the structures which may or may not allow the fulfillment of the mission.

Boff acknowledges that:⁴

no community survives without some degree of institutional structuring which would provide it with unity, coherence and identity. The institution is nothing but an instrument for the sake of the community of faith. Therefore, the institution is always a by-product which must move at the same pace of the historic transformations which the community goes through; it must deal with transformations and provide adequate institutional answers.

The Early Church functioned with very simple structures. It was a "poor church, fashioned for and by the poor."⁵ It was not structured around the question of political, economic or social power.

The structures which the New Testament talks about, were created by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit,⁶ according to need.... It was not important to have elaborate and sophisticated structures; what was important was to make real in the world the Resurrected Christ and his Spirit, to proclaim his liberating message of grace, forgiveness and boundless love, and to make possible for human beings to respond to this message.

The fundamental principle which Boff sees in the Ecclesial structures of the Early Church, which is also applicable to the Ecclesial structures of all times, is that these emerge according to the various needs present in the specific historical situations, to the end of serving a purpose and fulfilling a function; they are instruments or channels through which the Church is to accomplish her mission to the world.

As such, the structures emerge for the sake of mission, but they cannot be the same for all times and places. Rather they must be rooted in the specific cultures and in the various situations and moments, according to specific needs and have to always be open to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, so that they can be transformed and fashioned to new situations and moments in time.

This implies there is no one institutional form, established by Christ *per secula seculorum*. Not even the New Testament structures have an eternal or fixed nature. Boff poses the question as to which is the institutional structure which Jesus meant for his church, and he ar-

rives at the conclusion that: "he wanted and still wants the structure that the apostolic community, illumined by the light of the Holy Spirit and faced by the urgencies of the specific situations, would decide upon and assume responsibly."⁷

The Church of the Constantinian era tried to adapt herself to the new situations and to the exercise of power. She created an historical mediation, valid in itself. However, the temptation of power—structural incarnation of human sin—led the church to make of the institution an end in itself instead of an instrument for the fulfillment of mission. The preservation and reproduction of the structures, came to take the place of that for which the church had been created.

The structure no longer served its mediating function, and instead of allowing the fulfillment of the mission of the church in the world, it blocked it and thwarted it. The church stopped being fundamentally a community of love and became a hierarchical and authoritarian institution.

Today, in Latin America, the Church understood as community, which was the basic model of the Early Church, is emerging once again.

Boff and many other Latin American theologians speak of a return to the evangelical or Gospel sources. A re-creation of the Church is taking place, a veritable *ecclesiogenesis*. The Gospel message and its transforming power are being rediscovered, from the perspective of the poor. The Bible is being read through new eyes.

What is making possible this re-discovery of the saving message is that:⁸

a progressive overcoming of the doctrinal understanding of revelation and faith, which led to a fatal dogmatism, is taking place in theology and in the Church. God, in the first place, did not reveal true propositions about himself [herself], about human beings or salvation. He [she] revealed himself [herself] in Jesus ministry, in his life and teachings. Divine life entered human life. What saves us is not truths expressed in statements and phrases, but that God gives himself [herself] as salvation. Faith, in its true sense, consists in total adherence to the living God and not simply in the acceptance of a creed made up of propositions.

Together with this biblical and theological breakthrough, we find another basic discovery, which has to do with the return to the true

source of authority. This is happening fundamentally in the Christian Base Communities.

Boff illustrates the difference between the evangelical and the hierarchical conceptions of authority. In the hierarchical model, authority supposedly comes from God, and descends hierarchically:

God
Christ
Apostles
Bishops
Priests
Believers

In this conception, the common believer is practically left out, and only receives in an indirect and passive manner.⁹

In the Evangelical conception, instead, defined by Boff as the Church-People of God, all the ministries belong to the people of God and are to be found within the people of God, to be exercised in favor of the people of God. In reality the community is previous to the diverse ministries. The style which prevails is that of genuine fellowship in the community. The model is flexible and the ministries emerge according to need.¹⁰ It is clear that the organization or institution follows the community and its mission, as a secondary stage.

However, for the hierarchical model, means become ends in themselves and the ends are lost or become corrupted. "The Church Hierarchy occupies the center of interest, and not the Resurrected Christ and the Spirit with its charisma."¹¹

In the evangelical model:¹²

the People of God emerge as the first reality and the organization occupies a subsidiary place, as a derivation, at the service of the People of God. The power of Christ (*exousía*) does not belong to a few of the members, but to the totality of the People of God.

This second model is becoming a reality in the Christian Base Communities. The ecclesiology here "is structured around the categories of the People of God, *koinonía*, *prophecy*, and *diakonía*."¹³ The "protestant principle" is present here and is manifested in democratic participation, fellowship, the gift of "charisma" on all the members of the Christian Base Communities, and the fidelity and service to the community. This is a church which is being renewed and which is always in the process of being renewed. Boff says it in the following words:¹⁴

This historic process of fidelity and service to the community and to the Lord, present in the C.B.C.'s we call permanent conversion. This implies an attitude of self emptying and inner poverty which allows the institution to abandon its glorious conquests, when it perceives that, in order to serve the community and the Lord who moves within the community, it is necessary to abandon them. Only in that measure of permanent conversion, the community and her institutions will become a saving service to the world.

The relationship between structure and function which takes place in the C.B.C.'s, shows the presence of a profound identification with the Latin American reality and historical situation of dependency and domination. The C.B.C.'s are emerging in the midst of the Latin American poor, and are a democratic expression which allows for the transformation and redemption of human beings in order that they may become the People of God.

In the C.B.C.'s the poor acquire a prophetic understanding of their reality of misery and oppression—through a new reading of Scripture—and they organize themselves as a People in order to conquer their true humanity as new persons, with dignity and rights acquired by the Grace of God.

This whole process of redemption or liberation, which is at the same time spiritual and material, personal and social, is made possible and allowed by a structure which transforms the question of power into one of service and sacrificial love.

What has Boff to say to protestants in Latin America? I believe he has rediscovered fundamental things, such as the "protestant principle," which belongs or should belong to our tradition. Boff stands up in Latin America as a modern prophet, who reminds us, as churches and individual believers, that we are *simul iusti et peccatores* and that our churches can easily become self-centered institutions which prevent the divine saving work and the human witness to that salvation in service. He reminds us also that we cannot make idols of our denominational institutions, and that we have to be open to the renewing and transforming activity of the Holy Spirit.

The simple fact that we are protestants does not prevent us from structural sin. In the light of Boff's analysis and of what is happening in the C.B.C.'s in the whole Latin American continent, we must ask ourselves in a serious manner, whether our church structures allow for the free flow of the "charisma," whether those structures

permit the liberating activity of the Gospel and its incarnation in the concrete situations in Latin America, whether those structures allow the exercise and practice of *koinonia*, of prophetic action, and *diakonia*.

Boff also moves us to re-examine our theologies and ways of understanding the Christian faith. We have fallen prey in Latin America to a manner of "protestant scholasticism," making of God's self revelation in history, mere eternal truths, unchanging, infallible propositions, to which we must give our assent in order to attain salvation. We in our churches are in need of a new Reformation. This was Luther's discovery, now discovered anew by Boff in Latin America: the church is *reformata et semper reformanda*, reformed and always in need of being reformed.

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NOTES

¹ Emil Brunner, *The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith, and the Consummation*, Chapter 2, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962, pp. 19-36.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³ Paul Tillich, *The Protestant Era*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press-Phoenix Books, 1960.

⁴ *Iglesia: Carisma y Poder*, p. 190

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁶ *Eclesiogénesis*, p. 95.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸ *Iglesia: Carisma y Poder*, pp. 73-74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Eclesiogénesis*, p. 40.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

¹³ *Iglesia: Carisma y Poder*, p. 24.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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The Paschal Catechetical Homily of St. John Chrysostom: A Rhetorical and Contextual Study

FR. PANAYIOTIS PAPAGEORGIOU

INTRODUCTION

This homily, classified in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* among the Spuria of Chrysostom with the title "Κατηχητικὸς εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πάσχα,"¹ has been read every year for more than a millennium during the Orthodox "Paschal Vigil." According to the rubrics of the "Paschal Vigil"² the homily is read after the Canon of Pascha and immediately after the exchange of the "kiss of peace" among the faithful. It has been thought to be from the hands of St. John Chrysostom since at least the ninth century when the liturgical books of the Ὁκτώηχος (Παρακλητική), the Τριώδιον and the Πεντηκοστάριον received their final form at the Studite Monastery of Constantinople.³ These liturgical books, with their doctrinally loaded hymns, were built around the work of St. Andrew of Crete, St. John of Damascus, and St. Cosmas of Maiuma, all monks of the monastery of St. Savvas in Palestine in the eighth century. The Studite monks gave them a final redaction under the direction of another Savvaite monk, Theophanes the Branded, who suffered in Constantinople for the faith of the Icons.⁴

As I attempt to show in this study, the homily is replete with rhetorical and biblical elements, as well as the same Paschal themes which are also present in the hymns of the Canon of Pascha and other Resurrection hymns of the Ὁκτώηχος. Since the homily is probably from the time of St. John Chrysostom and very possibly from his own hands, it is interesting to investigate its relation to the Orthodox hymnology both from a thematic as well as a literary sense.

I. THE RHETORICAL ELEMENTS IN THE HOMILY

Even a first reading of the homily reveals immediately the heavy use of Second Sophistic rhetorical elements. The repetition of εἰ τίς, μηδεὶς, ἐπικράνθη, ἔλαβε, Ἀνέστη Χριστός, are all examples of *epanaphora*.

Antithesis is also abundant in the homily, e.g.:

ἔσχατον ... πρῶτον
 ὕστερον ... πρῶτον
 πρῶτοι ... δεύτεροι
 πλούσιοι ... πένητες
 ἐγκρατεῖς ... ῥάθυμοι
 νηστεύσαντες ... μὴ νηστεύσαντες

We also find the rhetorical figure of *parison* on at least two occasions:

καὶ τὴν πράξιν τιμᾷ καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ (line 13)⁵
 πάντες ἀπολαύσετε τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως,
 πάντες ἀπολαύσετε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς
 χρηστότητος (lines 21 - 22)

Assonance and *homoiooteuton* are found in the succession of words like:

Assonance:

εἰσέλθετε ... ἀπολαύετε
 χορεύσατε ... τιμήσατε
 εὐφράνθητε ... τρυφήσατε

Homoiooteuton:

ἐπικράνθη ... κατηργήθη
 ἐπικράνθη ... ἐνεπαίχθη
 ἐπικράνθη ... καθηρέθη
 ἐπικράνθη ... ἐδεσμεύθη

The *metaphorical* figure runs through the entire sermon and especially in what regards Pascha itself and the Eucharistic celebration which are presented as a meal and a feast for all.

Two more rhetorical figures present in this sermon are the *dialektikon* and *irony* occurring together in lines 35 and 36:

Ποῦ σοῦ, θάνατε τὸ κέντρον;
 Ποῦ σοῦ, ῥῆδη, τὸ νίκος;

Lastly, we also find at least two cases of the use of the *oxymoron*

and *prosopopoia*, which also appear together (lines 26 and 32):

ἔσβεσεν αὐτόν, γευσάμενος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.
and ἔλαβε σῶμα καὶ Θεῷ περιέτυχεν.

The first one refers to death and the second to Hades.

The extensive use of these rhetorical figures may compel one to think that this sermon is not from the pen of Chrysostom who at times seemed to regard with contempt the use of rhetoric by Christian preachers. As Ameringer⁶ has shown, however, Chrysostom has used all of these rhetorical techniques as well, at one time or another, especially in his panegyric sermons. In addition, it does not seem at all that the extensive use of rhetorical figures takes away from the message of this sermon, or damages it in any way. To the contrary, it enables the author to make his points in a rather powerful and triumphant way. As Ameringer also points out, Chrysostom showed contempt not for the use of rhetoric by Christian preachers, but for the abuse of it. He was opposed to the use of rhetoric for its own sake and severely denounced "those preachers who busied themselves about the harmony and composition of their periods, and who strove to entertain their audience by a show of eloquence."⁷ He used rhetoric himself, however, without being conscious of it, since it had become second nature to him, having been educated in it. We may even say that this sermon is an excellent example of Chrysostom's deliberate but successful application of rhetoric to the Christian kerygma.

II. THE BIBLE IN THE HOMILY

Chrysostom, true to his own advice to other priests, "We must take great care, therefore, that the word of Christ may dwell in us richly,"⁸ is *par excellence* a preacher whose every thought springs forth from a biblical injunction or theme. Hence, this sermon is replete with biblical elements, especially from the New Testament. See for example,

"εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ" (line 2)
"οὐκοῦν εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν"
(line 14)

which are clearly echoes of the phrase "εἰσελθέτω εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου σου" of Mt 25:21 and 23.

Lines 1 to 15 are all based on the imagery of the parable of the

workers in the vineyard (Mt 20). The labor is here none else than the Lenten Fast, while the reward is the Holy Eucharist. What Chrysostom is doing here is a very bold exposition of the Eucharistic theology of the Church by pointing out that the Eucharist is for everyone. He points out that the failure of some to keep the Fast should not be an obstacle to their participation in the Body and Blood of Christ. Chrysostom invites everyone who is present to partake of the Holy Eucharist. This kind of bold action suggests episcopal authority and it makes it most probable that Chrysostom would have delivered this sermon in Constantinople during his episcopacy.

Another New Testament element is found in line 18: “ὁ μόσχος πολὺς” which is a parallel of the “ὁ μόσχος ὁ σητεντὸς” in the parable of the prodigal son (Lk 15:11ff) where everyone participates in order to celebrate a joyous event. This feeding of everyone may also be alluding to the feeding of the multitudes by Jesus. In the same way as he then fed the multitudes plentifully in the wilderness, so also today he feeds us at his Eucharistic Table. This banquet can also be compared to the parable of the great banquet in Lk 14:16ff where the master sends his servants to gather everyone they find so that his house may be full.

The “νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες” may be alluding to the question raised by the Pharisees about the fasting of the disciples in Mk 2:18ff and Lk 5:33ff. In the same way as the Apostles did not have to fast while the bridegroom was with them, so also the fast is broken now that Jesus has risen from the dead.⁹

The usage of the verb “ἀνέστη” by Chrysostom may be a parallel to the announcement of the Resurrection by the angel in all of the three synoptics where the verb “ἠγέρθη” is used. Both verbs are in the same case and have the same exact meaning (cf Mt 28:6, Mk 16:6, Lk 24:6).¹⁰ Chrysostom finally uses the verb of the synoptics in line 41 as “ἐγερθεῖς.”

“Ἐφάνη ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία” (line 23) Chrysostom proclaims. For him, this is the essence of the evangelical kerygma delivered through the gospels. Especially in the gospel of Matthew the theme which runs through the entire account of Jesus’s life is the manifestation of the Kingdom of God in his Person: “ἠγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν” (Mt 3:1, 4:17). But what is even more interesting is that “we have here an evident stress on the universality of salvation.”¹¹ Israel loses its privileged position, which is now given to the Gen-

tiles and the entire world. This is clearly the message of Luke and John and is also found in Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul. Chrysostom, aware of the significance of this theme in the Christian message, points out that “ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία” is manifested in the Resurrection and the Eucharist and is now open to all who believe.

I was able to find only one Old Testament reference in this homily; this occurs in line 27, where Chrysostom himself attributes it to Isaiah.¹²

III. THE RESURRECTION AND THE EUCHARIST IN THE HOMILY

The Resurrection was considered as the eighth day of creation in the early Church. The baptism of the new Christians was reserved for the Paschal celebration, the day *par excellence* of the New Creation, brought about by the Resurrection of the Lord. The Resurrection has always been celebrated every week on the first day of the week, the “Κυριακή” (the Lord’s day), in the Holy Eucharist, but the climax of the Christian life has been the annual Feast of Pascha. According to Chrysostom, this feast is the “καλὴ καὶ λαμπρὰ πανήγυρις” (line 1).¹³ The center of this celebration is again the Holy Eucharist, which is the gift of the Risen Lord to all human beings. Christians had believed from very early that this “Bread” is the “φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν...,”¹⁴ which has been made effective through the Resurrection of the Lord and the deification of his human body which in turn deifies also those who partake of it.

Resurrection and Eucharist are so tightly interconnected that Chrysostom refers to them interchangeably without distinction. He calls them “ἡ χαρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου,” “τὸ δηνάριον,” “τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα” for those who have labored (lines 2 -4). Again he calls them “χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν” (line 14) and “μισθόν” (line 15).

Further down, concentrating on the Eucharist, he refers to it as, “τράπεζα,” “μόσχος,” “συμπόσιον τῆς πίστεως,” “πλοῦτος τῆς χρηστότητος” (lines 19 - 22). The feast of the Lord is for the rich and the poor equally. There is no class distinction, but rather, all rejoice together.

It is through the Resurrection that sins are forgiven: “συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε” (line 24). No one should fear death anymore, for “ἡλευθέρωσεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος θάνατος” (line 25). Lines 26 - 36 are a declaration of the defeat and embarrass-

ment of death and Hades by the death of the Savior and His descent into the "world below."

Finally, lines 37 - 43 are a triumphant heralding of the Resurrection of Christ, which brings life to all. From now on there remains, "νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ μνήματι." The repetition of "ἀνέστη Χριστός," makes this resound powerfully in the minds and hearts of the people, who turn around even to this day and greet each other with those same words: Χριστὸς Ἀνέστη!

IV. ORTHODOX PASCHAL HYMNOLOGY AND THE HOMILY

There are many elements in the Orthodox hymnology of Pascha which are common to the homily as well. The first and most important one is the joy of Pascha:

"Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ" (verse 4).¹⁵ And again, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα λαμπρυνθῶμεν λαοί" (*Ode 1*).¹⁶ The word "λαμπρυνθῶμεν" is a parallel to the "λαμπρὰ πανήγυρις" which we saw in line 1. Not only humanity but the whole creation rejoices today: "Οὐρανοὶ μὲν ἐπαξίως εὐφραινέσθωσαν, γῇ δὲ ἀγαλλιάσθω, ἑορταζέτω δὲ κόσμος" (*Ode 1*).¹⁷

The element second in importance found in the hymnology is the concept of salvation:

"Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ..." (*Ode 4*)¹⁸

"Πάσχα Θεοῦ τὸ σωτήριον..." (*Ode 5*)¹⁹

"Πάσχα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου σωτήριον." (*Exapostelarian*)²⁰

The third element is the presence of the Kingdom and the opportunity to participate in it:

"βασιλείας τε Χριστοῦ κοινωνήσωμεν..." (*Ode 8*)²¹

"δίδου ἡμῖν ἐκτυπώτερον σοῦ μετασχεῖν, ἐν τῇ ἀνεσπέρῳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς βασιλείας σου." (*Ode 9*)²²

The fourth element is the abolition of death and the destruction of Hades through the death and resurrection of Christ:

"...θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας..." (*Troparion*)²³

"θανάτου ἑορτάζομεν νέκρωσιν, Ἄδου τὴν καθαίρεσιν. (*Ode 7*)²⁴

"...καὶ καταργήσας θάνατον..." (*Exapostelarian*)²⁵

"...καὶ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας..." (*Ainoi*)²⁶

"Ὁ τὸν Ἄδην σκυλεύσας..." (*Ainoi*)²⁷

The fifth element is the gift of life brought to those in the tombs but also available to the rest of mankind:

“...καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος.” (*Troparion*)²⁸

“ἔκ γὰρ θανάτου πρὸς ζωὴν... ἡμᾶς διεβίβασεν.” (*Ode 1*)²⁹

“...πᾶσι ζωὴν ἀνατέλλοντα.” (*Ode 5*)³⁰

“...ὁ τοῖς πεσοῦσι παρέχων ἀνάστασιν.” (*Oikos*)³¹

The sixth element which is present implicitly or explicitly in almost every hymn of the Paschal vigil is the concept behind the words “ἀνέστη Χριστός” that Chrysostom uses:

“Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν...” (*Troparion*)³²

“Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγήγερται...” (*Ode 1*)

“...τὴν ἔγερσιν Χριστοῦ...” (*Ode 3*)

“Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς ὡς παντοδύναμος...” (*Ode 4*)³³

“...ἑξανέστης τοῦ τάφου...” (*Ode 6*)³⁴

“...τριήμερος ἑξανέστης...” (*Exapostelarion*)³⁵

“...καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν”... (*Ainoi*)³⁶

“Ἀνέστης ἐκ τοῦ τάφου...” (*Ainoi*).³⁷

The seventh and final striking element common to the homily and the Paschal hymns is the use of the text from Isaiah 14:9 which occurs in at least two hymns. The first hymn is from the fourth ode of the Canon of Holy Saturday morning: “ὁ Ἄδης, Λόγε, συναντήσας σοι, ἐπικράνθη.”³⁸ The second hymn is from the vespers *Aposticha* of the first tone: “ὃν ὁ Ἄδης συναντήσας κάτωθεν ἐπικράνθη”³⁹ It is hard to know whether these hymns came before or after the homily, although we do know that the final form of the liturgical books is from a later time. Although it is difficult to assess the influence of the homily on the authors of these hymns, it is possible that the use of the text from Isaiah in these two hymns may be a direct influence of the homily. It may be that Chrysostom through his Paschal Catechetical homily pointed out this Old Testament Christological text, which the hymnographers subsequently appropriated into their hymns.

CONCLUSION

Chrysostom's catechetical homily is a good example of Christian rhetoric constructed on the foundation of the popular theological themes of the Resurrection. When considered in the context of the Orthodox Paschal Vigil, where it has been read for over a millennium, it blends in with the hymnology, both from the thematic as

well as the literary point of view. This may be the reason why it was chosen by the Fathers to be read on this day.

It is possible that this homily had an impact on the hymnographers, especially with respect to the Isaiah text, as pointed out above. It is also possible that it was itself shaped by the themes of the hymns of Pascha. I believe, nevertheless, that its popularity among the Orthodox people throughout the centuries was due partly to its theological message and partly to its rhetorical style and eloquent expression which begins slowly and gradually builds momentum to finally triumphantly proclaim the "good news" in the same manner and words in which the angel presented it to the women at the tomb: "Ἀνέστη Χριστός!"

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APPENDIX

John Chrysostom

Sermo catecheticus in pascha

PG 59, 721-724; Geerard, CPG #4605

- 1 εἴ τις εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόθεος,
ἀπολανέτω τῆς καλῆς ταύτης καὶ λαμπρᾶς πανηγύρεως.
- 2 εἴ τις δοῦλος εὐγνώμων,
εἰσελθέτω χαίρων εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ.
- 3 εἴ τις ἔκαμε νηστεύων,
ἀπολανέτω νῦν τὸ δηνάριον.
- 4 εἴ τις ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης,
δεχέσθω σήμερον τὸ δίκαιον ὄφλημα.
- 5 εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἦλθεν,
εὐχαρίστως ἑορτασάτω.
- 6 εἴ τις μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἔφθασε,
μηδὲν ἀμφιβαλλέτω·
καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ζημιοῦται.
- 7 εἴ τις ὑστέρησεν εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην,
προσελθέτω μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζων.
- 8 εἴ τις εἰς μόνην ἔφθασεν τὴν ἐνδεκάτην
μὴ φοβηθῇ τὴν βραδύτητα·
- 9 φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δεσπότης,
δέχεται τὸν ἔσχατον
καθάπερ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον·
- 10 ἀναπαύει τὸν τῆς ἐνδεκάτης
ὥς τὸν ἐργασάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης·
- 11 καὶ τὸν ὑστερον ἔλεει
καὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεραπεύει.
- 12 ἀκείνῳ δίδωσι,
καὶ τούτῳ χαρίζεται.
- Καὶ τὰ ἔργα δέχεται καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀσπάζεται.
- 13 καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τιμᾷ,
καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπαινεῖ.
- 14 Οὐκοῦν εἰσέλθετε πάντες εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν·
- 15 καὶ πρῶτοι καὶ δεύτεροι τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολαύετε.
- 16 πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες μετ' ἀλλήλων χορεύσατε·

- 17 ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ῥάθυμοι τὴν ἡμέραν τιμήσατε·
18 νηστεύσαντες καὶ μὴ νηστεύσαντες εὐφρανθήτε σήμερον.
19 ἢ τράπεζα γέμει,
τρυφήσατε πάντες.
20 ὁ μόσχος πολὺς,
μηδεὶς ἐξέλθῃ πεινῶν.
21 πάντες ἀπολαύσετε τοῦ συμποσίου τῆς πίστεως.
22 πάντες ἀπολαύσετε τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρησιότητος.
23 μηδεὶς θρηνεῖτω πενίαν·
ἐφάνη γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ βασιλεία.
24 μηδεὶς ὀδυρέσθω πταίσματα.
συγγνώμη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀνέτειλε.
25 μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον·
ἡλευθέρωσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ Σωτῆρος θάνατος.
26 ἔσβησεν αὐτόν,
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενος
ἐσκύλευσεν τὸν Ἄδην ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν Ἄδην.
Ἐπίκραναν αὐτὸν
γευσάμενον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.
27 καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν Ἡσαΐας ἐβόησεν·
“ὁ ἄδης, φησὶν, ἐπικράνθη·
συναντήσας σοι κάτω.”
28 ἐπικράνθη·
καὶ γὰρ κατηργήθη.
29 ἐπικράνθη·
καὶ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη.
30 ἐπικράνθη·
καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη.
31 ἐπικράνθη·
καὶ γὰρ ἐδεσμεύθη.
32 ἔλαβε σῶμα
καὶ θεῶ περιέτυχεν.
33 ἔλαβε γῆν
καὶ συνήντησεν οὐρανῷ.
34 ἔλαβε ὄπερ ἔβλεπε
καὶ πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπε.
35 ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;
36 ποῦ σου, ἄδη, τὸ νίκος;
37 ἀνέστη Χριστός,

καὶ σὺ καταβέβλησαι.
 38 ἀνέστη Χριστός,
 καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες.
 39 ἀνέστη Χριστός,
 καὶ χαίρουσιν ἄγγελοι.
 40 ἀνέστη Χριστός,
 καὶ ζωὴ πολιτεύεται.
 41 ἀνέστη Χριστός,
 καὶ νεκρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ μνήματος.
 42 Χριστός, γὰρ ἐγεγρθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν
 ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο.
 43 αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα
 καὶ τὸ κράτος
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
 ἀμήν.

NOTES

¹ *Patrologia Graeca* Edit. J.P. Migne, Vol. 59 (Paris, 1862), col. 721-724.

² *Πεντηκοστάριον*. (Αθήναι: Ἐκδόσεις “Φῶς,” 1836), p. 6.

³ See D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1966), p.180.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Appendix for the text of the Homily.

⁶ T.E. Ameringer, *A Study in Greek Rhetoric. The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom*. (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, Dissertation, 1921).

⁷ Ameringer, p. 102.

⁸ St. John Chrysostom, *Six Books on the Priesthood*, trans. Graham Neville (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1977), p. 116.

⁹ Based on the same principle the Orthodox Church to this day has no fasting for the entire week following Pascha.

¹⁰ In the Gospel of John (Jn 20:9) the verb ἀναστῆναι is used instead by the narrator rather than by the angel.

¹¹ W. J. Harrington, *Key to the Bible* vol. 3 (New York: Alba House, 1975), p. 39.

¹² Cf. Isaiah 14:9

¹³ Interestingly, in most parts of the Greek-speaking world, the day of Pascha is called even to this day “ἡ Λαμπρὰ” [ἡμέρα], or in modern Greek “ἡ Λαμπρή.”

¹⁴ St. Ignatius, *Epistle to the Ephesians*, 20.

¹⁵ See *Πεντηκοστάριον*, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Τρωάδιον*. (Αθήναι: Έκδόσεις “Φῶς,” 1983), p. 482.

³⁹ *Παρακλητική*. (Αθήναι: Έκδόσεις “Φῶς,” 1979), p 4.

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The Poetry Of Theology: An Analysis of Justinian's Hymn 'Ο Μονογενῆς Υἱός

FR. CONSTANTINE NEWMAN

- 1 'Ο Μονογενῆς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ
- 2 ἀθάνατος ὑπάρχων,
- 3 καὶ καταδεξάμενος
- 4 διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν
- 5 σαρκωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου
- 6 καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας,
- 7 ἀτρέπτως ἐνανθρωπήσας, σταυρωθεὶς τε, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός,
- 8 Θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας,
- 9 εἰς ὧν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος
- 10 συνδοξαζόμενος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,
- 11 σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Despite its deceptively straightforward appearance, the beautiful hymn of 'Ο Μονογενῆς Υἱός expresses profound theological insights supported by intricate verbal and grammatical interplay. Earlier scholars, particularly P. Schaff and E. Wellesz,¹ saw a paraphrase of the Nicaeo-Constantinopolitan Creed in its expression of belief in the Incarnation of the salvific death of Christ, the Son of God. More recently, J.H. Barkhuizen² published a detailed analysis of the hymn "unpacking" the different temporal levels of the hymn. Barkhuizen's analysis was limited by the preconception that the hymn was based primarily on the Creed. I believe, however, that Barkhuizen's analysis can be taken further by examining the hymn as part of the theological formulations of Justinian's reign and the subsequent decisions of the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.³ In this way, the hymn can be appreciated for its own merits, and in its own con-

text as a poetic formulation of the orthodox Christology of the sixth (rather than of the fourth) century.

We can see the hymn's independence from the Creed in the extensive parallels of words and phrases with Justinian's edict of 551, the so called *Confessio Rectae Fidei*.⁴ Some examples will show the hymn's origin in the theological language of this document.

One of the most striking departures in the hymn from the credal language is the use of the title ἀειπάρθενος (line 6) for the Theotokos.⁵ A phrase similar to lines 5-7 of the hymn appears in the *Confessio*⁶ “ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας σαρκωθέντος καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος.” Further the description of the Incarnation of the Logos in the first part of the hymn has an almost exact parallel in another passage of the *Confessio*⁷: “ὅτι ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων μονογενὴς Θεοῦ λόγος σαρκωθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς Θεοτόκου] ἀτρέπτως ἐνηνθρώπησε.” The identification of the incarnate Jesus Christ as one of the Holy Trinity in lines 9-10 almost exactly parallels the phrase from the *Confessio*⁸: “ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ εἰς τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος συνδοξαζόμενος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.” Finally, the clinching parallel is the emphasis in the hymn on the Theopaschite position that “one of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh.”⁹ This doctrine, which is central to the hymns’ structure (lines 7-9), is summarized in the *Confessio*¹⁰: “καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὢν Θεὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε παθητὸς εἶναι ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὁ ἀθάνατος νόμις ὑποκεῖσθαι θανάτου...” We find a similar formula in the sixth anathema of the *Confessio* (which was also adopted by the Council¹¹): “Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον σαρκὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἀληθινόν, καὶ Κύριον τῆς δόξης καὶ ἓνα τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.”

From this short list of parallels, we can see that the meaning of the hymn can only become clear if we examine its poetry against the background of the sixth century Christological formulae. By its juxtaposition of words, by the subtle use of participles and by the employment of different temporal perspectives this hymn expressed poetically of imperial Orthodoxy which became the official position of the Church at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The following analysis, then, will expand on Barkhuizen's undertaking and show the true beauty and depth of our hymn which former discussions have overlooked.

As Barkhuizen recognized,¹² the kernel of the hymn is the prayer *Χριστέ ὁ Θεός* (7)...*σῶσον ἡμᾶς* (11). The vocative and imperative effectively divide the hymn into two parts and lay stress on the ultimate purpose of the hymn, a prayer for salvation. The vocative, however, presents the first anomaly: why is it delayed so long? The displacement of the direct address to Christ naturally draws our attention to it and gives it more force. The same can be said of the initial nominatives: although nominatives already begin to replace vocatives in Hellenistic Greek,¹³ the delay of the vocative form until the middle of the hymn hides this syntax and by giving the listener the impression that they are true nominatives, raises the expectation of a simple narration. The shift to the vocative, then, calls immediate attention to itself. Thus, we can conclude, the direct address must have more importance in its context than simply to indicate the recipient of the prayer. Once the technique becomes clear, the center of the hymn revolves around the double title of Jesus: He is both *Χριστός*, the title of the Messiah, or Anointed One of God, and, therefore, the title of a man,¹⁴ and *Θεός*, God. Only in this dual nature can we invoke him to save us. The delay of the address to the God-Man until after the participles with the Incarnation (lines 2-3, 7) stresses this point.

The participles which articulate the hymn reveal its real depth of meaning. Although Barkhuizen recognized their importance,¹⁵ he missed the different levels of subordination produced by the two conjunctions. The first pair, *ὑπάρχων καὶ καταδεξάμενος* (lines 2-3), is subordinate to the second group *ἐνανθρωπήσας σταυρωθεὶς τε* (line 7). This second group, immediately preceding the vocative, is joined together by the conjunction *τε*. By using the postpositive conjunction instead of the normal *καί*, the hymn has juxtaposed the two important elements of the Incarnation: the taking on of human nature and the crucifixion/death. Thus, the Incarnation and Passion of Christ are brought into direct connection with the doctrine of his two natures, the doctrine that alone gives meaning to those participles. To complete the thought in chiasmic order, the line begins with the adverb *ἀτρέπτως* which balances the final *Θεός* and encloses within the participles and the title *Χριστέ*, thus reaffirming in the very structure of the hymn Christ's single *hypostasis* which was the divine Word.

The first group of participles reinforces this identification. The present participle *ὑπάρχων*, as Barkhuizen noticed, indicates "a time-

less (present) perspective. He is for all time the *Immortal God*" (italics original).¹⁶ Ὑπάρχων was also used primarily of the Logos to indicate his eternal existence through which all other things come into being.¹⁷ The participle alone, then, would have sufficed to indicate the immortality of the Logos. By adding the adjective θανάτῳ ἀθάνατος, the hymn brings the eternal existence of the Logos and his power as the sustainer of creation into direct relationship to his salvific activity in creation by leading into the central section on the Incarnation which culminates in line 8: θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας. By setting up this verbal relationship, the hymn indicates that the latter statement has its efficacy from the former; the Logos is able to defeat death because he is by nature immortal.

The second participle, καταδεξάμενος, shifts from the present to the aorist. This shift, however, does not indicate a progression into the "second time perspective," as Barkhuizen claimed.¹⁸ The coordinating conjunction καὶ rather connects to the preceding Ὑπάρχων, thus making it part of the original time frame. This participle also shows the originality of the hymn. In the Creed, the narration of the Incarnation follows the affirmation of the eternal preexistence of the Logos, and begins with the participial phrase κατελθόντος ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν. The hymn retains the same "downward" prefix "κατά," but shifts the whole scene back into heaven by changing the root verb from "ἔρχομαι" to "δέχομαι." According to Lampe, καταδέχομαι means "to admit, consent to: of Christ's acceptance of suffering and death." Thus, the idea of the Incarnation and Passion is transferred back from the "second time perspective" that we see in the Creed to the "first time perspective" when the Logos, while still enjoying his eternal life in the bosom of the Father, decided for and accepted all the ramifications of his Passion and Death. The aorist aspect of the participle, especially since it is connected to the present participle Ὑπάρχων, indicates the singleness of the decision, the sense of "once for all." The acceptance of our human nature, καταδεξάμενος ... σαρκωθῆναι, the reality of which is emphasized by the long reference to the Theotokos,¹⁹ directly leads to, and is grammatically dependent on, the principles which reveal the two results whose intimate connection is indicated by the conjunction τε: ἐνανθρωπήσας σταυρωθεὶς τε.

The end of the hymn reverts to the present aspect of the principles. These two participles, however, have different relationships

to the body of the hymn. The first, ὦν (line 9), rounds off the progression of the hymn, returning the narration to the eternal realm of the divine. This participle also functions as a grammatical closure for the hymn, completing a chiasmic structure begun with the initial participles. The present ὑπάρχων (line 2) takes an adversative coloring from the following καταδεξάμενος (line 3): *although* the Logos is forever immortal, he decided out of love for humanity to take on the mortal nature. This relationship is taken up and reversed by the final participles. The result of the Incarnation, the conquering of death once for all, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας (line 8), is then referred to its divine cause, εἰς ὦν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος (line 9): Christ is able to abolish death *because* he is one of the Holy Trinity. Thus, the idea of the first adversative participle, which leads to the central narration of the Incarnation, returns at the end as the cause itself of the fruits of the Incarnation.²⁰

The first, eternal time perspective which forms the background of the events of salvation, and which is represented by the participles ὑπάρχων (line 2) and ὦν (line 9) is not divorced from those events. By immediately following the second time perspective of line 7, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας with the first time perspective of line 9: εἰς ὦν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, the hymn reflects two of the important principles of Justinian's *Confessio* and of the Council of Constantinople, that one of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh,²¹ and that the Incarnation of Christ became a σύνθετος, an unconfused composite of two natures united by the person of the divine Logos.

The juxtaposition of lines 8 and 9 also shows that the two time perspectives do not simply exist on separate planes as background and foreground. Rather, the hymn is also to be read linearly from heaven and immortality to earth with its suffering, death and resurrection, and then back to heaven in the original glory of the Trinity. However, a change has taken place; the eternal Logos of God had taken on human nature by the Incarnation, and has returned to his place in the glory of the Trinity *together with his assumed human nature*. By stressing Christ's part in the Trinity, the hymn emphasizes the synthesis produced by the Incarnation, while maintaining the single unifying hypostasis of the Logos: the μονογενῆς υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ (line 1) is equally subject of θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας and εἰς ὦν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος. Again the hymn reflects the language of Justinian's *Confessio*²²: Αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ ἀληθινὸς υἱὸς

τοῦ Θεοῦ τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς φορεῖ, ἵνα οἱ πάντες ἕνα φορέσωμεν Θεόν· καὶ ἐστὶν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν εἰς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σύνθετος ἐξ ἑκατέρας φύσεως... ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ εἰς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος συνδοξαζόμενος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Οὐτε γὰρ τετάρτου προσώπου προσθήκην ἐπεδέξατο ἡ ἁγία Τριάς καὶ σαρκωθέντος τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος Θεοῦ Λόγου.

The triumphant victory of Christ over death in his two natures culminates in the eschatological vision of the Holy Trinity equal in glory. Barkhuizen saw the participle συνδοξαζόμενος as an omniscient present referring to the future.²³ The participle has this eschatological sense that the full realization of Christ's victory over death will only come at the end of the world, and the participle anticipates final glory; it also has the continuing sense which the other present participles of the hymn have: the glory rendered by the redeemed to the Holy Trinity is the tapestry before which the mystery of the Incarnation played out in time. For this reason, the συνδοξαζόμενος is brought into direct connection with the imperative prayer σῶσον ἡμᾶς (line 11): we glorify the Trinity by recognizing our sinful state and humbly begging to become participants in the act of Redemption, thus completing the hymn's sweep from heaven to earth and back again.

Thus, by a close analysis of the text, we see that this hymn is meant to encapsulate poetically the spirit of the theological conclusion of the 6th century as expressed in Justinian's *Confessio Rectae Fidei* and the decrees of the 2nd Council of Constantinople. It stresses the two natures of Christ united by the single hypostasis of the Logos, and its importance in the whole scheme of the Incarnation and the Redemption. This beautiful and profound hymn unites the heights of theological speculation with the awestruck piety of the redeemed sinner in carefully chosen and yet simple words which can be easily internalized through song.

NOTES

¹ P. Schaff, *The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches* (London, 1877) 62-63. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1961) 178-179.

² J. Barkhuizen, "Justinian's Hymn 'Ο Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ,'" *BZ 77* (1984) 3-5.

³ For more detailed information on the condemnation of the "Three Chapters" by Justinian and by the 5th Ecumenical Council of 553 (Constantinople II), see J. Meyendorf,

Byzantine Theology (New York, 1979) 35-36, and *idem.*, *Imperial Unity and Christian Division* (Crestwood, NY, 1987) 80-85.

4 (PG 86)

⁵ The parallel passage in the Creed reads “σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου.” The absence of a mention of the Holy Spirit in the context of the hymn and the *Confessio* also points to a more direct influence of Justinianic language.

⁶ Column 997D.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Column 999C.

⁹ Meyendorff, in *Byzantine Theology* (above, note 3) 35, sees this hymn as the poetic expression of the Theopaschite formula, from that time on sung by the faithful in every Divine Liturgy.

¹⁰ Columns 997D-999A.

¹¹ Column 1015C.

¹² Above, note 2, 3 note 14.

¹³ Cf. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago and London, 1961) p. 147.

¹⁴ For a discussion of Messiah as a human title, see N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis, 1996) 477-8, 481-489; *ibid.*, *The New Testament and the People of God*, (Minneapolis, 1992) parts III and IV.

¹⁵ Above, note 2, 3.

¹⁶ Above, note 2, 5.

¹⁷ Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968), s.v. ὑπάρχω. The examples given bring this verb into close connection with creation: the Logos Himself is eternal, without beginning, and because of this nature, He is able to give a beginning in time to created things: Tatian *orat.* 4 (Migne 6, 813A): Θεός ... μόνος ἀναρχος ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχει τῶν ὅλων ἀρχή· Leontius of Jerusalem, *adv. Nest.* 4, 3 (Migne 86, 1657B): καθ’ ἐτέραν μὲν αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ λόγου] γέννησιν αἰδιὸν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἀληθῶς, καθ’ ἐτέραν δὲ ἀρχόμενον τοῦ συνθέτως εἶναι.

¹⁸ Above, note 2, 4.

¹⁹ This reference to the Theotokos corresponds closely to parallel passages in *Confessio* as, for example 997D: ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας σαρκωθέντος καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος. This correspondence is one more link which connects the hymn to the theological language of the 6th century rather than with the Nicaen-Constantinopolitan Creed, which lays greater stress on the operation of the Holy Spirit, and limits Mary’s title to Virgin: σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου.

²⁰ Barkhuizen (above, note 2) 4, also noticed the chiasmic arrangement of the hymn, but did not pursue the relationship of the participles or their significance any further.

²¹ For a discussion of the controversy surrounding the Theopaschite formula, see Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Crestwood, NY, 1987) 77-80. Justinian expanded on the first principle which we see reflected in the hymn, that one of the Holy Trinity, immortal according to His divinity, underwent death because He took on human nature, in the *Confessio* (997D): ὅτι ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων μονογενὴς Θεὸς λόγος σαρκωθείς ἐξ αὐτῆς [s.c. τῆς Θεοτόκου] ἀτρεπτος ἐνηνθρώπησε καὶ ἀόρατος ὢν ἐν τοῖς ἐθύτοις ὁρατὸς γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὢν οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε παθητὸς εἶναι ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὁ ἀθάνατος νόμος ὑποκεῖσθαι θανάτῳ.

²² Column 999C-D.

²³ Above, note 2, 5.

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